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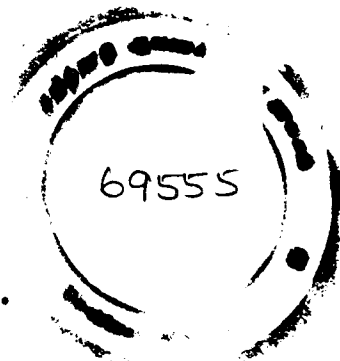
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THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

ALL parties and persons in this country rejoice in the evident desire to promote friendliness and goodwill throughout the Empire, which marked all the proceedings of the late Imperial Conference. It is further in accordance with constitutional tradition, and repeated statements, to recognise that there is no other way of maintaining this spirit in the future except in the direction of autonomy, equality and independence. The message of General Hertzog, that he regards the work done at the Imperial Conference as a birth of the Free South African Nation, gives expression to the growth of a new free national spirit. The critical problem of combining unity of Empire with a wide application of the principle of autonomy and independence in the constituent parts, was, on account of its complexity, relegated for subsequent and more detailed consideration. The Committee on Inter-Imperial Relations came to the conclusion that the issues involved in this problem were so complex, that there would be grave danger in attempting any immediate pronouncement, other than a statement of certain wide underlying principles. There may be wisdom in this reservation. The Committee placed on record the opinion that, apart from provisions embodied in constitutions, or in specific statutes, expressly providing for reservation, it is a recognised right of the Government of each Dominion to advise the Crown in all matters relating to its own affairs and that, consequently, it would not be in accordance with constitutional practice for advice to be tendered to His Majesty, by His Majesty's Government in Great Britain, in any matter appertaining to the affairs of a Dominion against the views of the Government of that Dominion. It is from provisions embodied in constitutions, and in specific statutes expressly providing for reservation, and in such a statute as the Colonial Laws Validity Act, 1865, that the problems yet to be settled have their origin. The Report states accurately that existing administrative, legislative and judicial forms are not wholly in accord with the position as described. The opinion of General Smuts, that the Report of the Committee on Inter-Imperial Relations makes no change in principle, but simply affirms, confirms and explains what existed before, may be contrasted with the message of General Hertzog referred to above.

To the same Committee were referred the relations of the Empire with foreign countries, including arbitration in international disputes and the policy of Locarno. In addition certain conclusions are presented in the Report on questions of defence, and questions connected with the work of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. On matters of foreign policy, which

fect the policy of the League of Nations at Geneva, Great Britain and the Dominions, are placed on full equality in the Covenant of the League. The Dominions have the full status of independent sovereign powers, and should accept the full responsibility. It is generally recognised that, in the procedure in relation to treaties, and in the general conduct of foreign policy, an improved system of intercommunication between Great Britain and the various Dominions should be arranged. This is nothing more than an improvement in administrative machinery. The governing consideration is that neither Great Britain nor the Dominions could be committed to the acceptance of active obligations except with the definite assent of their own Governments. The real difficulty, however, is not in providing for definite assent to active obligations, but in the application of the principle of international law that, where various territories are embraced under a common sovereignty, war cannot be limited in its operation so as to except from the risks and dangers, which attach to belligerency, selected portions of the common territory. The solution of this problem is not furthered by a disparagement of the principles of international law. The Covenant of the League explicitly declares that "The High Contracting Parties, in order to promote international co-operation, and to achieve international peace and security, recognise the necessity of the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments." The truth is that the relationship between Great Britain and the Dominions in foreign policy cannot be satisfactorily established in disregard of international law, one of the essential factors in building up a world unity with a centre at Geneva. This particular difficulty has been specially raised in connection with the Treaty of Locarno, and is known to have been the subject of anxious discussion. The Treaty of Locarno rightly exonerated the Dominions from the acceptance of active obligations involved in a treaty which had not at the time the definite assent of their own Governments, but this does not prevent the Dominions from becoming subject to all the risks and dangers of a status of belligerency, in the event of Great Britain being called upon to enforce her guarantee, either as against France or Germany. It is far wiser that a difficulty of this kind should be frankly faced than that it should be disguised under wide generalities, already accepted and expressed by all parties in this country.

It is difficult to understand the reference to arbitration in international disputes in the Report. No clear explanation has so far been given. There is no compulsory arbitration under the provisions of the Covenant of the League. No nation which is a constituent member of the League becomes subject to the provisions on arbitration contained in the League, except freely and

by its own voluntary choice. The Covenant of the League is a treaty which the signatory states have frankly agreed to accept. There is no compulsion. There have been suggestions for extending the operation of the arbitration principle so as to include all international disputes, but I am not aware of any proposal for attempting to enforce compulsory arbitration. Such a proposal would in my opinion not be consistent with League principle. It is true that the word compulsory is to be found in Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court, but that Article can only become applicable after a free acceptance, and cannot be enforced compulsorily on any outside authority, either with or without reservations. No definite resolution was submitted on this question by the Committee to the Conference, but it is stated that "whilst members of the Committee were unanimous in favouring the widest possible extension of the method of arbitration for the settlement of international disputes, the feeling was that it was at present premature to accept the obligations under Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice."

This paragraph of the report certainly needs further elucidation, and as it stands is a masterpiece of vague expression. The matter is not made clearer by the reference to the policy of Locarno. It is stated that there was complete approval of the manner in which the Locarno negotiations had been conducted, and brought to so successful a conclusion. The two outstanding features in the Treaty of Locarno are the acceptance of the principle, that, as between Germany, France, and Belgium, all questions of every kind which may arise between them, and which it may not be possible to settle by normal methods of diplomacy, shall be settled by peaceful means, in the manner laid down therein. There is the further stipulation that where the parties are in conflict, as to their respective rights, any question shall be submitted to judicial decision, the parties undertaking to comply with such decision. The reference to judicial decision is in wider terms than those to be found in the Statute of the International Court at The Hague. There is no suggestion that the application of the principle of all inclusive arbitration, and Court decision in questions of right, depends on special circumstances which attach to the relationship of Germany, France, and Belgium. On the contrary, the principle is applied under conditions of a searching and critical character. This general principle is effective in proportion to the extent of its application. War arises in a sense of injustice, and it is the object of the League of Nations to remove, so far as possible, the sense of injustice by subordinating the desire to resort to war to impartial and equitable decision.

Whether between nations or individuals the fundamental con-

ception of justice consists in the decision of disputes by some impartially constituted authority, and not by the violence or power of the parties concerned. This is the simple foundation of the need for an all-inclusive arbitration in international disputes, and as the passions of mankind have not prevented the abolition of private warfare, as the method of settlement of disputes between nationals of the same nationality, neither will their passions prevent the general abolition of international warfare, so soon as the will for peace is reinforced and an effective system has been brought into operation for the settlement of all international disputes by friendly means.

On the subject of Imperial defence, the late Imperial Conference has reaffirmed the resolutions adopted in 1923, regretting that it has not been possible to make greater progress with the international reduction and limitation of armaments referred to in those resolutions. It is not unsatisfactory that this Conference has re-stated paragraph 5 of the resolution of the Conference of 1923: "That the Conference while deeply concerned for the paramount importance of providing for the safety and integrity of all parts of the Empire earnestly desires, so far as is consistent with this consideration, the further limitation of armaments, and trusts that no opportunity may be lost to promote this object." If it is the desire that all parts of the Empire should be advantaged by industrial progress and trade interchange, it is essential to make further effort to promote a general system of disarmament, the present system placing, what was rightly called by the Premier of Australia, a terrific burden, on the international prosperity of this country. It may be well to quote the actual words of Mr. Bruce: "I want it to be clearly understood that Australia still subscribes to the principle that every effort should be made to bring about a limitation of armaments, and we will be prepared to support any effort which will assist to bring about a removal of the terrific burden which falls upon all countries."

It is unfortunate that a paragraph should have been included in the Report of the Imperial Conference, "Questions connected with the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations." Each Dominion has a separate and independent representative at Geneva, where the matter can be publicly discussed, as part of the Geneva policy. These questions were referred to a Special Committee including Great Britain and those Dominions interested as Mandatories, all of whom naturally approached the questions from the Mandatory standpoint. It is not necessary to quote the well-known terms of the Mandatory Article of the Covenant of the League. It introduces a new principle of great value in the treatment of backward countries, the principle of responsibility, and trusteeship as opposed to that of sovereignty and

ambition, the principle being, that the well-being, and development, of the peoples occupying the mandated areas, should form a sacred trust of civilisation and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in the Covenant. The Covenant accordingly embodied the regulation that "A permanent Commission shall be constituted" to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the Mandates. A strong permanent Commission has been constituted, containing members of special experience in Colonial government. It is clear that the Council can only carry through the duties, entrusted to it, by obtaining all possible assistance from the Commission, and that it is the duty of the Commission to obtain information by all reasonable methods to enable it to fulfil its onerous duties.

One further consideration must be kept in mind. The Council, to which the care of supervising the Mandatories is committed, comprises, amongst its members, representatives of the important Mandatory powers. It may be matter for future consideration how far it is in accord with impartial action that the Mandatory powers should take part in the Council proceedings, when the question of Mandates is under discussion; but, as matters now stand, there is reason for special restraint from the Mandatory powers, when a discussion of Mandates takes place in the Council. There should be no occasion for the criticism, that these powers are influenced in their Council duties by their position as Mandatories. At the meeting of the Council in September, 1926, the Permanent Mandates Commission asked for a ruling from the Council on the hearing of petitions, on which it had sometimes been found impossible to form a definite opinion without inviting petitioners to make a statement before the Commission, and secondly, the Commission submitted a new questionnaire. The Rapporteur submitted the first question to the Council saying that he was inclined to think that the Commission should be authorised to make a draft proposal in the direction suggested, and, as to the questionnaire, recommended its adoption. There was no desire of the Commission to interfere in the function which it was the duty of the Mandatories to discharge, and there was no suggestion that petitioners should be heard except on rare occasions, when the Commission thought it might be necessary. The Delegate of Great Britain thought that there was a tendency on the part of the Commission to extend their authority to a point where the Government would no longer be vested in the Mandatory Power but in the Permanent Mandates Commission, and expressed the hope that the terms of the questionnaire, and the question as regards the hearing of petitioners, would be submitted first to the various Mandatory Governments;

before the Council took any decision upon it. It was not intended, he said, to make any reflection on the manner in which the Commission had fulfilled its duties, but the intention clearly was to limit the activities of the Commission, which, as the Vice-Chairman stated, had never dreamt of going beyond their province, and further that the reproach, which had been addressed to them, was not deserved. The matter was referred to the various Mandatory Governments, and on November 8th, 1926, an answer was sent from the Foreign Office to the Secretary-General of the League at Geneva, deprecating the hearing of petitioners by the Commission, and submitting that the list of questions comprised in the questionnaire far exceeded what was necessary to the Commission, or which was compatible with the intentions of the Covenant and the rules approved by the Council.

There are many persons who do not agree with this attitude towards the permanent Mandates Commission, or with the terms of the letter from the Foreign Office, holding that it should be left, to the Commission itself, to determine how best to obtain evidence in fulfilment of its onerous duties. It is a matter for regret that a resolution should have been passed at the Imperial Conference specifically approving the terms of the note from the Foreign Office. There are many persons who approve of the protest made at Geneva by the Vice-Chairman of the Mandates Commission that from the outset the Commission had never lost sight of the necessity of co-operating with the Mandatory Powers and of doing nothing which might go against their interests. He reminded the Council "that at the time when the Commission was constituted, it was clearly laid down that the supervision of the Commission should extend over the whole administration of the Mandatory Power. The Commission had never dreamt of going beyond their province, and he thought he might say that the reproach, which had been addressed to them, was not deserved."

It is not intended, in this article, to refer to questions left unsolved in the Report of the Imperial Conference. The Report in truth leaves undetermined whether any safeguards are required to insure the unity of the Empire, as well as their nature and extent. The difficulty in framing the Covenant of the League was to insure a certain measure of international unity, for the preservation of international peace without unduly infringing on the national autonomy and independence of the Constituent States. A similar problem must be faced before the future of the Empire is finally determined, but we may trust that this solution will be found, if the spirit of friendliness and goodwill, which permeated all the late Conference meetings, is present on future occasions.

PARMOOR.

THE COAL CONFLICT AND AFTER.

THE long industrial warfare in the coalfields has come to an end. No fiercer or more bitter or more determined struggle has been waged for half a century. It has terminated in the only way possible; for a sympathetic general strike creating revolution was bound to fail on the one hand and on the other the Government of the country refused to take any action. The National Federation of Miners has been broken; the men have been driven back underground under local settlements which have no more moral validity than the Treaty of Versailles or any other dictated peace. In many cases, such as in Lancashire, the conditions have not only resulted in an hour's increase of work underground, but also, after next July, remuneration for the lower-paid men, which cannot by any stretch of imagination be called a living wage. No one imagines that although a large proportion of the miners have actually gone back to work this is anything in the nature of a settlement. It is indeed what Mr. Baldwin himself declared would be the worst possible ending of the struggle.

It is not an end, but a beginning. It has for the first time brought home in deep determination to over a million of the finest of the working people of England, who until now have resisted all the nonsense talked by the Socialists and perhaps the worse nonsense talked by the Communists, the reality of the cant phrase, "a class war." The miners are the most placable, contented and moderate body of men, of all the various sections of industrial workers. Religion, which has for the most part fled from those who work on the surface of the earth is still strong and vigorous among those who work beneath it. More than any other class or section of the community, they provided the assistance which led to victory in the Great War. Their courage in misfortune, their loyalty to each other, their extraordinary devotion and self-sacrifice when the disasters of flood or fire take place, to which almost any mine must be subject at almost any moment, is beyond all praise. They have now been battered under hatches. The so-called Labour Party has deserted them and denounced their leaders, the Government has confined its activity to feeble protest against the mine-owners as "stupid and discourteous," while at the same time passing legislation which gave the mine-owners all that they desired. The wealthy and ignorant population of this island, represented by their great newspapers, have sung songs of triumph over their defeat, and the Conservative Party, with an overwhelming majority in the House of Commons but a minority in the country having destroyed the power of the greatest of the great Trades Unions, is now meditating measures for destroying the others.

The funds of all these organisations have been depleted; large cities are bankrupt owing to the amount provided in payment under the statutory condition of the Poor Law, which makes the relief of destitution obligatory upon the local authorities. Each individual miner has sold his savings or mortgaged his belongings or remains in hopeless debt, which will take him years to clear off. "Order reigns in Warsaw."

It is difficult to apportion the blame in this catastrophe between the mine-owners, the miners and their leaders, the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party, and the Government of the day. The nation has lost anything between £300 and £500 millions worth of wealth which, but for the struggle, might have been used to create a new England; to buy up all the mines for the nation, or to solve the problem of the unemployed. This industrial war and the preparations for it have been oppressing men's minds for something like eighteen months; during which Parliament has been paralysed, social reform placed in the background, and England in its impotence and a hatred of each class of Englishmen for the other, held up as a subject of astonishment and ridicule to the civilised world. The promises of a Parliament and a Government to reconcile all classes, to give a square deal to the "under dog," to provide peace in our time, have vanished like a dream when one awaketh, or like a tale that is told. At by-elections men and women are voting, not for Karl Marx or for any definite Socialist theory, but simply in hatred and protest against these powers which seem to them to have declared war on the working classes. It is a blind struggle in the darkness, where ignorant armies clash by night. And although in other communities this warfare is in the main conducted because the poor hate and envy the rich, it appears here that the stimulating motive is the hatred and fear by the rich of the poor. The so-called settlements represent, in Bagehot's famous words, a condition unsuited to man in such a case as he finds himself in this world—a situation which, without some strong element plucking back, the journey towards the abyss must inevitably consummate in calamity or revolution.

Let me take first the case of the coal-owners. Sir Herbert Samuel, the chairman of the Royal Commission, has declared that in all the long course of this disastrous conflict, in innumerable interviews and letters, he has never heard any man say a good word for them. I may perhaps add my testimony, not without personal knowledge, from the fact that I was for some years at the head of the Coal Mines Department at the Home Office and that I was entrusted with the duty of passing the great Coal Mines Safety Bill of 1912. I was compelled then to come into contact

with everybody contained in the greatest of all our industries. I never before realised so completely the stupidity and ignorance of certain types of "business men." The coal-owners, like the Irish landlords, were to a large extent absentees. The only desire of the younger men, many of whom had been to the Universities, was to beat down the Miners' Federation into submission, even at a cost to themselves. Very few of those whom I met knew even the elementary alphabet of safety regulations and apparatus. There were brilliant exceptions, such as, for example, Sir Arthur Markham and his brother, who had defiantly refused to join the Mining Association; men like Mr. Burroughs of the Atherton Collieries, whose relations with his employees was that of friendliness and goodwill, and who represented a firm which has since resigned from that body. And, of course, there was Sir Thomas Ratcliffe Ellis, with his extraordinary sagacity and wisdom. He used to settle disputes with Mr. Stephen Walsh in Lancashire irrespective of the ravings of the irresponsibles on both sides, and used to tell me "never to listen about ultimatums," or to the foolish chatter of the young men like the followers of Jeroboam, whom he declared, after the effects of University education had worn off, would ultimately attain sanity. But having also been responsible for the Factory Department, which includes the textiles, and noticing the extraordinary difference between the psychological relationship of employers and employed, the one thing that really matters, I can only repeat here what I have said many times on the platform, that if the cotton trade had been carried on with a similar absence of intelligence and a determination to humiliate all organisations for establishing a better standard of comfort for its workers similar to that of the bulk of the mining industry, that greatest of all our export industries would have been shattered and grass be growing in the great cities of Lancashire and Yorkshire, amid universal starvation and decay. These absentee owners made gigantic profits during the war, and even more gigantic profits during the boom after the peace, especially during the time of the occupation of the Ruhr by the French armies. They could have utilised these profits for the reconstruction of the industry, or the introduction of the latest machinery and labour-saving appliances, for the putting of reserves to carry them through the inevitable time of depression. The greater part of them did none of these things. The result is that although some of the new mines, such as those in South Yorkshire, are among the best equipped in the world, a long litter of committees and commissions on coal conservation, the Sankey Inquiry, the Macmillan Report, and the verdict of the latest Samuel investigation, all testify that an enormous proportion of our mines are archaic in development, wasteful

in organisation, and in every way unfitted to play their part in a world competition of coal supply. The same testimony has been given again and again by experts from abroad, who have been quite astonished at the casual, happy-go-lucky methods of coal selling and coal getting in this land.

But in the good years there was freely distributed in dividends money which should have been devoted to re-equipment, and in the great majority of cases the sole idea of reducing the cost of production was the belief that the most satisfactory method was to extend the hours of labour or reduce the wages of the men engaged in an enterprise concerning whose development in the future these men were not allowed any voice at all.

I could mention the names of two of the greatest colliery concerns in Britain, almost adjacent one to another and working exactly similar seams. The one, of world-wide renown, during the good days limited its dividend, spent large sums in re-equipping its mines with coal-cutters and the latest scientific inventions, devoted all its thoughts to plans for encountering the coal slump which every sane man knew was inevitably coming. To-day it could be obtaining profits at a seven-hour day and a 1924 standard of wages. The other divided up all its immense profits in the good years, imagined that these good years would continue for ever, scooped out the richest seams, easiest to work, as a fraudulent gold mine scoops out the richest ores before floating the concern upon an unsuspecting public, and now lies waterlogged and bankrupt, unable to raise capital for development or give the miners a living wage. Yet one must emphasise the facts, for the realisation of them is fundamental to all future recovery, first that the State, and second that the colliery workers, have no control over such mad methods of industry. On the one hand, the State, when such ruin is effected, is compelled to pay vast sums in unemployment relief or in the prevention of destitution by the poor rate to men who have been thrown out of work by such mismanagement. On the other hand, villages and even whole towns may be overwhelmed by calamity, including in its scope shop-keepers, professional men and others of varied occupation, due to the closing of a thus mismanaged mine, in which those who have worked in it have given similar labour and energy to those who have worked in the neighbouring colliery where prosperity continues.

There is something fundamentally wrong in all this. But the Mining Association of coal-owners is dominated by the votes of the badly-managed or moderately-equipped mining companies rather than by those who have thrown their whole energy into organisation and efficiency. And the consequence was, that when the "slump" came, the mine-owners as a whole, with a few exceptions

in the midlands, tore up the 1924 agreement, demanded that the sole method of meeting this difficulty should be reduction of the agreed wages, and determined that no peace should be obtained except by the abolition of the much-hated, mis-called seven-hour day.

So for the mine-owner. What of the Government? It seems odd to remember that a year and a half ago all the facts of this menace were before them, and that even at that time they had neither the energy nor the courage to contemplate the situation as a whole or to realise that without a firm policy in the interest neither of miner nor of coal-owner, but of the nation to whom they were responsible, an industrial conflict was as inevitable and as disastrous as the coming of a great international war. Mr. Baldwin could disarm criticism and evoke applause in the vote of censure moved by the Opposition at the end of the Parliamentary Session last December (1926) by the cheery assertion that the only difference between the two front benches was that on his side they had made blunders and acknowledged them, and on the other side they had made blunders and denied them. But, as Mr. Lloyd George pointed out, although that might be an adequate reply in the strife between mine-owners and miners, or between one party out of office and another party out of office, it was a grotesque defence of a Government which represented the whole nation and the interests of the whole nation, and had at its disposal all the kingdom and the power and the glory of dominating, through legislation, any sections of that nation who in anger or folly were bringing universal destruction. No Government I can think of in modern times, in face of a challenge, first in anger by the miners, and second, in utter contempt by the mineowners, has ever shown such a mixture of vacillation, ineptitude, cowardice, short-sightedness and prejudice, as this administration which has the largest majority supporting it of any Government since the great Reform Bill. Ann Veronica, in Mr. Wells's well-known novel, in reaction against the mess and muddle of human affairs, wished to take the whole world by the throat. Her desire was destroyed by the discovery that the world had not got a throat. During these dolorous months of such incompetence in industrial war at home as would have irrevocably ruined this nation if exhibited in military operations abroad, men of all classes have wished to take the Government by the head. They have discovered that it has not got a head. Whatever blame rests in this chaos and catastrophe cannot be shelved off on to the well-meaning second-rate intelligences of Departmental Secretaries. The responsibility must be shouldered by the Prime Minister. And the de-

possible by a Bill abolishing the seven-hours day which the Commission deliberately reported would make the hours of the British miner longer than any in Europe, violate the Washington agreement, and compel foreign countries to follow our example, thus depressing the standard of their own miners without giving any advantage to our own. This Bill was apparently defended on the general principle that politics should not interfere with industry: a queer affirmation coming from one who had previously lost office by demanding a tariff and who professed himself the legitimate heir of all the work of Lord Shaftesbury and every factory law "interfering with industry" which had been carried, not by the agitation of trades unions but by the Acts of Parliament.

Ninth: Some weeks after this most iniquitous Bill had been passed, when it was evident to all men that it was lengthening and not diminishing the period of conflict, distinguished members of the Christian Churches, including ten bishops conspicuous for intellect and character, after interviewing the representatives of both the owners and the men, approached with a proposition for the full carrying out of the Commission's Report, the reference of outstanding questions to an impartial arbitration (an advance which marked almost a miracle to those familiar with coal-mining negotiations), and a short renewal of the subsidy until these negotiations were completed. Mr. Baldwin politely kicked them into the gutter, even before he had listened to their arguments; his amazing excuse being that a subsidy of any sort was something unclean and intolerable and not for a moment to be endured; although he himself had given a subsidy for nine months and had afterwards offered a subsidy for at least as long as the Church leaders desired. His refusal was received with acclamation by the propertied classes, who told Christianity to mind its own business and not modify its previous blind adherence to Tory politics by any attempt to make peace between citizens of the same nation.

Tenth: Mr. Baldwin being away at Aix, Mr. Churchill was stimulated by Mr. Lloyd George's challenge to find a way towards peace, to make a fresh endeavour. He obtained from the leaders of the coal-miners an offer which he himself declared in public was a fair basis for a renewal of negotiations. He asked the coal-owners to resume negotiations on this basis. He was met by a contemptuous refusal from the coal-owners, who stated that their association had "melted into air, into thin air." The Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer uttered miscellaneous maledictions on the creatures who had made them humiliated and ridiculous in the eyes of the civilised world, and then passed by on the other side.

Eleventh: The mine-owners, secure in the Government aboli-

tion of the seven-hours day, and recognising the support of the propertied classes which Mr. Baldwin had neither the courage nor the energy to defy, decided that they would repudiate even the national agreement so strongly recommended by the Commission.

Finally, the miners offered a 10 per cent. reduction in wages, as recommended by the Commission, provided that the whole report of the Commission was carried out, including the complete reorganisation on the one hand and the repudiation of the extension of the working day on the other. By this time the forces of hunger and cold on which the Government and the mine-owners had reckoned had done their work, and the men were fighting to get back to work to avoid starvation, and in fear of permanent unemployment. The Government, to save its face, offered to coerce the coal-owners into a tribunal to revise all agreements in which an extension of hours was arranged, although they had previously protested that they had no power to coerce the coal-owners into anything at all. The men scornfully and rightly refused the suggestion that was less an offer than an insult. The curtain closed with cheering crowds in the House of Commons acclaiming the collapse of the Miners' Federation and welcoming their Christmas holidays in the belief that at last organisations of the workers of England had been practically destroyed.

Was there ever such a shameful and contemptible record of Government interference and non-interference in a great industrial conflict between Englishmen and Englishmen? And was there ever a greater delusion in the minds of men whom God had made for the moment quite blind, since the advisers of Charles I thought they had destroyed the rebellion, or the imbeciles of the court of Louis XVI said of the French revolution, *C'est fini*?

I must devote less consideration to the other parties in the controversy. It is the fashion to say the miners were abominably led; that if better led they could have obtained better terms; and to hurl contempt and abuse at the figure of Mr. A. J. Cook, who has vanished to his spiritual home in Moscow for a season. Especially has mockery been thrown on the so-called "slogan," "Not a penny off, not a minute on," which has appeared at intervals during the struggle. I doubt if these attacks are altogether justified. In every case where opinion has been taken by plebiscite or consultation with delegates of the rank and file, the delegates have shown themselves less ready to make concessions than their leaders. In fact, in none of the great coal conflicts of this century, waged even before Mr. Cook was heard of, has a ballot ever resulted in a majority for the men voting to

return to work. "Nought doing," Mr. Smith's invariable phrase when confronted with a violation of the Seven-Hours-Day Act, represented not only the opinions of the Royal Commission, but the determined resolve of the miners themselves. "Not an inch of our territory, not a stone of our fortresses," was the "slogan" of the French Revolutionary Government which maintained in 1870 a resistance which some called insensate and some called heroic against the German invading hordes. The "slogan" had to be abandoned as the miners' slogan had to be abandoned owing to destruction of the forces maintaining it. But the wheels of God, though they grind slowly, grind exceeding small, and it was the maintenance of the memory of that defiant determination which, forty years afterwards, caused its amazing and triumphant fulfilment. Time and again, when actual negotiations were started, Mr. Cook showed himself willing to risk all his popularity, as for example over the Bishops' proposals, in abandonment of that "slogan" for a compromise, and time and again when the alternative proposals were rejected, he was compelled to fall back on the "slogan" again. I do not recollect any moment when the miners could have obtained "better terms" than they received at the end. The owners were quite implacable from the beginning, and the Government policy was compounded of a mixture of cowardice, ignorance and despair. But the very expression "obtaining better terms" indicates that the settlements now imposed are not fair ones, extorted by force and not by justice or necessity, and settlements extorted by force and not by justice cannot permanently endure.

Lastly, the official Labour Parliamentary Party have come dismally out of the contest. Their leaders weakly surrendered to a demand for a general strike, while at the same time they knew that a general strike must mean either revolution or complete and humiliating defeat. While they cursed the coal-miners and their leaders they were driven like chaff before the wind. Mr. MacDonald, while opposing it in private, burst forth in violent and truculent defence of it in public in lack of the courage and resolution deliberately to declare that this course was suicidal, impossible of success, and that the full burden of its miseries would fall on the rank and file of the working people. No general strike will ever be declared again. And no real assistance was given in the long miners' struggle afterwards. Four times the money that enabled them to continue their fight came from Moscow than came from within the boundaries of England. Class war has been intensified, no Conservative has a chance of being returned with a majority vote in any of the great industrial districts. Men and women will blindly vote Labour, less in desire for any Socialist Programme

than in general hatred of the actions and words of what is sometimes called the governing class. But unless Labour can throw up men with the courage to tell this great movement when it is wrong as well as when it is right, Labour, even if it attracts hordes of adventurers from the wealthier classes and "intelligentsia" from the middle classes, will never really rule in England.

Examination of the future would require an article at least as long as this diagnosis. There is hope in the material facts that we possess the best coal and the most easily worked coal in Europe; that scientific research is discovering ever more useful and valuable properties in this stored-up black gold of ancient forests; and so far from our coal being exhausted, almost every year exhibits the discovery of hundreds of square miles of richer seams and more easily workable seams in regions such as East Lincolnshire and the Vale of Neath, in which a few years ago men would have been laughed at who anticipated the result of these investigations. There is a moral hope also, especially exhibited by the astonishing self-restraint and lack of violence and sabotage, continued through nine months of passive resistance by men who saw all their little possessions disappearing and their families ravaged by privation and misery. If we can obtain a Government with knowledge as well as sympathy for the life of the working people, if our possessing classes can be persuaded to devote as much energy and effort to the advancement of the common good as to their own aggrandisement and their own pleasure, and if the whole problem can be approached anew without the clap-trap formulas which blear men's minds on the one side as on the other, England may yet be saved.

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plorable fact has emerged that Mr. Baldwin with his chirruping humour, his classical quotations, his magnanimity, his personal popularity and kindliness, has proved himself during these long weeks of wild warfare utterly inadequate to the position which through some freak of fate and fortune he at present occupies.

I have no space to enter into detailed examination of all this grotesque chaos which has passed from the challengeable world of politics into the unchallengeable world of history. But I can set out certain facts in order which have influenced many observers, in looking out at the process of change month by month and day by day, to rub their eyes and wonder if they were gazing into an asylum for the mentally deficient rather than the Government of a great Empire.

First, six months before July, 1925, the Government knew of the inevitable "slump" in the coal trade and the inevitable collision that would be caused by it. During these six months they did nothing, either to investigate themselves, or to appoint a committee to investigate, or to endeavour to bring the parties together, or to exercise the power of the State through legislation to alleviate a distress or to enforce a settlement.

Second, in July, 1925, the Trades Union Congress, under the threat of a general strike, demanded a subsidy to prevent reduction of wages, and Mr. Baldwin and his Government defiantly refused a demand which appeared like economic blackmail. Less than twenty-four hours afterwards Mr. Baldwin yielded to that blackmail, the Liberal Party alone protesting, and gave to the coal industry for nine months sums of public money amounting in the aggregate to some £23 millions.

Third, that subsidy was given promiscuously and at random; to poor mines as well as to rich, to mines which could make profits on the 1924 rate of wages as well as to mines nearly exhausted, so that a large proportion of it went into the pockets of owners who were already obtaining profits and had no material or moral right to any subsidy at all.

Fourth, immediately after giving the subsidy the Government departed for prolonged holidays in salubrious watering-places, indifferent to the fact that the nation was bleeding at the rate of £600,000 a week and that no solution for this disastrous depletion of national resources was forthcoming. It is as if our Liberal Cabinet in 1914, after the assassination of the Archduke at Sarajevo, had asserted that they were tired and wanted holidays and had dispersed to the uttermost corners of the earth. After some weeks had passed when every day was invaluable, the brilliant idea occurred to them to shovel their own responsibilities on to a Commission consisting of a distinguished politician, a

distinguished economist, and a distinguished man of business, none of whom had any knowledge of the coal trade. This Commission, though since chivalrously attacked by Mr. Churchill, worked day and night, visiting coalfields, tabulating statistics, and gathering together conclusions. There was nothing particularly novel in their recommendations, and indeed anyone with any knowledge of the Coal Mines Department and the information that Department can give would certainly have come to the same recommendations at any time during the past two years. Everyone assumed, however, that as the Government had handed over its functions to that Commission the Government would adopt the report without qualification.

Fifth: That Commission recommended, *inter alia*, first the acquisition of coal by the nation; second, refusal to extend the so-called seven-hours day, as being a perfectly disastrous policy; third, some twenty detailed suggestions concerning reorganisation, municipal selling of coal, statutory pit committees of men and employers, national instead of local agreements, compulsory provision for miners to become shareholders, family endowments (as in all the coal-mining industries of the Continent); and if all these things were assured, a limited reduction of wages until such provisions had made such reductions no longer necessary.

Sixth: A strong party in the Cabinet led by Mr. Churchill refused to accept the Committee's recommendations, and instead of embodying these in a Bill as Mr. Asquith embodied the minimum wages recommendations in an Act in face of the opposition of both coal-miners and coal-owners in 1912, the Government fell back on the miserable and cowardly statement that they would pass these measures only on the conditions that both mine-owners and miners agreed to them; secure in the knowledge that even if the miners agreed, the mine-owners had already announced their implacable opposition. Meantime they devoted their energies to countering the preparations for what has been called a general strike.

Seventh: Before the general strike Mr. Baldwin offered a continuance of the subsidy; and during the general strike and as a price of its abandonment adopted some of the essentials of the Samuel memorandum, which suggested also that the subsidy should be continued for some weeks of negotiation.

Eighth: The Government then introduced first a coal re-organisation Bill, whose milk-and-water provisions bore no kind of resemblance to the recommendations of the Samuel Commission; and without any consultation with the miners, and apparently with some still mysterious and uncertain negotiations with the mine-owners, suddenly rendered all peaceful negotiations im-

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THE position in Europe eight years after the peace shows reactionary features that can hardly be termed encouraging. The general prevailing "indifference" is profound. Yet even the indifference is symptomatic. It arises out of the conditions of uncertainty, taking the form of an all-round discredit. Only the dictator seems to inspire authority. Quite unmistakably Europe doubts because it does not believe in its own Peace. Here, of course, is the explanation of European "indifference." New Europe is a torso. In place of a political peace or settlement, the Versailles Treaty, which thought of everything except the one thing that mattered, i.e., money or trade, brought about the greatest financial catastrophe known in history, thereby throwing away nearly all the practical advantages of victory—certainly as far as we are concerned. Out of the financial bog that followed, three definite consequences have emerged, which to-day control the next stage. The first is that America has gone off with the swag (to put it vulgarly); the second is the immense stimulus thereby given to the idea of Bolshevism or opposition, as a solvent; the third is the controlling power of France who now occupies the position that she formerly held under Cardinal Richelieu. America naturally prefers to go on getting richer and to keep out of the Old World morass; Russia seeks to Bolshevise what is left; France aspires to hold tight to what she has got; meanwhile we pay the penalty in a declining export trade as the result of all three conditions.

Enthusiasm for the new Europe is thus a rare sentiment. When governments go bankrupt and whole sections of the community are "wiped out," optimism is not a word to be used lightly. People do what they can, in the circumstances. And such is the keynote of the situation. Politically, men speak merely of a "transitional" Europe; economically, they refer simply to the circumstances. And so, as a wise Frenchman put it to me: "there are no politics in Europe. There are only tendencies. It is the unreality of paper money." I was surprised to find him so advanced in general economics and still more so at his reply. He said: "We have all come on since 1918. The problem now is not peace, but how to make the economic war conditioned by peace profitable." In other words: "Did we only ruin the Central Powers at Versailles, or have we ruined ourselves as well?" For the moment European diplomacy is chiefly a matter of the exchange.

And now France herself is the problem. The logic of the Frenchman is upset. The situation is "illogical." That France, the victor, should be faced with the inflation problem that overwhelmed Germany "seems" preposterous, and, of course, it is so.

Clearly, someone "has blundered." All France recognises that to-day. Some ascribe it to England. I have seen French peasant women cover their faces with their hands when addressed by an English woman, and on inquiring the reason I was told that they "think the English are ruining the franc." Political economy is not a Gallic faculty. The peasant still believes in the stocking—and his own credit, and this is the national strength. But he is growing sceptical and uneasy. Everyone is. "Paper is not a synthetic that inspires respect. Yet, though the soul of France is troubled, the surface is unruffled. The foreigners settled and working in France run into millions; there are, or were until the recent speculative rise of the franc, only a couple of hundreds registered "out of work." The country hums. War nerves are convalescent. Labour is reasonably contented. There are no strikes—the unions have no funds. France is a debonair and prosperous country peculiarly impressive to the Briton who is the most heavily taxed man in the world. True, the wise Frenchman keeps his capital outside, but stabilisation has at last got "on his mind." Not that he views the money problem as we view the gold standard, but the rot has gone far enough, men say, and the expectation is that France will eventually stabilise at 150, perhaps at less, and emerge with virtually no war debt. So much is an accepted anticipation. Her chief difficulty in this respect is taxation which till the other day was negligible and even now is far below our standard. As for her foreign war-debts, that is another question.

On this problem feeling is bitter. The French consider it monstrous to expect France to pay back to wealthy, incredibly wealthy, nations money lent for a "general purpose," in which common cause or crusade France was by far the chief sufferer. The Frenchman is quite naïve about this matter. If he is at last willing to concede that Reparations was a hoax, he fails to understand why foreign debts should be a reality. To militarists the matter is pertinent, for it implies that war has to be paid for. Everywhere, one hears the words: "we cannot pay." When the Briton retorts, "but we pay," the Frenchman shrugs his shoulders. "We bore the brunt," he replies. "We have the frontiers to defend. We must hold what we have; we cannot pay as well"; in short, if you want words tell any Frenchman that he ought to honour the American debt.

Thus France is to-day facing the nemesis of the great Reparations Treaty which compels her to preside over Europe as a military power on paper credit which keeps on slipping from under her, and the awkward part of it is that the only debt that France is asked to pay back represents post-war loans, America having really let her off her actual war money. Instead, as she might and ought to.

have done, emerging an easy first out of the financial quagmire, she has indulged in paper prosperity, and is the last to face the facts; she may be said to have had a good run for her money. Now, with resources at an end, France views the situation with undisguised annoyance. She has been taught to think in "victory" finance. The new taxes are unpopular. It has come to this. Any and all French government to-day depends upon the franc. We may call it France's sanitation turn. Europe looks on with considerable perplexity, for France, as men say, "is Europe." We are approaching the penultimate stage of Peace finance—the stage that (historically) will matter. Meanwhile, the rest of Europe is seeking to "save" itself by returning to the trusty formula of the mailed fist. It is a disconcerting picture of progressive reaction.

The position of Fascist Italy is one of exultant power. No doubt Mussolini saved his country. He is unquestionably the greatest success of the post-war period, for not only is he the first of the Italians but he has given to Italy a new spirit which has begun to captivate half Europe. But force breeds force, and power which is not utilised is waste. The Italians have begun to think "imperially." They need a larger place in the sun. In Italy liberty of speech has gone. The Duce is a true tyrant (in the Roman sense). He dictates. He thinks in terms of the Mediterranean. His authority is three times that ever enjoyed by the ex-Kaiser. Italy prospers. But the resplendent Fascist youth who rule the country with rods are militarist in spirit, and so it is not surprising that a distinct tension exists between France and Italy, evidenced by frontier incidents and the kind of feeling that in pre-war days newspapers would have docketed as "interesting." Fortunately, the natural frontiers between France and Italy are formidable—too formidable for practical purposes. The French and Italian forts in the mountains peer out of the clouds and gape at one another across the valleys and chasms. One thinks of Hannibal and his elephants. "Not likely," say the peasants, and it is just as well.

Spain has followed suit and is also governed by soldiers. Force must be served, and so a claim is put forward for Tangier, which is the latest diplomatic imbroglio. Spain and Italy both represent militarist problems, the solution of which it would be vain to forecast. The Mediterranean has again become the "interesting" sea. The cause in both cases was internal, that should be clearly recognised. Mussolini arose out of chaos, like Buonaparte. Dictators always do. In politics only success matters, and in both Spain and Italy the dictatorship is successful. It has travelled into Greece. It is now the ruling spirit of the great Eastern Treaty "bulwark" represented by Poland.

There, too, the dictator has found lawful power. Pilsudski is

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another Mussolini: and he, too, of the people. Polish civilian governments could not contain the military elements, and fell successively. Poland remains the inscrutable problem of Central and Eastern Europe, linked as she is to France and created for the part of a fighting buffer. Nationalist feeling is febrile, constitutional government is weak. One surveys the Polish frontiers with an almost comic despair. How could they have been brought about by any serious body of men engaged on a Treaty of peace? But there they are. And Pilsudski is "a Vilna man," who would go far to placate the Lithuanians who demand "their" city, in which not 5 per cent. are Lithuanians. Vilna resembles an outpost of war, and since the Lithuanian agreement with Russia, Poland is unpleasantly excited. The Dantzig Corridor is another "curiosity" which only those who have been there can appreciate. The Poles ought to sell it back and with the proceeds sanitize their finance. Polish frontier difficulties are too abnormal to be submitted to the League—as yet. One dare not broach the subject. They tremble, so to speak, on the horizon of some future crisis. Yet Poland is deserving of all sympathy. She has accomplished wonders and unquestionably has justified her independence. Polish civilisation is real, and there is good reason why a Poland should be established, who would further peace rather than endanger it. Like most things, it is a question of beginnings. To-day, her position is one of Cerberus at the gates of the East, and so long as Russia continues in a condition of suspended eclipse, Poland will probably jog along, happy in her new union. But she also is now militarised; i.e., is ruled by the Army. When Pilsudski cracks his whip, the deputies skip. In such conditions one hesitates to think forward. The war to "end war," or rather the Peace which was to establish peace, has ended in a signal triumph for force, and as we look upon Europe and in particular, secondary Europe, this is its outstanding feature.

Only the defeated powers are "pacifist." The problem of Germany is how to recover her economic life, and she is recovering it. Austria is a decaying land which has no practical existence, and the grass is literally growing in the streets. Hungary is another torso inflamed with national sores, and stands at daggers-drawn with Rumania. The Balkans are still the Balkans. Only Switzerland remains unperturbed and imperturbable, as if to serve as an example. Turkey is sullen, aloof and militarist. Everywhere, the hum of aeroplanes reminds one of military activity, and men point upwards, commenting on the force of the future. It is quite droll to find in Germany people talking of a commercial era of peace. Yet Hindenburg presides there also. If the Germans cannot have power, they can maintain a tradition. The Great War name

suffices. "Yes," said a facetious German to me, "we alone are a nation of peace."

Such is the European situation even as we hear of the good work performed by the League and the excellent results of the secret conversations held from time to time by the Heads of Governments. One thinks of the old adage, the more things change the more they remain the same. Diplomatically speaking, post-war Europe is more complex and inflammatory than ever, and the historical "war points" literally dazzle the eye, unless one is prepared to take the view that the defeated nations are "down and out" for evermore. Any observant traveller in Europe to-day can hear and see the same things that he saw and heard before 1914; and in addition the old Free Trade advantages of Europe have been displaced by an artificial system of commercial barriers which enrage all and benefit none. Treaty Europe was designed for economic war, and the frontiers bristle with artificial difficulties. What the situation would be were Russia to return to the arena as a "white" power and demand her "Secret Treaty" prizes, one dare not imagine. Bolshevism has at least saved Europe from the Russian share of the map. As yet, the war has settled nothing, or as a discriminating French traveller put it: "The peace has so muddled Europe that perhaps things may settle themselves, like letters that go unanswered;" it may be that he is right. There are signs and there are tendencies. These tendencies are, I think, hopeful, and, on the whole, perhaps because there is so little cause for optimism, it may be useful to note them.

Men recognise in Europe three reasons militating against war: first, horror at its repetition; secondly, finance; thirdly, a sort of vague hope that somehow the League may prove to be a releasing instrument. Yet only the other day Greece was gravely contemplating an attack upon Turkey. In France one is told that the admission of Germany to the League denotes the re-birth of her power and danger, for now the League will be truly tested and will become the cockpit of diplomatic intrigue. None the less, the idea of the League has "caught on." Its machinery, in the absence of Russia and America, must obviously remain defective, tentative and provisional, yet even so it has a progressive momentum, and had such an instrument existed in 1914 it is quite conceivable that Colonel House's mission might have stayed the conflagration, which both sides feared, until more competent machinery had been set up to deal, for example, with the assassinations of princes—and their punishments. Generally speaking, people talk of the League timidly. It does not look like a male implement; the foreigner regards it somewhat in the light of a "court of honour" resorted to by the man who does not like duelling; and then—there is so little

behind it. It has no gun, no flag, no drum. Still, the idea is growing; Locarno probably saved the League from disaster, and Locarno is the new word. In spirit the peoples of Europe are decidedly more ready for a League policy than the League is ready to tackle its own problems.

Here one finds a muffled hope. There will be no war for twenty years, men say, and that "is good enough for us." Is that true? It may be. The question is not any immediate outbreak, but whether the next twenty years are to be times of preparation for war or preparation for peace; if the former, how Europe is to recover financially and attain to any prospect of stability under the existing map which necessarily demands vast expenditure upon weapons and munitions of defence. Incidentally this problem will eventually make or smash the League, and so people are looking at the League with some anxiety now that Germany has been elected a member. The problem of Europe is how to induce a co-operative spirit of peace on a map which represents the Secret Treaties of War. Is there a formula for such a Europe? Secondly, is there any accommodating machinery? No need to dwell upon the difficulties. There remains individual action, and here France may yet surprise the world, as she so often has done in the course of her stirring history.

France holds the key to any approach to a reign of Law, as opposed to the feudal anarchy of war, and there are signs that France has begun to consider certain "revalorisations" (the new term), inspired by the reflection that stabilisation is almost as important as the bayonet and that something reasonable might be accomplished in the way of a deal with Germany. Already, there is talk of selling back the Saar Valley. In this unexpected turn there unquestionably lies the gesture of a regenerating policy. Even reparations could become a modest reality and France could be supplied with money sufficient to stabilise without the "hated" indignity of going under Anglo-American financial control.

No one will dispute that if the Locarno spirit is to become anything more than an elegant phrase definite things will have to be done. To begin with, there must be trust if there is to be confidence; to attempt to build a new Europe by one armed system holding down another compulsorily disarmed system is simply force politics which will end in force, and very soon now we shall have to decide whether Locarno is really a policy or not. Which-ever way we turn we come back to the Treaty. Hitherto the cry has been "hands off" that sacred act, but in fact the Treaty lies broken—it went up in "blue smoke" over Reparations which has exposed its whole fallacy as a working proposition. Everybody knows this. All over Europe, and even in France, men talk about

it with open cynicism. It won't work, that is all, and what is actually proceeding under our very eyes is nothing less than an international economic entente of great business groupings in the form of Trusts which threaten to relegate professional diplomacy to the background, somewhat on the pattern of Mr. Clissold's scheme of control in the novel of H. G. Wells. In plain words, if diplomatic Europe can't function, the business brains of Europe will more and more come together to make it function with what may well be astonishing developments. This tendency, or republicanism of economics, recalls the old *Zollverein* Policy. It offers an unexpected way out of the European bog both financial and political, and if carried out with sincerity on both sides it might turn an almost hopeless situation into channels of progress and harmony.

France again holds the key. She has begun to consider the proposition of marketing her trophies. It attracts her because in this way she could secure a modest Reparation by making Germany buy back. Here is a policy, practically the only policy, that can modify the Treaty and pave the way for a Locarno spirit, for the considerations are eminently "practical," whereas the League can only touch sentiment. If France were to be released from her foreign debts, sentiment would automatically reassert itself and France would seek to consolidate the map, in which case the gold standard of Europe would be inevitably involved for some generations and peace would be an illusion. The more pressing is the need of France for "good money" the more likely she will be to sell out. For the topsy-turvy financial and economic position of Europe is essentially political in incidence, and is only adjustable politically. That is root. It must ultimately become the concern of the European business world, quite apart from the political aspects which for the nonce hardly matter. It is, as a fact, already their concern. These international trade agreements have displaced the action of diplomacy which at Geneva finds itself limited to and by its own covenant, and even the formula of what constitutes a "Great Power." But trade cannot wait for the interpretation of punctilios. Hence the impossible looks to-day almost possible, and it may be that big business will chop away some of the raw edges of the Treaty, thus setting an example which Belgium and Poland might emulate with great success, and possibly Mussolini, in his rôle of "shepherd" of the Balkans, might fall in line with. Practically, such is the issue of a stabilised franc.

The question before France is what is glibly called "security." But France is aware that she is not likely ever again to have so strong an Alliance to fight for her against her traditional foe as was the case in the Great War, consequently that her military

security must either be assured Europeanly or by her own strength. If the latter, then what is her safe military potential? Her decision will condition and direct the policies of all Europe, for if she chooses the Treaty map Locarno will merely be a word and the armed system of Alliances will continue as before the war. France thus has it in her power to open the door of a European mind or close it. And the question that arises out of the Treaty so far as Europe is concerned amounts simply to this: will France decide for the war or power system, or will she so act as to leave a Republican Germany *with no excuse* for not working genuinely for a European system of peace? Under the Treaty this latter condition will not be realised. If Europe is to win to League law, conditions of peace must first be established. The difficulties are in reality personal more than national; on both sides the peoples would welcome any adjustment calculated to promote a working understanding. It is quite certain that if Germany is to work sincerely as a League Covenantor, she must be deprived of real national grievances. The fascinating word, "revenge," must be given a sporting chance. As Marshal Foch said: "One wages war for results." One certainly makes peace for results, and this is the unfortunate position in which Europe finds itself, that it has to conduct peace as war. But the economic consequences of the peace are largely politically rectifiable, and such is the interesting realisation that the state of the franc has brought about in France.

Its concern to us is quite vital. Europe is 40 per cent. higher industrialised than before 1914, and we are faced with the unfair competition of paper money. It is perfectly obvious that failing a general system of mutual security the war system of hostile groupings will remain with us, in which case anything in the shape of disarmament will be a myth and the financial position of France will become jeopardised. The inducements, therefore, to think Europeanly are real, and economically are already specific. Europe is gradually recovering its power of judgment, the absence of which has been its chief characteristic since the days in the war when even credit ceased to be a reality. You can wage war on "paper" but not peace; and now peace is the problem and a return to real values and judgment is essential. Once more men can talk without the dismal tyranny of "propaganda." And so, despite the appearances and the cries, the existing tendencies are relatively hopeful. They are: first, a common public realisation of the problem; secondly, the initiative taken by international big business to correct the political mistakes of selfish nationalism; thirdly, the sheer economic pressure of events which has at last forced the controlling influence to consider sanitation; lastly, the huge cynical indifference with which the peoples of Europe regard all political manifestations such as Poland, armed to the teeth,

making an outcry over Königsberg. The ferocious martialism of secondary Europe is perhaps the chief difficulty of reconstruction. Tired and dumbfounded Europe is peculiarly ready for any experiment except that of another war. It is not too much to say that Europe has never, as a whole, felt so unanimously like that before. If politicians now cannot seize the opportunity to be a little wise, to try a few experiments, and to act co-operatively in the interests of that whole, it is not too little to say that they never will, in our time. And so once more one looks to France to make the noble gesture. Without a doubt the best help we can give her is to leave her alone to her own genius. If she decides to restore her finances with a deal, assuredly no sane person in this country will care a toothpick for any infraction so caused in the letter of the Treaty.

AUSTIN HARRISON.

THE IRISH FREE STATE IN 1926.

IT is now just five years since the nocturnal Treaty of December 6th, 1921 put an end to the seven-hundred-year-long attempt to administer Ireland in accordance with English ideas; five years, less a month or so, since responsibility for the peace, order and good government of that country was actually laid upon Irish shoulders. Five years are in the life of a nation but a very little space, and even in the life of a man, as descending the slope he looks back, brief as a waking dream. Yet for each they may be long enough to bring about such changes in material circumstance and mental or spiritual being as to force us to revise all our previous notions of one or the other. Nations, it is true, are not subject to sudden conversion; but neither are any but a few among the millions that compose them. It is not often that a St. Paul is blinded by sudden light, or that a St. Francis casts away his rich clothes and embraces the Lady Poverty. Such exceptions made, one might even reasonably argue that it is mass psychology which suffers the more frequent and more complete alteration. Certainly this seems true of the Ireland of to-day when compared with the Ireland of five years ago. To most of us the change of régime has made surprisingly small difference in the tenour of our lives. We sow and (weather permitting) we reap. We breed horses and ride them. We transact such business as comes our way. We speak, and sometimes listen, to one another. We grumble at the taxes. We are occasionally aroused to take an interest in political issues, but usually prefer to think and talk (more especially to think) of anything else. In short, we behave as Irishmen—or rather as normal men—always have behaved and (it is to be supposed) always will behave. In every country the politician is constantly forgetting how fitful is the attention which most of his fellow-citizens can be got to lend to matters which seem to him, which perhaps are, of supreme importance.

Nevertheless—by some paradox which I have not skill to explain—while son resembles father and everywhere under the sun in our modern world “Smith grows liker every day to Jones,” as someone sang in the Oxford Magazine when I was young—nations seem to change though the individual remains constant. Or is it that national character remains constant though individuals seem to change? Frankly, I cannot tell. Something certainly has changed. Five years ago in no assembly of Irish men (still less of women) could one avoid fierce debate on the wickedness of England or, alternatively, of Sinn Féin Ireland. Even three years ago we were arguing hotly whether Mr. de Valera’s “document number two” was, or was not, substantially identical with the Treaty agreement, and whether the oath of allegiance and the presence of a Governor-

General were, or were not, badges of slavery. To-day, our Finance Minister, having just completed an electoral tour of Connaught, is able to say that at none of his many meetings was he asked a single question about these or similar matters; while the burthen of his own speeches and of those of his companion, the Minister for Agriculture, might be summed up in the old refrain: "Butter and Eggs and a Pound of Cheese."

* I had written this much when it occurred to me to ask a friend, who has exceptional opportunities of knowing and understanding the course of development and the trend of opinion in Ireland, if he would be good enough to indicate what events or developments of the past twelve months appeared to him most noteworthy and significant. His reply curiously confirms my own independent judgment dealing, as it does, almost exclusively with economic questions.

The Bills introduced by the Government in what may perhaps prove to be the last session of the present Chamber, support the same conclusion. Apart from the Public Safety (Emergency Powers) Act, political legislation is represented only by four short measures designed respectively to secure the Speaker an unopposed return, to extend the maximum life of future chambers to five years, to abolish the public holiday now required on the day of a general election, and to permit twelve ministers, instead of seven, to be appointed to the Executive Council. It may be assumed, though this is not explicitly stated, that "extern" ministries are to disappear. These ministries were among the more interesting experiments of the Constitution. Their occupants were intended to be chosen by the Chamber itself on the recommendation of a committee representative of all parties, to answer directly to the Chamber for the working of their departments, to be exempt from responsibility for the actions of the Executive Council, and to continue in office during the life of Parliament, even though the Government of which they originally formed part should be dismissed or resign. Ultimately it was hoped to create vocational councils, representative of agriculture, fisheries and other industries; and to give to each of these a voice in the selection of its own departmental minister. To-day people are more concerned about the smooth working of the administrative machine and less with ingenious attempts to improve it. Moreover, the practical disadvantages of this particular plan have certainly been brought home to the Government of the day. For one of the extern ministers is an ardent protectionist, and has recently made speeches up and down the country which can be very little to the taste of some of his colleagues; and his activities, while authorised by the letter of the Constitution, must be embarrassing to a Government already beset by demands from more directly interested quarters.

The issue of Free Trade *versus* Protection seems, indeed, likely to be very prominent in the near future, though as yet few people have devoted to it any hard thinking. The farmers—so far as one can judge of people generally silent and unorganised—are hostile to any further protectionist ventures; and this with reason, since they buy their farm machinery, feeding-stuffs and other raw material in Ireland and sell most of their surplus produce not in the home market, but in Great Britain. Food taxes, even if politically possible could be of little value to a community that exports the greater part of its farm produce. Where the Labour Party stands is not clear; nor have townspeople generally given any indication of their wishes. But nearly all the small manufacturers are clamouring for the protection, each of his own industry. As a buffer between itself and these the Government has just set up a Tariff Commission, composed of three civil servants, to which all future applications "for the imposition, abolition or renewal of a Customs duty" are to be sent for consideration and report. For the purpose of its work The Commission is authorised to enforce the attendance of witnesses and examine them upon oath, and to compel the production of documents; and witnesses are entitled to the same immunities and privileges as witnesses before the High Court. When reporting on each application the Commissioners are required to have regard, *inter alia*, to "the efficiency, extent and relative importance of the industry in respect of which application is made"; to "the cost, efficiency and conditions of labour and rates of wages" in such industry as compared with similar conditions in other countries; to the effect which the granting of the application might have on other trades and industries, on consumers, and on the public revenues; and to "the prospects, if any," which the industry has "of establishing itself eventually on a permanent basis without the continued aid of a Customs duty or with the modification of such duty after a period." The duties now levied on manufactured tobacco, furniture, boots and other articles of clothing have undoubtedly led to the building of some new factories, and consequently to increased employment for urban workers; and have not, it is said, brought about any appreciable rise in retail prices. But import duties are notoriously easy to impose and hard to remove; and the Government does wisely in declining to go further in this direction without much more consideration of all aspects of a tangled problem. All the more will such consideration be necessary if, as some hope, new industries are to spring up, whether financed by Irish or foreign capital, as a result of the Shannon Electricity Scheme.

That scheme is now well under way; and the huge initial task of excavating six million cubic metres of earth and one million tons

of rock is proceeding well up to scheduled time and (it is believed) to the satisfaction of all concerned. Not for the first time the Irish labourer is showing that under skilled direction he is a willing and excellent workman. Many years must of course pass before we can speak of success or failure, success or failure which must finally be judged by the capacity to supply cheap and efficient power to field and workshop. Meanwhile there is hot debate whether the distribution of power shall be undertaken by the State, or handed over to private enterprise. In this as in other matters our Ministers seem prudently ready to study the experience of other countries. We are not too proud—and that also is a new thing—to learn from the foreigner. There are German engineers on the Shannon, Belgian and Czecho-Slovakian beet-growers at Carlow, French street-cleaners in Dublin, and English meat-packers at Waterford; not to speak (for it is an old story) of Mr. Ford's American-run factory at Cork, of the presence of Swiss and Swedish experts on the Committee now overhauling Technical Education, or of the assistance given to the Banking Commission by other distinguished strangers.

Altogether it will be seen that if future Larry Doyles can find nothing to occupy them in Ireland but "dreaming, dreaming, dreaming," it will not be the fault of our present rulers. But, after all and for many a day yet, we are and are likely to remain primarily an agricultural community. The trade returns of the Department of Industry and Commerce show that of exports from the Free State during the nine months January to September, 1926, valued in round figures at £28½ millions, all but an almost negligible fraction consisted of, or were ultimately derived from, the produce of our farms. Livestock alone accounts for close on twelve million pounds, bacon for something more than two, butter for nearly three, eggs for two and a half, beer and spirits (partly the product of home-grown grain) for nearly four. Whatever the future may bring, we cannot afford to neglect our countryside, as England has so long neglected hers; and we have in Mr. Hogan, the Minister for Agriculture, a man whose heart is in his job. New regulations made under the Dairy Produce Act are expected to keep Irish butter at a high general level, as similar regulations have already helped to restore the good name of the Irish egg. Continued subsidies to the Irish Organisation Society enable that admirable body to continue its propagandist work among the associated farmers.

These facts are pretty well known. What is perhaps less generally understood in either country is the place occupied by Ireland—and especially by agricultural Ireland—as a customer in British markets. Of net imports into the Free State, estimated

during the last financial year, at £61,000,000, no less than 81 per cent. came from Great Britain and Northern Ireland; while of exports, similarly valued at £43,000,000, 97 per cent. was dispatched to Great Britain. Imports other than British consisted almost entirely of commodities which Great Britain either does not produce at all or produces in quantities insufficient for her own needs, feeding stuffs, fertilisers, timber, wood-pulp and paper, wines, fruit and sugar. The provision of hydro-electric power will, it is hoped, after some years abolish our present dependence on English-hewn coal—a dependence which was demonstrated on many fireless hearths during the last weeks of the coal strike—and, incidentally, help to redress the adverse balance of trade; but nothing one can foresee is likely to upset the predominance of agriculture in Irish economic life, or to weaken appreciably the economic links between the two islands. Anything that impoverishes the one is bound, in a greater or less degree, to impoverish the other. No doubt it is the smaller of the two which suffers most, and most immediately, from any grave misfortune of the neighbouring State. But even England, with her far-flung commerce and alternative sources of supply, cannot be wholly indifferent how Ireland fares.

It may, therefore, be of interest to set out the financial position of the Free State, as it appears in recently published official returns. During the financial year, 1925-1926, total receipts, after deducting the balance in the Exchequer on April 1st, 1925, amounted in round figures to £26½ millions; total issues (with corresponding deduction in April, 1926) to £28 millions. On the revenue side the most considerable items are: Customs, £6,958,000; Excise, £6,336,000; Estate Duties, £1,022,000; Property and Income Tax, £5,667,000. On the expenditure side we find the Army costing £2½ millions; Primary Education, £3½ millions; Old Age Pensions, £2½ millions; Property Losses and Superannuation and Retired Allowances each £1¼ millions. The two last-named charges call for special notice, as they are due, respectively, to the disturbances which followed the Treaty and to the terms of the Treaty itself. Happily each constitutes a diminishing charge, though relief under the second head must necessarily be slow in making itself felt. Nearly £800,000 was found during the year for the Road Fund, £600,000 for the Shannon works, about £500,000 for repayment of debt and considerable sums for Housing in town and country. So far then as one unskilled in finance can judge, the budget appears not unsatisfactory, regard being had to items of capital and terminable expenditure, and to the peculiar conditions in which the work of self-government had to be undertaken at the outset. Moreover, thanks in part to the

THE GREEK MINORITY IN CONSTANTINOPLE.

THE question of the Greek Minority in Constantinople has recently attracted the attention of the International Federation of League of Nations Associations both at the Aberystwyth Plenary Congress (in July) and at the Salzburg meeting of the Council (in October) where Sir Willoughby Dickinson read an exhaustive report on the subject. The interest of the Federation and of the public at large is easy to understand. Constantinople is the See of the Patriarchate, the supreme spiritual authority of the Orthodox Church, to the fortunes of which no Christian, and certainly no Protestant, can remain indifferent. Moreover, in connection with the efforts of Turkey to compel the minorities to renounce their rights, a question has arisen which concerns almost all the nations of Continental Europe. Can a minority renounce the rights conferred upon it by the Treaties? Finally, and above all, the pressure on minorities assumes in Constantinople a particularly grave and cruel form; for whereas elsewhere the method pursued is confined to a policy of *assimilation*, here it is one of *extermination*.

I would like to summarise these three aspects of the question.

I.

Thanks to a large extent to the efforts of Great Britain, the Patriarchate, though deprived of its privileges dating back to the time of Mahomet the Conqueror, has been saved as a religious institution. By applying in this case a principle which is characteristic of their policy the Turks have not openly violated the clauses relating to the Patriarchate, but have made such arrangements as to render life extremely difficult for the supreme Head of the Orthodox Church and to lessen his prestige. It would be superfluous to remind the English public, which was vividly affected at the time, how at the beginning of 1925 His Holiness Constantine V, though elected in strict accordance with Canon Law, saw the validity of his election contested, and was even expelled from Constantinople.

The Christian resignation of this prelate, who preferred to abdicate rather than to provoke an international conflict, was misinterpreted by Moslems as a capitulation. An ex-priest of the name of Papa Efthyme, at the head of a small gang of roughs, invaded the Patriarchate and committed several acts of violence. He then forcibly occupied churches, and has since missed no opportunity of creating "incidents." The Turkish authorities have repudiated all connection with these acts, but their share therein is evident from the fact that they have not repressed them, and that they

have given Papa Efthyme a house and a flat taken from confiscated Greek property.

Apart from this, other so-called legal measures are being multiplied. Thus, the Head of the Church is summoned to appear before the Court on a Sunday. Further, the Patriarch and the Holy Synod are at present being prosecuted for having held a meeting at the Seminary on the Island of Halki, whereas, according to the Turks, they had no right to hold meetings outside Constantinople. In order to appreciate what this charge is worth, it must be remembered that the Princes' Islands are part of Constantinople as much as Wimbledon or Hampstead are part of London. The pretext therefore is both ridiculous and impudent. But it is equally obvious that being dragged on every opportunity before the Courts does not enhance the prestige of the Patriarch and the Holy Synod. Those however who expect that as a result of these humiliations the Orthodox Church will one day decide to transfer its Seat elsewhere, can be little conversant with its history.

II.

The Turks have been able to bring about the renunciation by the Armenian and Jewish Minorities of the privileges conferred upon them by the Lausanne Treaty, on the pretext that the privileges relating to personal law had no purpose after the adoption by Turkey of the Swiss Civil Code. At the Salzburg Congress a distinguished Swiss, Professor Bovet, declared that no one in Switzerland could understand why Turkey should have adopted the Civil Code of a country whose traditions, history and customs were so profoundly different from its own; as no one could guess that it would be used as a screen behind which the guarantees laid down at Lausanne would be strangled.

The small remnant of the Armenian nation, formerly so numerous and rich, was so astonished at having survived the massacres that the desired renunciation was doubtless obtained without much difficulty. Greater astonishment has been created by the capitulation of Jews, a race which in other lands raises violent protests against any encroachment upon its law: for instance, in many countries that against compulsory Sunday rest, and recently in Norway against the Bill prohibiting, for humanitarian reasons, the slaughtering of animals according to the rite of Moses. One should not forget, however, that a violent anti-semitic campaign is being conducted in the Turkish Parliament and Press. In the course of the last budget debate, Mehmed Vasfi Bey delivered a speech to the effect that the Jews constitute a danger to the Turkish national economic life; and one of his colleagues, Bessim Atalai Bey, speaking in the same spirit, concluded by proposing certain measures to be taken immediately: "We must," he said,

general spirit in which England met us in the affair of the ill-fated Boundary Commission, our Public Debt is extraordinarily small, amounting to no more than £13 millions, something less than half the total of our annual public income.

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the burthen of taxation—which, apart from the special import duties already mentioned, is substantially similar in rate and incidence to that of Great Britain—is sorely felt; for trade has been bad, and tillage and livestock alike have been unremunerative. But, as always, it is much easier to grumble than to find a remedy. None of the chief items of public expenditure can readily be reduced, unless it be that relating to the Army. This moves the particular wrath of the three sections into which Republican faction is now divided, to each of whom it is enough to reply *que messieurs les assassins commencent*. Until all reasonable fear of civil disturbance has ceased, until such murderous, if futile, incidents as the recent attacks upon police barracks have become by general consent impossible, expenditure on the Army represents an expensive but essential insurance of social and political stability; for the Civic Guard, unlike the R.I.C., is an unarmed force.

To turn for a moment to politics in the narrower sense of the term. President Cosgrave's Government holds its own, if only—though there are other and better reasons—because no alternative is yet in sight. Neither the Farmers' Union nor the Labour Party is, or seems likely just yet to grow, strong enough. The little group of High Protectionists in the Dáil has covered itself with ridicule; while Captain Redmond and Mr. Thomas O'Donnell do not as yet seem to be attracting many recruits for the new party inaugurated some months ago at Waterford. This last fact I cannot help regretting as much on public as on personal grounds; for these might well be a great future for an organisation which, while thoroughly loyal to the existing order, would not be associated in our memories with certain events of which the recently published life of Michael Collins is a not altogether agreeable reminder.

Yet, on the whole, I fancy most of us—whether ex-Unionists or old Constitutional Nationalists—feel that for some years to come our chief need will be rather a strong executive than a formidable opposition; and that, lacking any well-defined alternative party and policy, we shall best serve our country by continuing to vote for the existing Government.

Moreover, the declarations of the Imperial Conference, while perhaps adding nothing to the powers of the Dominions, have for the first time revealed quite clearly to ordinary people what these powers are, and have, in our own special instance, splendidly vindicated the wisdom of those who supported the Treaty arrangements of 1921. The least consequence is that Mr. de Valera must now

find it more than ever difficult to convince anyone that his particular brand of "external association" with the British Commonwealth has anything to recommend it as against the frank acceptance of Dominion status; for Mr. de Valera has long ceased to count as a serious force in Irish public affairs. Far more important is it that the success of the Conference, following upon the stand of Free State delegates at Geneva on behalf of the smaller peoples of Europe, has at last brought Irishmen to realise that their country has now a recognised and a proud place among the nations.

It is, I am inclined to think, just because that place is at last recognised that we feel we can afford, as never before, to tell some of the less pleasant truths about ourselves. This, at any rate, would seem to be the feeling of our younger writers. Mr. Joyce, Mr. O'Casey and Mr. Liam O'Flaherty continue to depict for us the life of our underworld with an undisguised brutality that makes the grim humour of Synge appear urbane and even flattering. Yet *The Plough and the Stars*, with its curious sidelights on the Rising of 1916, has probably angered fewer people than did, only a few years ago, *The Playboy of the Western World*. Some noisy protests there have been, indeed, against the later play as against the earlier; but the courage of the Abbey Theatre directors has never failed. Just a year ago the Irish National Theatre celebrated its twenty-first birthday amid tributes of goodwill from men and women of the most diverse political creeds, having shortly before secured what even the name of Shakespeare cannot obtain for British drama, State recognition and support.

If to this success Lady Gregory and Mr. W. B. Yeats could add another, for which also they have laboured, the restoration to Ireland of the Lane pictures now in London, a small but not unimportant satisfaction would be given to Irish national sentiment. About Hugh Lane's intentions there is really no doubt whatever; and there is (I am told) reason to believe that these pictures, with those still in the Harcourt Street Gallery, would now be housed in a manner consonant with the testator's expressed wish and so as to add to the shorn glories of Dublin architecture. How far we are entitled to the reflected glory of our illustrious exiles is always a nice question; but we cannot but feel proud that Mr. Shaw should now have succeeded Mr. Yeats as a recipient of the Nobel prize for Literature.

All things considered, retrospect over the past twelve months gives good hope for the future. And if, for the moment, politics has a smaller share in our thoughts—well, perhaps in the past the share was abnormally large, though, indeed, much of our former activity was concerned ultimately with economics. We are much what we always were. But now we have something better to do than bite thumbs at our neighbours.

HUGH A. LAW.

"nationalise the stock exchange. There exists a Jewish peril in the country. If we fail to adopt, from this very moment, a distinctly anti-Jewish policy, we shall be placed in a position akin to that of the Hungarians. The Government itself must deal with questions relating to foreign exchange." It is evident that if the measures proposed by Bessim Bey were adopted, the Jewish community, already so enfeebled by the decline of Constantinople, would be ruined. And one can easily realise why the Jews have tried to avert the storm by sacrificing their privileges.

Encouraged by this double victory, the Kemalist authorities have turned against the Greeks, and as neither the Patriarchate nor the heads of the Community would bow to their demands, they conceived the idea of calling an *ad hoc* assembly elected after the methods of the Young Turks. The delegates met in the presence of the police, who exacted from the so-called deputies a signed declaration to the effect that they renounced their privileges. Even in such an assembly, however, appointed rather than elected, resistance broke out, and finally the desired vote of renunciation was obtained only after the imprisonment of the delegates from Pera and Galata, the two principal Greek quarters of Constantinople.

These incidents provoked great indignation in circles interested in the principles and work of the League of Nations. The provisions relating to minorities have been laid down by the treaties that followed the Great War, not only for humanitarian reasons, but also for the purpose of preventing future wars by creating a tolerable life for minorities. The said treaties and especially the Lausanne Treaty (Art. 44) state that "these stipulations are of international interest and may not be modified without the consent of the majority of the League of Nations Council." It is, besides, evident that if it were possible to suppress these guarantees by means of a simple declaration from the parties interested, the latter would be exposed to systematic pressure which would lead in its turn to persecutions liable to endanger peace, the maintenance of which is the primary aim of the League of Nations. Upon a report submitted by Professor van Overbeke, the Aberystwyth Congress voted unanimously the following resolution: "Any renunciation of the rights of minorities is invalid. Any Governmental action direct or indirect intended to secure such renunciation of rights is contrary to the established international order and to the essential duties of States." At the Salzburg meeting it was officially announced that this resolution had been communicated to Geneva and that the competent section of the Secretariate had stated that the resolution was in absolute harmony with the Covenant.

Meanwhile, Turkey considers the renunciation of the privileges on the part of the minorities as definitely obtained, and it is to be expected that, in some form or other, the question will soon come up before the League of Nations.

III.

I have just said that the aim of Turkey is the annihilation of the Greek community in Constantinople. With this object in view, she is firstly preventing several tens of thousands of Constantinople Greeks from returning to their homes. It must be explained here that in the autumn of 1922 nearly 50,000 Greeks, terrorised by the news of the burning of Smyrna and other atrocities as well as by the approaching Turkish army, abandoned their homes in great haste, without having had time—as was only natural—to procure passports. This neglect, fully justified under the circumstances, might at most have exposed them to a fine or some other light penalty. Turkey has taken advantage of this omission to refuse the right of return to these unfortunate people. This prohibition, contrary to two formal articles of the Treaty of Lausanne (Art. 16 of the exchange agreement and the article proclaiming the amnesty), is being applied with extreme severity, and the very few Greeks who had succeeded in obtaining the visas of Turkish Consuls abroad have been expelled immediately upon their landing. What is worse, all the property of these 50,000, even that for which the owners had left legally appointed proxies, has been seized as abandoned property. Already in the course of the war (September, 1915) the Turks had issued a law treating in a similar way the property of the Christians deported to Asia Minor. This law, abolished at the request of the Allies in 1919, was revived. The movable property has been sold at ridiculously low prices, while the real property has been sequestered.

A further step was made by an Act dated 15th April, 1925, turning the seized property into State property. It only remained to deprive the owners even of the hope of ever recovering their possessions. A law issued on 13th March, 1924, states that this "would be ceded in full ownership to the Turks whose real property had been destroyed or demolished by the enemy or the revolutionaries or by the Government itself for reasons of necessity." Thus, as Professor Aulard recently remarked, it would be enough for a Turk to have had his house destroyed by the Turkish military authorities to be entitled to a Greek house. The object of these spoliations is clear. The Turks desire that when the day comes for them to apply the treaties and to reopen their gates to these 50,000 Constantinople Greeks, the latter should have no inducement whatsoever to return to their native city.

Far, however, from contemplating the possibility of the return

of these emigrants, the Turks are at present endeavouring to expatriate the 200,000 Greeks who have remained. This is no easy task, seeing that equality of civil and political rights of these people is guaranteed by Articles 38-44 of the Lausanne Treaty which ensure them full freedom of religion and education, free use of their language, freedom of movement, and admission to public employments, as well as free exercise of professions and business in general. Further, in order to afford them still fuller guarantees Article 37 stipulates: "Turkey undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 38 to 44 shall be recognised as fundamental laws, and that no law, no regulation, nor official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation, nor official action prevail over them." Only one thing has been forgotten: to guarantee the execution of these guarantees.

The Treaty provides (Article 38) for *religious freedom*, but what I have already said about Papa Efthyme and the Patriarchate is enough to show how this freedom is being conceived. What has been said regarding the arbitrary arrest of the Greek delegates who refused to sign the renunciation of the rights of the minorities is in its turn a proof of how *individual freedom*, as guaranteed by Article 38, is applied. Nor has this been the only case of arbitrary arrest. Concerning *Freedom of Education* (Article 38) one may recall that the premises of the *Philologicos Syllogos*, the great literary association so highly esteemed abroad, have been sequestered and its rich library transferred to Angora, where there are not ten persons able to read Greek. Three of the principal schools of Constantinople have been closed on the most idle pretexts.* In the schools still tolerated the Turks have imposed an excessive number of hours for the teaching of the Turkish language. Moreover, the Government has arbitrarily assumed the right to appoint Turkish professors and to fix their salaries. It has fixed them at extravagant rates, and whenever the schools are unable to pay them they are temporarily closed. Needless to add that although the Greeks pay the education tax, their schools, notwithstanding the stipulations of Article 40, do not receive a single penny.

The Lausanne Treaty also stipulates *perfect equality from the point of view of civil and political rights and the practice of professions*. (Art. 39.) Up to the present moment, however, the Greeks are, on various pretexts, neither electors nor eligible, and have been excluded both from public administration and from Government-controlled companies. Thus, of 500 Greeks employed by the Tobacco Regie only a handful of indispensable officers

* The Zappion, because it was ornamented with Statues of the Muses and great men of antiquity; the School of Languages and Commerce, because technical education has become a State monopoly; the Lyceum Apostolides, because it was subsidised by the French Government.

remain. The electric light and tramway companies have had to dismiss their Greek personnel. Several banks and great trading companies have taken similar measures in consequence of official circulars. The Press is continuously attacking the wagon-lits company, which is still employing a few Armenians and Greeks. Even liberal professions have had to suffer. The Greek lawyers are not allowed to plead before the Supreme Court, and on the most fantastic pretexts two-thirds of them have been struck off the rolls. The other guarantees are, naturally, no better observed. I have not enough space to enter into details: nevertheless, I must mention that despite equality in regard to taxation (Art. 39) the Greeks are crushed under the burden of special taxes, and that notwithstanding the guarantee of freedom of movement (Art. 38) passports are in fact only issued to those who accept the proviso *Sans retour*, i.e., who condemn themselves to banishment.

Military service gives rise to still greater abuses. No one has forgotten the labour battalions (*amelé tabourou*) in which the Young Turks enrolled Greeks and Armenians during the Great War. These battalions served to exterminate by appalling hardships several hundreds of thousands of Christians. It has been the *White Death*, far more cruel than the *Red Death* to which Abdul Hamid had recourse. Incredible as it may seem, these battalions have not disappeared. They now number about 8,000 men recruited among the Greeks of Constantinople, the Armenians and the Jews. About 5,000 men are working at the construction of the Angora-Sivas and Sivas-Samsoun railways, the remainder being employed in road construction in the eastern vilayets, particularly in the Vilayet of Diarbekir. Life in these battalions is extremely hard, epidemics are frequent and mortality is high. But the aim of the Government is attained; the prospect alone of being enrolled in them drives the Christian youth from the country.

IV.

Seeing that the Lausanne Treaty concerns its other signatories as much as Greece, one might have expected that the question of the Christian minorities in Constantinople would have attracted the attention of the foreign Press. But in Western Europe the public mind is at present so concentrated on other topics that this has not been the case. The silence of the European independent Press has emboldened the extremists of Angora in their anti-Moslem policy. Only two-months ago Mr. Gentizon, a well-known Turcophile journalist, wrote in the *Temps* (October 21st) that the Jewish community, in order to prevent antisemitic measures, had to promise that "in ten years they would be completely turkified." And in the first week of November the Turkish Press announced that the Armenians had consented that their burial ceremonies

should take place in Turkish, which, by the way, means that the policy of assimilation is *extended to the dead*. Moreover, both Mr. Gentizon and the Turkish Press invite the Greeks to follow the example set them by the other minorities. This shows that a new attempt to oust the 200,000 Greeks left is to be expected. If this happens the situation will become critical.

There is not a Turk or a Greek, keeping his head cool, who can face placidly such a contingency. It is evident that among the neighbours of Turkey the Greeks are the only people whose interests are averse to upheavals which might incite the Soviets actively to resume the policy of the Tzars. But if Greece has nothing to gain from a reopening of the Eastern Question, Turkey has much to lose. But it is not enough to prevent a turn for the worse, we must strive after a turn for the better. At present Greece, as the recent electoral campaign has shown, is animated by a decidedly pacific spirit. But she is overwhelmed by the flood of 1,500,000 refugees whom the country is finding it most difficult to accommodate. A fresh arrival of immigrants would cause the cup to overflow. The presence of 50,000 Greeks of Constantinople is already a source of anxiety. On the other hand, everybody is naturally greatly shocked by the way in which the Patriarchate is treated.

All this creates an atmosphere of distrust liable to give rise, in the long run, to strained relations which, as already shown, it is in the interest of both countries, and probably of Turkey more than of Greece, to avoid. But if Turkey ceased to violate openly, or to twist by legislative artifices, Articles 37-40 of the Lausanne Treaty, the whole of Greece would tend to forget her past disappointments. I, for one, am satisfied that the Angora Government would not have persisted in their present policy had they not misinterpreted the silence of the European Press as a tacit tolerance of public opinion. Therefore the object of this article is not to embitter Greco-Turkish relations but rather to assist them to assume a friendly character.

A. ANDREADES.

INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT IN TRADE AND INDUSTRY.

NOT very long ago, Mr. Keynes on the occasion of a visit to Berlin delivered a lecture entitled "*The end of laissez-faire*." In his view the great change in world economics which has been particularly marked since the war consists in the abandonment of the principle of non-interference with industry and trade which governed the economic life of the past century. The truth of this view can scarcely be questioned. The war brought in every combatant country a large measure of State interference with economic life, and the post-war period has seen many kinds of experiments in industrial control. In almost all countries the part played by Governments in trade, industry and finance has very considerably increased, and often the staunchest supporters of the "*hands off industry*" movement are the loudest in clamouring for State interference when it takes the form of a protective tariff or a subsidy. Of late years too the growth of Cartels and Trusts, especially abroad, has been remarkable and, although in England the movement towards horizontal combination has—except in certain industries—been thwarted by what remains of the old conservative and individualist spirit, yet we have effectively broken with the traditions of the past by introducing under the guise of "*safeguarding of industries*" a very severe protective tariff.

The abandonment of the *laissez-faire* principle is in many ways to be regretted. It has given place to an orgy of unorganised interference with economic life both by States by means of subsidies, protection and semi-socialisation, and by private organisations through haphazard combination into Cartels and Rings. As pointed out in the manifesto recently published by leading business men all over the world, the breaking up as a result of the war of large political unities into smaller States, each desirous of marking its new-won independence by closing its frontiers to foreign goods through protective tariffs and import prohibitions, has had fatal effects on European trade and prosperity. While the disadvantage of this state of affairs is being more and more widely recognised, hitherto no country has been prepared to take the lead in tariff reduction, arguing that the attitude of its neighbours made this impossible. The situation as regards the reduction of hindrances to trade presents many analogies with the disarmament position. The attitude of mind which regards international trade as a sort of permanent state of war instead of the peaceful interchange of goods is widespread, and far from being confined to the Continent is perhaps particularly prevalent in those British industrial circles

which clamour for safeguarding. As in the case of military disarmament, each country protests its adherence to the principle of economic disarmament or reduction of tariffs, but prefers that such reduction should be carried out by its neighbours.

The system of individual Trade Treaties, while its results have not been negligible, has hitherto proved too haphazard to bring genuine relief to depressed international trade. A belief appears to be gaining ground that the only sound alternative to the principle of *laissez-faire* or free trade is systematic and if possible world-wide organisation. If trade is not allowed as water to find its own level universally—and given the general tendency of the present day, this seems out of the question—then by organised and considered agreement a method similar to the dams, channels, and pipe-lines of an extensive irrigation system must be devised, by which trade can flow where best advisable in the interests of the world as a whole. The gigantic scope of this task and the immense difficulties to be overcome are fully realised. The old system was comparatively simple and produced a state of equilibrium which brought great and increasing prosperity. But the old sturdy individualism which accompanied and rendered possible this system has almost disappeared. The individual employer has given place to the vast concern with world-wide ramifications whose leaders, employees of the shareholders, are in close touch with Governments. The machinery which makes extensive international negotiations possible is almost everywhere in being. Difficult though international agreement in trade and industry may be, it is essential in order to remove the chaotic obstacles to economic intercourse which have arisen since the war. It is of interest to examine the possibilities of arriving at such agreement and the methods which are being tried or suggested to this end.

The problems of international industry and trade have of late been studied with remarkable intensity in many different quarters. England, where in spite of everything the old individualistic spirit is still strongest, hopes for great things from a general reduction of tariff-barriers through the agency of such organisations as the International Chamber of Commerce. It is this hope which inspired the recent manifesto of bankers and business men mentioned above. The Germans, on the other hand, with their long experience of horizontal Cartel Organisation embracing all their most important industries, are inclined to seek universal salvation in an extension of this system to cover as many countries as possible. The European Steel Cartel, though by no means the first of such organisations, is by its extent and semi-official character probably the most important. The immediate object of the Cartel is to limit production and to restrict competition in foreign markets. Each quarter

the total marketable production is estimated and divided up among the participating countries according to their fixed participation quotas. Each country pays into a common fund a fine of \$4 per ton for each ton produced in excess of the permitted production, while for each ton by which a country's production falls short of the permitted amount it receives a compensation of \$2 subject to certain restrictions. An extremely suggestive feature of the agreement is the clause which dissolves the Cartel should Germany increase her tariff on raw steel, and which further permits any country to withdraw on account of inability to conclude a satisfactory Trade agreement with another participating country. The West-European Steel Cartel has thus been definitely connected with the tariff policy of the respective Governments. Further, an arrangement has been made whereby the German Steel Syndicate takes over a definite contingent of raw steel duty-free from the Lorraine iron works, thus in part restoring the pre-war course of trade between Lorraine and Germany. The respective Governments were kept informed of the whole course of negotiations for the Steel Cartel, which represents an integral part of the Franco-German trade treaty negotiations. The significance of these developments is considerable. A definite movement has been made towards systematic organisation and direction of trade. This has taken place with the full concurrence of the governments concerned who are modifying their tariff policies accordingly. It is a remarkable success for the German method.

In the discussions which have followed the formation of the International Steel Cartel, the advantages and disadvantages of the system have been closely examined. The Cartel may, it must be admitted, prove by no means an unmixed blessing, since it has a tendency to prevent the weeding-out of the inefficient producers by maintaining prices at a level which enables them still to make profits. But the experiment is one which is well worth watching. In many countries there are representative men who believe that the future of world trade lies in the direction of such agreements. In France, for example, M. Loucheur already talks of "the institution of the Economic United States of Europe" as a protection against American methods. This is to be achieved by "successive readjustments which will ultimately produce a new order of things," and M. Loucheur goes on to propose that agreements to be made between the key industries of the various countries should be registered with the League of Nations under the supervision of a "Supreme Council." The really interesting possibility is opened up of so moderating international competition, and guarding national interests by agreement, that the individual nations may be induced virtually to dispense with Customs barriers.

ITALIAN COLONIAL EXPANSION.

IN order to review the present colonial policy of Fascist Italy, it seems necessary to examine the circumstances which gave rise to that policy in the earlier days of Italian history; for only by this means is it possible to arrive at any definite conclusion in regard to Italy's potential energy and the possible future in store for her across the sea.

Italy's first attempt at colonial enterprise took place on the shores of the Red Sea in 1870, when a private Italian shipping company purchased from the local sultan, with funds advanced by the Italian Government, the Bay of Asab with a neighbouring island, situated forty miles from Perim and a hundred and fifty miles from Aden. This now forms part of the Italian colony of Eritrea.

Meanwhile, France, anxious to find some opening to compensate for her European losses as the result of the 1870 war, turned her attention to Tunisia as being a natural field for the extension of her Algerian possessions. For equally natural reasons Italy also had designs in the same direction. Besides the argument on the grounds of proximity, the Italian supported their claim to Tunisia by the fact that their settlers far outnumbered the French, that they had already developed communications and commerce between the two countries and had created a cultural influence among the people. In 1880 it was generally understood that the country was destined to come under Italian rule, but Italy failed to adopt a vigorous policy, and the French Government quickly seized an opportunity, created by the inroads of Tunisian tribesmen into Algerian territory, to settle the question to their own advantage. The French occupied Tunisia in 1881. The Treaty of Bardo, signed in 1882, was a great blow to Italian aspirations in Africa, and a strong feeling arose that Italy was being surrounded in the Mediterranean, of which she considered herself the central pivot. Her position at the time was far from satisfactory, and the urgent need of an alliance to relieve her isolated position led in the same year to the Triple Alliance with Germany and Austria. Hence, although Depretis, the Italian Premier, had signed a Treaty of Commerce with France and had declined the invitation of the British Government to co-operate in Egypt largely in order to please France, friendship between the two countries seemed no longer possible.

Having failed to satisfy national aspirations regarding Tunisia, Italy then turned her attention to the establishment of a second Italian settlement at Massawah, situated on the African coast immediately north of Abyssinia and, with the consent of Great Britain, then occupied with the Mahdist insurrection, effected

a landing in January, 1885. This enterprise on the part of Italy formed part of an elaborate scheme of African expansion. It was considered that British evacuation of the Sudan would leave the basins of the Atbara and Upper Nile open to any Power establishing a base on the coast of the Red sea, and the view was taken that penetration by way of Kassala and Khartoum would be unopposed by any European Power. It was further thought that this action would fit in with a second enterprise towards Tripoli and its hinterland either from the Mediterranean in the north or from the bases established in the advance from Massawah. By 1885 Tripoli was recognised as Italy's preserve.

The idea of an advance on Kassala and the Sudan was adopted and then allowed to drop, owing to lack of British co-operation on which the Italians relied and the dangers involved in an advance on Khartoum after the recent victories of the Mahdi. As Massawah was useless to Italy without a hinterland, the Italian Government, hesitating to advance southwards towards Abyssinia through fear of difficulties with France and Russia, approached the Negús with a view to friendly co-operation but without success. His attitude was distinctly hostile. Italy thus became involved in colonial difficulties and a feeling of discontent threatened the position of the Government in Rome. Signor Mancini, Minister of Foreign Affairs, resigned and was succeeded by Signor di Robilant, who did much to restore confidence by sending to Massawah an Italian general with instructions to grasp the first opportunity of establishing Italian sovereignty in the occupied territory. It is unnecessary to describe all the blunders which were made, and it is sufficient to relate that in January 1887 a force of Italian regulars together with some native troops were cut to pieces at Dogali after a display of conspicuous gallantry. The news of this defeat raised a storm of indignation in Italy, various Ministers had to resign, war was declared on Abyssinia and the Government was willy-nilly committed to a forward policy on the coast of the Red Sea.

When Francesco Crispi became Prime Minister in 1887, his greatest ambition was colonial expansion, and he entertained high hopes of carrying out the imposing scheme of creating an Italian "corridor" right through from Eritrea via the Southern Sudan to Tripoli. His whole foreign policy was based on his African ambitions, and he hoped by colonial enterprise to raise Italy's prestige, to increase her wealth, and to educate her people to a consciousness of colonial expansion. In this Crispi was the forerunner of Mussolini. He adopted the policy of enlisting the support of Menelik, King of Shoa, against his suzerain, the Negús John, whose death at the psychological moment enabled Menelik, with Italian help, to establish himself as King of Shoa and Tigre and as Negús Negasti or "King of Kings." In 1889 Menelik concluded with Italy the

The real point at issue is whether the system of international Cartels is essential as part of the reorganisation of European industry and the removal of barriers to trade. International Cartels are, it can be argued, in themselves barriers to trade, and were it possible to remove tariff barriers without any expansion of the Cartel system, it is possible that this would have the most satisfactory effect upon general prosperity. But the chances of such a general removal seem very small. The international manifesto of bankers and business men, while its importance should not be under-estimated, is, in the writer's opinion, not likely of itself to have much influence on the tariff policy of Governments. It is particularly noteworthy that, while in every country the leaders of trade and industry and even responsible ministers delight in making declarations in general terms on the necessity of reducing international barriers to trade, when the actual tariff rates for individual products come to be discussed reasons are almost invariably adduced why this or that rate should be increased. It is a truism that the good of the community is also the good of the individual, but the immediate good of the individual is rarely the good of the community. Consequently, while protestations against tariff barriers grow more numerous, tariff barriers themselves grow higher. In fact, as long as international competition is severe there seems little likelihood of a general reduction of tariffs.

The principle of dumping, employed with comparative success by Germany before the war, is very attractive. An industry represents to its Government that, if it can only have an assured home market, it can sell its goods more cheaply and thus compete more successfully against foreign nations. The Government with an eye on that ridiculous bogey of present-day economics—the balance of trade—as a rule gives in and imposes or increases the protective duty on that industry's products. There is thus little doubt that until the severity of international competition can be considerably modified, there is little chance of a general reduction or removal of trade barriers. We are driven to the conclusion that, in order to obtain important practical results, it will be necessary to combine international industrial agreements for the moderation of competition with removal of tariff barriers. Doubtless the economic theory of international trade, as laid down for instance by Bastable and Marshall, is sound. Each nation will in the long run profit if it elects to concentrate on the production of articles which it makes most cheaply and efficiently. But this desirable result cannot in present circumstances be obtained by means of free trade. The only chance of realising the ideal is by the slow and laborious process of international Treaty and private agreement. In such agreements Governments, industrialists and financiers must all

combine. Government interference with industry, whatever its disadvantages, has come to stay. The extensive international agreements of the future cannot be left to private enterprise alone. It will be the function of Governments to watch over the national interests and in particular those of the consumers on the one hand, and to embody the results arrived at in agreement between industries in their international tariff and treaty policies. This is the Socialism of the future. We may thus look to see a system of group trade treaties combined with industrial agreements substitute itself for the present method of most-favoured-nation agreements between two individual nations combined with unlimited competition.

The attitude of England with regard to these developments will shortly require serious consideration. Under the influence of Germany the type of industrial and trading agreements outlined above may develop swiftly in Europe and, as in the case of the European Steel Cartel, Great Britain's collaboration will be invited. In certain specialised industries, such as electric lamps, agreements with British participation are already in existence, and an agreement in the chemical industries may probably be looked for in the near future. The recent meeting between British and German industrialists may be taken as a sign that our industrial leaders are considering the possibilities. Last year the writer had occasion to sound the willingness on our side to arrange such a meeting, and found that the general consensus of opinion was that the time was not yet ripe. Opinion has changed since then. We are in fact being placed before the alternative of collaborating with Europe in the new policy or of maintaining a splendid industrial isolation. We should do well to face this, take our decision, and having taken it, set to work to carry it out. If we elect for collaboration there is much preliminary work to do, and we do not wish to miss our opportunity.

H. POWYS GREENWOOD.

Treaty of Ucciali, by which the frontiers dividing Abyssinia from the Italian colony were defined on lines which not only added considerably to the Italian possessions but actually paved the way for an Italian protectorate over the whole of Abyssinia.*

France, however, owing to her aspirations in Obok, and Russia on account of her religious influence over the Abyssinian Christians, resented Italy's designs on Abyssinia and put Menelik wise to the fact that he had practically given away his country to Italy. Hence the attitude of Menelik in repudiating certain articles of the Treaty and the subsequent war, which began in 1894 and ended with the Italian disaster of Adua and the recognition by Italy of the complete independence of Abyssinia. So also terminated the Treaty of Ucciali and any further thought of Italian expansion beyond the present frontiers of Eritrea. Meanwhile, at the suggestion of England, who viewed with disfavour French activity in the direction of Obok, the Italian colony of Somaliland, had been set up in accordance with various agreements with the local sultans, but henceforth Italy was confined to an Abyssinian policy in the south and a purely Mediterranean policy in the north.

In reviewing the Massawah enterprise, it must be fully realised that it was not undertaken as the result of a popular appreciation of the benefits, national and economic, of colonial expansion, but purely and solely to satisfy the national *amour propre* which had suffered over the French occupation of Tunis. Although the enterprise ended in *fiasco*, there is little doubt that this premature and unsuccessful effort had the effect of sowing the seeds of colonial consciousness, which is now developing so rapidly under the leadership of Mussolini. At the time of Crispi's rise to power Italy was suffering from a backward policy, which was a source of weakness to the national character. Massawah was, indeed, a hazardous venture for a nation so youthful as Italy was in 1885, but by his policy of action Crispi lit the spark which has now burst into flame and, though his attempts at colonial expansion were undertaken before united Italy was sufficiently mature, it is now consoling to realise that the gallant Italian lives lost at Dogali and Adua were not given in vain.

The Italian occupation in 1912 of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, now known as Libia Italiana, was also the result of a feeling of national patriotism, this time roused by Austria's annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the forcible speeches of Gabriele d'Annunzio, which later gave rise to the formation of the Nationalist Party.

In order to follow the sequence of events in the development of Italy's colonial policy, it is now necessary to examine the position at the outbreak of the Great War. The first step towards Italy's

* Article XVII of the Treaty of Ucciali provided that the Negus should make use of Italy as an intermediary in his dealings with other European Powers.

break with the Triple Alliance was Austria's violation of Article VII of the Treaty in presenting an ultimatum to Serbia without communicating her intentions to Italy. Here again the Italians were being put in the background, and the fear of further isolation eventually drove them into the Allied camp, where under the Treaty of London provision was made for the maintenance of the balance of power in the Mediterranean by making Italy co-heir with France and Great Britain in the event of the breaking up of the Turkish Empire, or in the event of the Empire being maintained and spheres of influence being assigned to the Powers. Italy's share was roughly defined as "a just share in the Mediterranean region adjacent to the province of Adalia."* Provision was also made in Article XIII that "in the event of France and Great Britain increasing their colonial territories in Africa at the expense of Germany, Italy might claim some equitable compensation, particularly as regards the settlement in her favour of the questions relative to the frontiers of the Italian colonies of Eritrea, Somaliland and Lybia, and the neighbouring colonies belonging to France and Great Britain." Colonial expansion was, therefore, an important feature of Italy's war aims and, as already stated, her first move in the direction of war was actuated by Austria's ignoring her existence in presenting an ultimatum to Serbia.

In reviewing these various attempts at colonial expansion one cannot help being struck by the analogy between the circumstances in which they were undertaken. In every case the national sentiment, which stimulated the desire for action, was the direct result of injured pride and a sense of being "left out in the cold." It is difficult to find any solid policy, based on reasoning and sound judgment, permeating the minds of the Italian people during this series of events. The Italians are an emotional people, whose actions are inclined to be guided by the impulse of the moment and by the influence of strong leaders. When the national spirit is fully roused, imagination adds fuel to the fire and there are few limits to the capacity of the people for action. Fortunately, Italy has produced men of the highest qualities as leaders for the Italian people in times of crisis. Cavour, Garibaldi, Crispi and Mussolini are outstanding figures in world history, who with an intimate knowledge of the Italian temperament and how best to develop that temperament into power, when occasion arises, have now succeeded in raising Italy from a demoralising lethargy to a high sense of ambition in world affairs. But Italy's progress has consisted of a series of spasmodic advances with numerous set-backs, and her achievements have been lacking in the necessary degree of permanence.

* This claim was also recognised in the Treaty of St. Jean de Maurienne. VOL. CXXXI.

The next step in the evolution of Italy's present political character is to be found at the Armistice of 1918, when she emerged triumphant from a struggle which taxed to the utmost her limited resources. It must, I think, be admitted that the spectacular feature of the Great War was the crumpling up of the Austro-Hungarian army on the Piave, which brought to a dramatic end a war of great difficulty for Italy and had an important and natural effect on the temperament of the Italian people. It was firmly believed that the Italian victory was chiefly responsible for the *débâcle* of the German Great General Staff, and Signor Orlando publicly declared that it was without parallel except, perhaps, in the pages of ancient Roman history. No sooner had hostilities ceased than a strong nationalist propaganda was let loose, and in this frame of mind the Italians began to consider their claims. The Italian nationalist claims, as far as colonies were concerned, amounted to the possession of the Dodecanese, Rhodes, and Smyrna, and the territory of Anatolia between the latter port and Alexandretta. In Northern Africa frontier rectifications were claimed in Cyrenaica and Tripoli, while in East Africa the port of Jibouti, or at any rate a part of French Somaliland, was claimed from France. Of these the only important territory destined to Italy by inter-allied agreement was the hinterland of Adalia in Asia Minor, to which Italy attached great importance, and this claim has never been realised.

The present Italian policy of colonial expansion, which has a very direct bearing on relationships between Italy and the other Powers, is somewhat shrouded in mystery. Signor Mussolini delivers high-flown orations after the manner of a Roman orator, and the Fascist Press indulges in outbursts of enthusiasm on the subject of Italy's destiny as a great Mediterranean Power. At the same time, the Duce is most reticent as to the means which he intends to adopt in order to achieve his ambition. On the subject of new colonies, which forms part of the colonial programme, it is impossible to glean any reliable information. It must be remembered, however, that the Italians are a people full of imagination and enthusiasm, and that for this reason Signor Mussolini employs eloquence and show as the means best calculated to appeal to the character of the Italian masses. His utterances should not, therefore, be literally interpreted as representing the hard facts of Italian intentions. He owes his great prestige to his having saved Italy from anarchy and disorder but, as the most difficult part of his task lies in the future, he has to supply a well-staged policy to carry on the people's enthusiasm for what is to come.

Emigration is a most striking feature of Italian economic and social life. The annual increase of the Italian population amounts to about 500,000, and Italy is one of the most densely populated

countries of Europe.* The people regard their fertility as a national asset, and any suggestion of instituting birth control would meet with the stoutest opposition. The only alternative, therefore, is a policy of colonial expansion for the absorption of the surplus population. But by the term "colonial expansion" is meant, not only the acquisition of new territories, but also the development of Italy and her present possessions, so that they may carry the maximum number of people according to their resources, and the provision of raw materials for the increase of industry. This is the policy now being pursued by Signor Mussolini. In recent years Italian emigration has reached very high figures, and Italians have filtered in large numbers to other European countries, the United States, Brazil, Argentine, Algeria, Tunis, and Morocco, as well as to Egypt, Asiatic Turkey and the Balkan States. The Italian workman has left his mark on some of the greatest enterprises of the modern world. Many of these emigrants are lost for ever to Italy, who reaps practically no benefit from their labours. Every year large numbers go from Southern Italy to Argentina to help with the wheat harvest, and a fair percentage definitely settle, their children born in that country becoming Argentine subjects; while the majority who return in the spring have made sufficient money to provide a living without any further work until the next South American harvest. In the former case these harvesters are lost to their motherland altogether, while in the latter they do next to nothing for Italy, and their main efforts are for the good of Argentina. In 1914 there were about 1,800,000 Italians in the United States, 1,500,000 in Brazil, 1,000,000 in Argentina, and 500,000 in France.

Considering that the Italians are eminently an emigrating race and that Italy is a very densely populated country straining for an outlet, it is not surprising that Signor Mussolini should be fired with enthusiasm to join the other Great Powers in a policy of colonial expansion, so as to bring an increasing number of emigrants under the Italian flag, and thereby to build up a "Greater Italy." Although during the general scramble for African colonies in the nineteenth century Italy was badly "left at the post," Signor Mussolini believes that room should now be made for the perhaps unwelcome late-comer. Speaking on foreign policy in the Italian Senate, the Duce pleaded for Italy's claims for a little more room in the world, and in conclusion said:

"I think there should be enough intelligent people for room to be made in time and with a good grace, for this is the way to protect peace and make it just and lasting. It is not possible to condemn a people like the Italian people to vegetate. I believe that the States with which Italy was allied in the Great War will come to see that Italy's legitimate claims must be met. In any

* In 1921 the population per square mile was 329.1.

case it should be clearly understood that nothing should be given to anyone until the Italian share has been satisfied."

Signor Mussolini's method of making his ideas appeal to the people is to conjure up in their minds the vision of an "Imperium Romanum" restored under modern conditions, with ancient Rome as the capital of a great Mediterranean system as in the days of the Cæsars. To the cold-blooded Northerner this may seem rather a fantastic dream, but Signor Mussolini knows the people with whom he is dealing and realises that such an ideal will kindle their hearts and souls as mere cold facts could never hope to do. But this does not necessarily imply that he himself dreams the same dream as that with which he is hypnotising the Italian people. He has their welfare at heart, and he knows the difficulties of his programme, the main features of which, I think, are only known to himself. To himself he reserves the cold facts; the glamour he uses for fuel to boil up that enthusiasm so essential to all Italian enterprise.

That Italy's aspirations lie in the Mediterranean goes without saying, but to indicate exactly in what direction is a different matter. On this point much irresponsible matter is published in the European Press, and much harm is done thereby, but it is possible to survey the likely outlets. Although France is in possession of Tunis and Great Britain has an important influence in Egypt, there are in both these countries large Italian settlements ready to expand as opportunity occurs. The French occupation of Tunis always has been, and still is, an unhealed sore in the side of Italy, and the extreme Fascist Press is inclined to suggest lines of action scarcely soothing to France. I am not, however, disposed to attach much importance to this, as there are other lines of less resistance. One of these is the Syrian Mandate. Should France, urged by financial and other considerations, become disposed to give up Syria, where she has achieved little and lost much, there is not the slightest doubt that Italy would readily accept the responsibility. When the Permanent Mandates Commission met in Rome in the spring of this year, it was hinted that something was in the air, and there does seem a possibility that France may decide to free herself of this troublesome country. Another possible outlet is Asia Minor. According to the Treaty of St. Jean de Maurienne, Italy was assured a footing in 70,000 square miles of Asia Minor, an area comprising the whole southern part of the Anatolian peninsula, but owing, it is said, to Russian non-approval this share of Italy's war claim was never realised. As this is a fertile country, capable of considerable agricultural development, and as Italy was led to believe that it was to be hers, it is not surprising that the port of Adalia with its vast hinterland figures largely in her colonial ambitions. In this quarter, as in others, Italy is just waiting for an opportunity.

The Italians consider that they have not received their share of territory as result of the war, and it seems that there is reason in their complaint. They needed additional territory more than any of the other Allies, and the result of this injustice is now making itself felt. Italy looks to the Allied Powers, and chiefly to Great Britain, for some remedy for this deficiency.

In trying to analyse Signor Mussolini's colonial policy, one cannot help turning back the pages of Italian history and wondering whether this is not another spasmodic effort, which may meet the same fate as its predecessors. One wonders whether, without Signor Mussolini, Italy would continue to go forward or whether, as before, her policy would relapse into a state of inaction until another great leader rose to find the people in the right temperament for a subsequent effort. Italy has yet to be put to the test, and there is a serious ordeal in store for her before the present régime can prove its worth. Strong policy in Italy has always been the result of periodical awakenings of national enthusiasm rather than of continuous political thought and methodical judgment. The national temperament has responded to the grandiloquence of platform orators, but that temperament is a great source of weakness as well as of strength. Italy is young and needs steadying. In order to build up her political strength she would do well to resist the temptation to launch out colonially before the cement is properly set; her political fabric is still unable to bear the strain of any serious shocks. Her policy should, for a time, be a "go easy" one, so that she may generate strength of a permanent nature and not of the "flash in the pan" variety, which has characterised most of her enterprises of the past. Since the accession of Signor Mussolini to power Italy has gone forward with a mighty rush, and for this reason alone it seems inadvisable to embark on colonial enterprises until she has fully consolidated what has already been achieved: but, should a most favourable opportunity present itself, Italy would do well to rise to the occasion. By one stroke she might fulfil the double object of strengthening her political structure and realising some of her overseas ambitions. But the need of caution should enter into all her deliberations; otherwise she may overreach her strength and lose valuable ground already won.

It is not sixty years since nine nations combined to form a united Italy and King Victor Emmanuel entered the gates of Rome. It is a noble and lofty ambition to aim at a revival of the prestige and power of the Roman Empire, but much water is destined to pass beneath the bridges of the Tiber before the new Italy can hope to assimilate the solid characteristics of the Senate and the Roman People.

E. W. POLSON NEWMAN.

SYRIA.

THE Syrian troubles, which commenced with the French ultimatum to the Damascus Government on July 14th, 1920, have remained unsettled to this day. The organic law which according to the League of Nations at its Session of September 1923, was to have been framed by September 1926, has not yet been formed. At the last session of the League a further six months extension was allotted to the French administration, as the Mandatory Power in Syria, in which to produce an organic law claiming the support of the Syrian people. While full allowance must be granted to the French Government, in its failure to produce a régime satisfactory to the Syrians, for the difficulties by which it was confronted, it cannot be said that the officials chosen by that Administration have been the most suitable appointments or that the various changes of the Government in France have been conducive to a single policy.

There is no doubt that M. de Jouvenel did his best to conciliate the Syrian Nationalists by a sympathetic attitude and a reasoned discussion. I have been informed that an agreement was on the point of being reached between M. de Jouvenel and the Syrian delegates during the past summer, but at the last moment the latter received word that the negotiations could not be continued. It appears, then, that M. de Jouvenel was too conciliatory to please the Quai d'Orsay. In the appointment of M. Ponsot it is doubtful whether the French Government have acted with wisdom, when one recalls the statement of his predecessor—"that the methods of French North African administration were utterly inapplicable to the Syrian mandate." M. Ponsot has been intimately connected with the administration of the French North African Colonial Empire and therefore is bound to be imbued with these methods, but on the other hand he represented France at the Conference of Oudjda in April-May, 1926, where his friendly bearing in conjunction with that of General Simon forcibly impressed the minds of the Riffian delegates. At the end of February, 1926, the Syrian Nationalists forwarded their demands to the French High Commissioner. These demands may have been worded in a fashion too similar to that of an ultimatum but they safeguarded French interests and prestige in Syria by Clause 3. These terms, however, the High Commissioner curtly refused and said in return that he demanded the complete submission of the rebels.

Despite the optimistic reports issued from French headquarters the situation in the South is far from peaceful (*Times*, October

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10th and September 26th, 1926), while the Northern districts in the neighbourhood of Aleppo have again become restless. (*Times*, September 24th, 1926.) The Nationalist leaders in Syria itself are Sultan Pasha el Atrash and the indefatigable Dr. Shahbandar. Their headquarters are in the Djebel Druse not far from Sueida the capital of this district. Dr. Shahbandar has long been known as an ardent supporter of an independent Syria—even in the days of Turkish occupation. He is probably the unifying and driving force of the Nationalist Party; his powers of oratory both in English and in Arabic are high and his motives are purely patriotic. Outside Syria there is an executive committee formed from a Syrian-Palestine Congress whose headquarters are at Cairo. The President, Emir Lutfallah, and the Secretary, Negib Bey Chuckair, are both Christians, thus disposing of the oft-repeated accusation that the Christian and Muslim populations of Syria find it impossible to harmonise their ideals and to work in co-operation. These two chosen protagonists of Syrian independence together with Ihsan el Djabri attended the last session of the League at Geneva. They were unable to voice their claims or to present their petition to the Mandates Commission, to the Council or to the Assembly itself. The Committee's appeal dated Cairo, September 14th, 1926 was published in the *Manchester Guardian* of October 2nd. The Committee begs that the League of Nations should immediately intervene by despatching a neutral commission to Damascus, there to make personal and exhaustive inquiries regarding the bitter differences which exist between the Mandatory Power and the mandated people, and from this inquiry to propound a solution which shall be in conformity with the spirit of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Executive Committee appreciates the work of the permanent Mandates Commission but, seeing that the restraining influence of this impartial body has been unavailing, it considers that the League must take further action in order to save Syria from complete ruin and to rescue the higher ideals of its people.

The Syrian population is composed of about one and a half million Muslims, 170,000 Christians, and 25,000 various, that is without Transjordan, Palestine and the Greater Lebanon, the latter of which contains 330,000 Christians and 320,000 Muslims. In a memorial which the Committee forwarded to the League of Nations it is pointed out that Syria is a geographical unit and that the boundaries which the Syrian Nationalists to-day demand are those which past historians have always defined to be Syria. They cite Strabo, Herodotus, Yakout and le Comte de Gontan-Biron who was private secretary to the first French High Commissioner. In fact, they point out that certain French representatives have

claimed more in the North as belonging to Syria than the most extreme Syrian Nationalists. The Committee claim that the Syrians for all their diversity of creeds belong to the same race and that the conquerors of Syria have left no profound or durable traces in the blood of the Syrian race; the Arabian ancestry has remained pure and intact.

The Syrian Nationalists claim that since France has administered Syria their country has lost its geographical and political unities; that its internal trade has been paralysed; that a transfer of its chief industrial revenues has taken place, leaving the hands of the indigenous population for those of a powerful conqueror; that the religious groups have been further split apart by certain French actions; that French methods of administration have caused much emigration, in consequence of which labour is scarce, and that the Syrian money has been linked with that of France, the effect of which is that ruin has descended upon many Syrian industries. The Syrian Nationalists have been accused of intolerance because they have demanded that certain Circassian and Armenian communities should leave Syrian territory. When the actions of Armenian and Circassian mercenaries become known to Europe there can be no question of intolerance directing this demand.

It has been suggested that France should form a treaty of alliance with Syria similar to that which Great Britain has completed with Iraq. This would appear to most people to be a reasonable proposition, but a member of the Syrian Executive Committee, gives certain reasons why a similar treaty cannot be accepted by the Syrian Nationalists. These reasons are: (a) Iraq was conquered by the British troops during the war and at a great expense of lives and money. Syria, on the other hand, was not conquered by either French or English forces. The Turks were defeated in Palestine, Arab troops themselves entered unopposed Damascus and Aleppo. It was not until June, 1920, some time after the formation of a Syrian Government and the election of Emir Feisal as their king, that French troops advanced on Damascus in the rôle of conquerors.

(b) There are different standards of culture in Iraq and Syria. In the latter country there are many trained administrators, lawyers, doctors, engineers, etc., who are almost entirely lacking in Iraq. The influence of Syrian families in various parts of the Saracenic Empire proves that cultural abilities have been predominant in the Syrian race for many centuries. The position of Syria has made its inhabitants highly expert in the realms of commerce. The success of Syrians in commercial enterprises

which they have undertaken in alien countries is a well-attested fact.

(c) In the treaty which Great Britain negotiated with the Iraq Government, the former safeguarded her rights in a very categorical manner, but the broad-mindedness, the equanimity and the toleration of British Government officials is so great that the rights which the British Government claimed in the Iraq Treaty are seldom demanded. For instance, the British officials working in the administration of Iraq are only ten per cent. of the number which the British Government is entitled to claim. If a similar treaty were enacted between France and Syria, France would claim every right resting on the literal interpretation of the treaty; in fact Syria would be no more under Syrian administration than she is under the existing régime. The French official is inclined to be of a more nervous, excitable and irritable temper than his British counterpart and, therefore, if a treaty is to be concluded between France and Syria it will have to be on a different basis from that concluded between Iraq and Great Britain. Clause No. 3 in the Syrian Demands of February 1926 could be the basis of such a treaty. The Syrian Nationalists prefer to establish a monarchy rather than a republic, considering that it would have a greater unifying force than the latter. The Emir Zeid, a younger son of the Cherif Hussein, is regarded as a suitable candidate.

The present situation offers no great hope that in the near future a settlement will be attained. The relations existing at the present time between the French authorities and the Syrian national representatives are so embittered by the disappointments of the past that it seems doubtful if either party can approach the other with even the minimum of faith necessary to reopen negotiations. The crude actions of many French military officials, the atrocious behaviour of the Armenian and Circassian levies, the bombardment of Damascus, and the partial destruction of the Ghuta Oasis have erected a barrage of evil memories and hatred which makes almost any attempt, even of such sincerity as that of M. de Jouvenel, impotent to dispel. French military occupation of Syria has caused over £12,000,000 of damage, and according to French official statistics the Syrians have lost 12,000 dead between June, 1925, and September, 1926. To-day there are over 20,000 refugees in Damascus itself; of these the Muslim Relief Fund can only attend to the needs of 12,000. To demonstrate the unhappy plight of these miserable people one has but to read the letter which the existing Minister of Education at Damascus, a French nominated official, has addressed to the Emir Lutfallah. In this letter Chaker el Hanbali appeals personally to the well-known sympathy of the Emir towards all cases of suffering and

distress. While not making mention of an actual total, the letter states that the number of the refugees has increased to such a point that it will be quite impossible to save them from starvation and disease if men of kind heart and charitable disposition do not come to their aid.

Nevertheless, in the immediate future there is one bright hope. At the beginning of October some Syrians informed me that King Feisal had been approached by the French Government with a view to asking him, with his knowledge of the country, for advice, and to act as an intermediary between France and the Syrian Nationalists. It seems strange to see the French Government make use of a man who himself had been dethroned by them. But it is a herald of better times! It shows that the obstinacy which has permeated the French Government in their treatment of Syria is at last giving place to reason; that recognising former faults it intends to take steps to rectify them and to negotiate a just settlement. While many Syrians may consider that King Feisal showed weakness in not defying the ultimatum of General Gouraud in July, 1920, there seems to have been little chance for him to have acted otherwise in the face of such overwhelming force, and I am assured that King Feisal has to-day the welfare and independence of Syria at heart as much as any of the Nationalist leaders. By the time this appears in print King Feisal will have met the Druse leaders and Dr. Shahbandar on the Syrian-Palestine frontier, and the result of this meeting will probably be known. In the event of a peaceful solution a difficult question for the League will have been avoided, a slur upon the system of Mandates will be erased, Syria herself will be able to look forward to a bright and prosperous future, and France, changing from a system of repression and terrorism to one of generosity and liberality, will recover the prestige and the principles for which she stands amongst the Oriental races. In the event of a continuation of the war it will mean that the Syrian nation will be divided, ruined and crushed if the League of Nations does not take an active step towards intervening and arbitrating in this contest, so devastating to Syria and so degrading to Europe. If the League fails to intervene, its incapacity to deal impartially with Muslim questions as it does with Christian problems will be no longer in doubt, and in consequence the prestige of the League will drop to zero among the millions of Africans and Asiatics.

At this stage of the proceedings it is unnecessary to say more. One can but hope that justice will direct the French offer and reasonableness regulate Syrian demands, so that the friendship which, prior to the mandate, was in existence between France and Syria, will be gradually resurrected from the cemetery of hate.

R. GORDON CANNING.

THE STATE AND THE ADOPTION OF CHILDREN.

THE passing into Law of the Adoption of Children Bill on August 4th last, which comes into operation on January 1st, 1927, was an event of considerable significance, both from a legal and social point of view. It marked a distinct reversal in the attitude of the Legislature towards a question of no small juridical and sociological importance. For centuries England has lagged behind many other countries in refusing to afford any legal status or recognition whatsoever to adoption. Yet, for instance, in the legal system of ancient Rome from which we have adapted so many fundamental ideas and principles of jurisprudence, adoption was in a sense one of the basic foundations of family life. In more recent times practically every civilised country in the world, as well as every other part of the British Empire, has given legal recognition in some form or other to the status of adoption. In this country nothing, however, has been done in spite of repeated representations by persons interested, and in spite of the obvious fact that even without such recognition the system of adoption had proved of immeasurable benefit to thousands upon thousands of children, and had been a consolation and a solace in many thousands of childless homes. One or two figures may be of interest. Resting as they did on a purely voluntary basis, adoptions have been for the most part, and doubtless will continue to be, arranged through the instrumentality of various societies and organisations existing for this purpose. Since 1917 one of these societies alone, the National Children Adoption Association, has carried through no less than 2,050 cases of adoption, and is at the present time arranging them at the average rate of twelve per week. This is, of course, only one of many such organisations, but the extent of its activities is some indication that in adoption we have an aspect of our national life well worthy of sympathetic attention. Not merely as a matter of elementary justice has an alteration in the law long been overdue, but the number of hard cases, of anomalies, and even of blackmail, directly due to the absence of such legal protection, should make everyone rejoice that so unsatisfactory a state of affairs has now been, at any rate partially, remedied.

Until the recent Bill became law, adoption, in the sense of a transfer of parental rights and duties in respect of a child to another person, and their assumption by him, was not recognised by English law. The natural parent could at any time resume all rights over the child in spite of any agreement to the contrary, and the adopter was left without a remedy in law. The love, the sacrifice, the devotion of the adoptive parent would count for nought. So anomalous

a position not unnaturally has proved a very real deterrent to adoptions being undertaken in innumerable cases, which otherwise would have been of the utmost mutual advantage.

Repeated attempts were made to remedy this by legislative enactment, but for one reason or another, until a few months ago, all such efforts have hitherto proved abortive. In 1920 a Committee was set up by the then Liberal Home Secretary (Rt. Hon. Edward Shortt) to consider whether it was desirable for some legal provision to be made for the adoption of children in this country. This Committee, which was presided over by Sir Alfred Hopkinson, K.C., held numerous sittings and examined a large number of witnesses, consisting of social workers and others experienced in every phase of child welfare (because in all such investigations it has always been rightly recognised that the paramount consideration must be the well-being of the child), and finally it came to the emphatic conclusion that some recognition by the law was not only desirable but essential. In fact, to the members of the Committee as to most others who had studied the question it appeared to be one that brooked no delay. Nothing however was done, although no less than six private Members' Bills were from time to time introduced into the House of Commons. In April, 1924, the Home Secretary in the Socialist Government (Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson) appointed yet another Committee, this time presided over by a distinguished judge, Mr. Justice Tomlin, the reference to that Committee being in the following terms:

"To examine the problem of child adoption from the point of view of possible legislation and to report upon the main provisions which in their view should be included in any Bill on the subject."

It will be seen, therefore, that the Tomlin Committee was definitely invited to prepare a Bill, which they subsequently did, and in substance it was that Bill which has now become the law of the land. In spite, however, of two Government Committees and of years of preparatory work, it is doubtful whether anything effective would have been done if another private member, by the luck of the ballot, had not been enabled to step into the breach. The draft Bill of the Tomlin Committee was finally introduced by Mr. Galbraith, K.C., and obtained a second reading on February 26th, 1926. That its main principles commended themselves to all parties in the House is apparent, not only from the previous history of this matter but also from the fact that among the indorsers of the Bill were Sir Henry Slessor and Mr. Attlee, ex-Solicitor-General and Under-Secretary for War in the Socialist Government, as well as many influential members on the Conservative and Liberal benches. The substantial measure of agreement arrived at as a result of the various inquiries, both public and private, that had taken place,

mainly centred round the following points. First, as to the absolute necessity for providing some definite legal recognition for the status of adoption; second, as to the desirability in most cases of preserving a very real degree of secrecy in the formalities to be observed: thirdly, that adoption, when entered into, ought to be regarded as final and irrevocable; and lastly, that where there is adoption by married couples, as is most frequently the case, there should be agreement between both spouses.

Having thus summed up the situation, it may be interesting to consider how far these broad principles have been given effect to, and what it is the Act really does. Clause I has been truly described as the keynote of the whole measure, inasmuch as whilst affording to adoption for the first time in our legal history a definite status, it safeguards the interests of the infant by insisting on a full and careful investigation of the whole circumstances by a court of competent jurisdiction before any such adoption can take place at all. That is to say, the court must be satisfied that the adoption is likely to prove to the permanent and lasting benefit of the child, that there has been nothing in the nature of duress or compulsion exercised over the natural parent, that no monetary reward has been either given or received in respect of the proposed adoption, and also that both the natural and the adoptive parents fully understand the solemn nature of the transaction and the responsibility it involves. In order that adoptions may not be lightly undertaken by persons who have not themselves attained full years of discretion, no adoption order can be made in the case of any applicant who is under twenty-five years of age or less than twenty-one years older than the infant it is proposed to adopt, except in the case where both applicant and infant are within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity. The reason for this latter exception will be obvious, but it is questionable whether even the age of twenty-five is not too young, and whether thirty or thirty-five would not be more appropriate. The idea, of course, is that, except where special circumstances exist, adoptions ought not to be encouraged if there is a reasonable or strong probability that the adoptive parents may in due course have children of their own. In France this idea has been carried to the length of forbidding adoptions by anyone under the age of fifty, but such a provision is probably going to extremes, and is likely to prove an unnecessary deterrent in many suitable cases.

Then comes the question of irrevocability, as to which there was some divergence of opinion between the Hopkinson and Tomlin Committees. The former recommended that for good reasons it might be desirable to provide that an adoption order should be subject to revocation. The Tomlin Committee, however, took the

opposite view, on the ground that, provided the parent who is giving up the child fully understands the separation is to be permanent, it is more conducive to the best interests of the child for the adoption to be irrevocable. And it is this view, I think, which would be the more likely to commend itself to those who have given prolonged thought and consideration to the subject.

Next arises the question of secrecy, and there is nothing to which many adoption societies, individual adopters and others attach greater importance. When we speak of secrecy in relation to adoption we do not mean merely that the actual formalities of the transaction should be carried through in the judge's private room or in camera. What is meant is, that the parties to the adoption should be unknown to each other and that the identity of the natural parent should not be disclosed to the adopters and *vice versa*. There are two reasons why this matter is important. First, because of the risk—a very real one, as experience has proved—of possible interference at a later stage by the natural parent, often for purposes of selfish financial gain; and second, because of the very definite advantage to the child. It must be borne in mind that at least 75 per cent. of the children adopted are illegitimate, and consequently, if they are being given a start in life, it is surely best to veil from them so far as possible the facts of their origin. The only parents they will have known are the adoptive parents, and therefore no advantage can accrue through causing them the mental distress of being torn, as it were, in two directions, and possibly, in some instances, the shame of realising at long last the circumstances of their birth. On the other hand, there are those who argue that, no matter what the consequences, it is not morally justifiable to destroy all trace of the natural parent, especially as such parent might desire in after years to make some atonement to the child for wrongs or neglect of the past. Then again, apart altogether from sentimental reasons, it has been suggested that the adopted child ought not to lose altogether the right to succeed on intestacy to the property of the natural parent, which would, of course, be impossible if all trace of identity had been destroyed. The force of these considerations having been realised, a compromise has been arrived at in the new Act by the insertion of a provision for the compilation and maintenance by the Registrar-General of Births, Marriages and Deaths of a "private" register, which will connect the birth certificate containing the names of the natural parents with the adoption certificate. Such register will not, however, be open for inspection by the general public, except under very special circumstances and by order of a court of competent jurisdiction. Incidentally, of course, it should

be remembered that in future whenever an adopted child is required to produce a birth certificate for any purpose whatsoever, the adoption certificate of the Registrar-General will be all that is necessary. Whilst these provisions may not entirely ensure that inviolable secrecy which many people consider so essential, they undoubtedly go a long distance towards achieving the desired result.

As to the necessity for providing that in the case of adoptions by married couples there should be the fullest mutual agreement between them, it has been definitely enacted by Clause 2 (4) of the Act that "an adoption order shall not be made on the application of one of two spouses without the consent of the other of them." In other words, the court would require to be satisfied that the proposed adoption was the wish and desire of both husband and wife before it extended to it the necessary sanction and legalisation. Adoption orders can, of course, be made in respect of existing adoptions in order to afford them the rights, duties and privileges created by the Act.

I do not suppose that even its most enthusiastic supporters would claim that the Act is in every respect a perfect one as it stands, but it is certainly a first step in a very much needed legal reform. As Sir William Joynson-Hicks stated, when speaking on behalf of the Government in the course of the Second Reading debate, it is highly probable that in a year or two an amending Bill will be found necessary. And it will then be possible to draw on the experience gained of the new system in actual working. Even as it is, there are many points which obviously need attention and to which, owing to the exigencies of parliamentary time, adequate consideration could not be given during the various stages of the present Act. In fact, there were important points the promoters of the Bill perforce had to jettison in order to avoid the very real risk that the Bill might again, as had happened so often before, be crowded off the Statute Book altogether, owing to the pressure of urgent Government business, arising in this instance out of the General Strike and the disturbed industrial situation.

In conclusion, it may, therefore, be useful to enumerate a few of these outstanding matters. No doubt many others will come to light when the provisions of the Act are put to the test of practical experience.

For instance, an important consideration arises as to the nature of the tribunal to be entrusted to deal with the intimate domestic questions necessarily involved in the adoption of children. The Hopkinson Committee came strongly to the conclusion that the county courts, rather than those of summary jurisdiction, i.e., the

magistrates, were to be preferred, not only because of the desirability of keeping such transactions entirely free from an atmosphere of criminality, but also because county court judges for the most part possess greater judicial experience than the average magistrate, and have shown themselves peculiarly qualified to deal with similar matters by their successful administration of the Workmen's Compensation Acts and analogous measures involving confidential investigation into the domestic circumstances of individual applicants. The Tomlin Committee, however, took exactly the opposite view, and mainly on the supposition that the magistrates' courts would be less expensive to the parties concerned. It was suggested in the course of the discussions that there was no reason why both tribunals should not be made available and the parties given their choice, but this view was not accepted, and therefore for the moment these matters are vested exclusively in the courts of summary jurisdiction. Possibly in an amending Bill this question will be given further consideration.

Another matter that was discussed at some length but in regard to which no decision was arrived at except to leave things as they are, was the right of succession, if any, to the property of its adoptive parents that should accrue to the child by reason of its adoption. Here again, there was a marked divergence of opinion between the two Committees. The Hopkinson Committee came to the conclusion that with regard to any property of the adopting parent, over which he had a full power of disposition, the adopted child ought to be put in the same position as any natural child of the adopting parent would be; but that this should not apply in the case of property coming from any other branch of the family. And furthermore, that the adopting parent should have the same right of succession to any property of the adopted child as if the adopted child had been his or her natural child. The Tomlin Committee, on the other hand, considered that there would be grave difficulties in such an interference with the ordinary law of succession as it at present exists, a view in which they were supported by many high legal authorities, including the present Lord Chancellor. Under the Act, however, and by way of compromise, the court has power as a term of making the adoption order, to require that the adopter, by bond or otherwise, shall make such provision for the child as may seem just and expedient. Probably it may be safely assumed that if any person goes to the trouble of adopting a child, he will take some steps to make adequate provision for such child. This, however, is another question that may need to be further considered in the light of experience gained at a later date.

Another point that has not yet been dealt with satisfactorily is

that of nationality. As the Act stands, an adoption order cannot be made in respect of any child not resident and domiciled in England or Wales, and who is not a British subject. This may lead to considerable hardship, as cases arise from time to time of British subjects desiring to adopt children of foreign nationality, or where such children have already been adopted before the passing of the Act, the adopters not unnaturally wish them to become of the same nationality as themselves. No provision is contained in the Act to meet such circumstances. One actual case of this kind came under my notice recently, where an Englishman temporarily resident abroad had married a German woman. She, of course, acquired a British nationality in consequence of her husband's domicile. Subsequently they adopted a German child, who will be compelled to retain his foreign nationality, although both his parents (adoptive) are British and are now permanently resident in this country. Such cases may be exceptional but they could easily be provided for.

Whilst these and other criticisms can legitimately be made in regard to the Act as it stands, it would have been regrettable if they had been used as an excuse for a continued policy of *laissez faire*. Whilst it may not have been possible at a single blow to hammer out a perfect scheme, nevertheless, by the passing of the Adoption of Children Act, the legislature has at length removed the reproach that we alone among civilised communities were making no legal provision for adoption and were thereby conniving at the existence of hardships, anomalies and injustice that ought long ago to have been removed in common fairness to the many thousands of children concerned and to those who are affording them the affection and care that in course of time will render them desirable and useful citizens of the State.

GERVAIS RENTOUL.

SACRAMENTAL CHRISTIANITY: A CRITICISM.

THE word "sacrament," as is well known, is not to be found in our English Bible. But the word *μυστήριον*, "mystery," which was often translated into Latin by *sacramentum*, occurs frequently both in the Septuagint and in the New Testament.* What does it mean? In classical Greek a *μυστήριον* is what is known to a *μύστης* or initiated person; and the word later acquired the meaning of a *secret* which must not be divulged. It did not imply, of course, what the word "mystery" suggests in ordinary English, something hard to understand. In the New Testament, speaking broadly, it is used of truth that has been *hidden* but is now revealed by Christ—whether the whole content of His Gospel, as when Jesus speaks of "the mystery of the Kingdom of God" (Mark iv, 11); or some particular aspect of it, as when Paul or one of his associates alludes to the "mystery" that the Gentiles are fellow-heirs with the Jews (Eph. iii, 3-6).

Why this word was translated into Latin by *sacramentum* is not clear. But it appears that in early Christian usage the meaning of the latter term was very wide—so wide, indeed, as to cover almost anything that had a religious significance. Tertullian speaks of the Christian religion itself as a sacrament; Isidore of Seville uses the term of the Trinity, and Pope Leo the Great of the Incarnation. Cyprian says that the seamless robe of Jesus was "a sacrament and a sign" of the unity of the Church. The last example shows how the term came to be more definitely used—to designate any material object or outward act which carried a religious meaning, or was a *symbol* of some spiritual reality. A sacrament came to be defined in brief as "a sign of something sacred."

Meanwhile the Greek Fathers of the Church had developed a theory of Baptism and the Eucharist as rites which carried forward in the Church the purpose of the Incarnation itself—the purpose, namely, of imparting to men whose lives were corrupt and transitory the life of God Himself, which is pure and eternal. So early as about A.D. 115, Ignatius uses the dangerous expression that the Eucharist is "the medicine of immortality"—dangerous, because so easily susceptible of a purely magical and non-ethical interpretation. How much these ideas owed to the Mystery cults of the second century is a much-debated question on which I am not competent to pronounce a judgment.

Turning back to Western religious thought, which is what has chiefly influenced ourselves, we note the development of two some-

* The Greek Orthodox Church still has its seven "Mysteries," which are nearly, but not quite, the same as the seven Sacraments of the Catholic Church.

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what different theories of sacraments as "signs of something sacred." The first was that they are *symbols and nothing more*, as a ring is a symbol of marriage and a flag of the government of one's country—the symbol having no necessary resemblance to the thing signified. This is the kind of view that on the whole since the Reformation has satisfied the Reformed Churches.* The second theory, which is rather more metaphysical, was that the sacraments possessed a *real resemblance* to the things they signified, so that they might even be said to *be* those things. Augustine, in an often-quoted passage, writes: "If the sacraments had not a certain likeness to the things they signify, they would not be sacraments at all. But from this likeness they usually receive the names of those very things: and so, according to a certain mode (of speech), the sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ"—and so forth. According to this theory, the sacraments themselves, when rightly performed, actually confer Divine grace, because they bring to us the actual reality for which they stand: they are *points of contact* between the human and the Divine, the finite and the Infinite, the material and the spiritual. Dr. Francis Paget wrote in *Lux Mundi*†: "By the Sacramental system is meant the regular use of sensible objects, agents and acts as being the means or instruments of Divine energies, 'the vehicles of saving and sanctifying power'."

This theory, which is, of course, that of the Catholic Church, is closely akin to that of the early Greek Fathers which has been already alluded to. But the question at once presents itself, what are the "sensible objects, agents and acts" which thus have the power, when rightly used, to bring us into actual contact with Divine reality? For a long time, in the Western Church, this question remained unanswered; the old indefinite idea of sacraments as "signs of something sacred" held men's minds. Even in the twelfth century Hugo of St. Victor enumerated thirty sacraments; but a little later, by Peter the Lombard, the number was reduced to seven: Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders, and Marriage. This limitation, and the fact that the number is the same as that of the "mysteries" of the Eastern Church, points to some ancient tradition, based probably on the idea that seven was the perfect number. In 1547 the Council of Trent definitely anathematised anyone who should say that "all the sacraments of the new law were not instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord, or that they were more or fewer than seven."

* Dr. W. M. Clow, in *The Church and the Sacraments*, writing in defence of the Sacraments, defines them as "those rites or ordinances which have been instituted to symbolise the truths of the spirit, evident to the soul, by the things of nature, evident to the senses." (p. 11.)

† *Lux Mundi*, tenth edition, p. 406.

The Reformers faced the anathema, and set aside five of the Roman sacraments. The *Westminster Confession* states: "There be only two sacraments ordained by Christ our Lord in the gospel, that is to say Baptism and the Supper of the Lord." But the very same careful study of the New Testament, which caused the Reformers to see clearly that Jesus Himself did not institute the five sacraments they put aside, has begun to throw almost equal doubt on the remaining two.

In regard to Baptism, Dr. Clow himself acknowledges in one sentence that "it is doubtful whether Christ Himself ordained"* this sacrament—though elsewhere he generally assumes the contrary. There are only two passages in the Synoptic Gospels in which Jesus is reported to have ordered Baptism, and neither of these, in its present form at least, is a genuine saying of His. They are Mark xvi, 16, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved," which is part of one of the endings to that Gospel now known to have been added, probably in the second century, to replace one that was missing; and Matt. xxviii, 19, "Go ye therefore and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost." This verse has long been under suspicion, because there is no sign that the early Church as described in the Acts and the Epistles had any knowledge of such a command. Its leaders showed no readiness to "make disciples of all the nations"; and those whom they baptized were baptized in the name, not of the Trinity, but of Jesus Christ alone. Further, Eusebius in his earlier writings frequently quotes the passage in a simpler form—"Go ye and make disciples of all nations in My name"—without allusion either to baptism or to the Trinity. Whatever genuine saying of Jesus may lie behind it, the passage as it stands has been adapted to the later practice of the Church.

Apart from these passages and the story of John the Baptist, which includes the Baptism of Jesus, the Synoptic Gospels never mention Baptism at all except in the sense of suffering and death (Mark x, 38; Luke xii, 50). It is perfectly clear that Jesus did not initiate the practice, as John had used it before Him—and the fourth Evangelist almost goes out of his way to inform us that "Jesus Himself baptized not" (John iv, 2), but only allowed His disciples to do so. As regards the allusion to "water" in John iii, 5, it is again doubted by many critics whether the words "water and" are not a later insertion. They are absent in our version of verse 8, "so is every one that is born of the Spirit," but the Sinaitic Codex, with the Old Latin and Old Syriac versions, all early and important, have the words there also. In any case it is incon-

* *The Church and the Sacraments*, p. 26.

ceivable that this writer, whose whole emphasis is inward and spiritual, can have represented Jesus as making entrance into the Kingdom depend upon an outward rite. If the words are genuine they are undoubtedly an echo of Ezek. xxxvi, 25, "And I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean." "Water and the Spirit" would be equivalent to "spiritual water."

The absence of emphasis on Baptism which characterises the Gospels is found also in the writings of Paul. He himself is reported, in Acts ix, 18, to have been baptized at Damascus (though not by any Apostle); but he never once alludes to this in his letters, though he had ample occasion to defend his standing as a Christian and an Apostle of Christ; and in writing to the Corinthians he says (1 Cor. i, 17), "Christ sent me not to baptize but to preach the Gospel." The same relative depreciation of Baptism is found elsewhere: the writer of Hebrews includes "the teaching of baptisms (or washings)" among the rudimentary things about which he (or she) has no concern to speak (Heb. vi, 1-3). While there is abundant evidence in the New Testament that the practice of Baptism was taken over by the followers of Jesus from John the Baptist, and used upon their converts as the ordinary sign of acceptance into the fellowship, there is no evidence at all that they ever regarded it as necessary for salvation; or even that they thought it needful to baptize the *children* who were born into Christian families. Paul speaks of such children as having already the status of "saints" (that is, as being objectively in the Church), if even one of their parents is a Christian (1 Cor. vii, 14). He says nothing about their being baptized. The writer of the first Epistle attributed to John, who is almost certainly the author of the fourth Gospel, has occasion to define with the utmost care what it is that constitutes a real Christian, and he never once mentions Baptism or any other ceremony. I think it is not too much to say that no impartial student of the New Testament, who reads it with a mind unbiassed by Church tradition, can believe that the Apostles of Jesus, or their Master before them, regarded Baptism as a necessary condition of entering the Kingdom of God.

Turning to the Eucharist, we find that the same lack of emphasis on the need of an outward rite marks the New Testament here also. We have two accounts of the supposed institution, for one of which our oldest authority is Mark, and for the other Paul. In Mark's story of the Last Supper (Mark xiv, 22-25) there are no words of institution, and there is no suggestion that Jesus was establishing a memorial of His approaching death. His whole purpose is represented here as being to *prepare* His disciples to face it; and He takes this solemn means of binding them to Himself in a bond of living faith so strong that even the Cross should

not be able to break it. In the words of Mr. John R. Coates,* He was "living Himself into them." Matthew (xxvi, 26-29) follows Mark almost verbally, and there are no words of institution here either. It is only in Luke (xxii, 19) that we find the words "This do in remembrance of Me," and these, in the view of most New Testament students, were no part of his Gospel as originally written. The words of verse 19, after "This is My body," and the whole of the following verse, which contains Luke's second mention of the cup, are absent in some early "western" texts of this Gospel, and are omitted by Westcott and Hort from their edition of the Greek New Testament, as having been inserted from Paul's account in 1 Cor. xi, 23-26. The words of institution, "This do," are due to Paul alone—and he certainly was not present at the Supper. We really have to choose between his account of what occurred and that of Mark, which is believed (with good reason, in my judgment) to rest upon the recollection of Peter. Whatever Paul may have meant when he claimed that he received his version of the story "from the Lord," it is almost inconceivable that if the words used had been what he gives Mark should have omitted to record them. I should, of course, admit that they rest upon a very early tradition in the Church, but I find myself forced to the belief that Mark's story goes behind that tradition and corrects it.

This is confirmed by the fourth Gospel, which in chapters xiii to xvii gives a long account of the intercourse between Jesus and His disciples on His last evening on earth, and never once mentions the bread and wine. It is not easy to believe that its author omitted it accidentally; there must have been some purpose in his doing so. His mind ran so freely to symbolism that this, one would suppose, would exactly have suited him. Both this omission, and the remark that "Jesus baptized not," would seem to mark his quiet protest against the tendency which by the end of the first century had already set in in the Church to magnify these ceremonies and attribute to them a value that bordered on the superstitious, which we have already noted in the allusion made to the Eucharist by Ignatius—probably within a few years of the writing of the fourth Gospel—when he called it "the medicine of immortality." That the author of this Gospel was quite familiar with Eucharistic language is indicated by his version of a discourse of Jesus (which in the sixth chapter he places at the synagogue in Capernaum), in which our Lord declares that "except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink His blood, ye have not life in yourselves." This passage is often quoted to show that the author attached great importance to the outward ceremony. I do not myself see how this view can be held by anyone who really appreciates his spirit and

* *The Christ of Revolution*, p. 59.

purpose; just as I cannot understand how such a one can take literally the "water" of which he perhaps reports Jesus as speaking to Nicodemus. To insist on taking either expression literally seems to me to miss the poetry of his constantly recurring symbolism, and to disregard the emphatic warning given in immediate connection with the words about eating the flesh of the Son of man: "It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing; the words that I have spoken unto you are spirit and are life." Could he say more clearly that it is the spiritual reality and not the material symbol that really matters?

Though this Evangelist omits, apparently with quiet deliberation, all mention of the supposed institution of the Eucharist, he gives us in its place the story of the washing by the Master of the disciples' feet, with words that, if we insist on literal and prosaic interpretation, must surely have meant the institution of a ceremony: "Ye also ought to wash one another's feet; for I have given you an example, that ye also should do as I have done to you." On what principle do we agree that He here inculcates the spirit of lowly and loving service, but insist that the "eating of His flesh" must refer to an outward rite? I venture to suggest that there is no principle, but only a Church tradition—a tradition that, in many of its supposed requirements, the Reformers did not hesitate to set aside, as having no basis in the mind or words of Jesus.

Dr. T. R. Glover sums up the matter in these words: "There is a growing consensus of opinion among independent scholars that Jesus instituted no sacraments; yet Paul found the rudiments of them among the Christians, and believed he had the warrant of Jesus for the heightening which he gave to them."* Whether or not Paul had such a warrant, the situation will be profoundly altered if it comes to be generally understood that sacraments derive their origin from the Church and not from the mind of our Lord Himself. What gives them their importance for the ordinary Christian is not any doctrine of Church authority, or any philosophical theory of the need of "points of contact" between the material and the spiritual, but the belief that their observance is part of the obedience we owe to the clear commands of our Lord. If His direct authority in the matter of sacraments can no longer be appealed to, the question of their continued observance becomes one not of obedience but of expediency.

But, it will be said, we have to face the unbroken usage of practically the whole Christian Church from the earliest days till now. I believe this argument is used for more than it is worth. The Church has sanctioned, or enjoined, methods of administering

* *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*, p. 158.

these rites which are in striking contrast with the simplicity of the earliest days. In the case of Baptism we have the change from the complete immersion of a convert to Christianity (a most fitting symbol of repentance and inward cleansing) to the sprinkling of water on the head of an unconscious infant—from the original sign to the symbol of a symbol, and from its performance on a person who knew what it meant to that on one who does not. In the Eucharist we have the change from a *common meal* ("the breaking of the loaf"), with words of thanksgiving such as Jesus was accustomed to use, which the head of the household or any other disciple might utter, to a solemn rite in which bread and wine are "consecrated" by a form of words that only a duly ordained minister can "validly" use. The meal (*Agapé* or lovefeast) and the ceremony appear for long to have gone on side by side, one following the other. It seems to have been Paul who first thought of separating them, because of the disorder that at Corinth tended to accompany the meal. But in the *Didaché* the Eucharist is still a meal; and Ignatius uses the terms Eucharist and *Agapé* indifferently. Gradually, however, the meal fell into disfavour, and was "finally suppressed [as profane] by the Council of Trullo before the beginning of the eighth century."* In view of such changes, I do not think the argument from unbroken usage amounts to very much.

Let us now, before concluding, look at the whole subject of sacramentalism in its broadest aspect. If we use the word *sacrament* as it was often used by early Western Christians, simply as an equivalent for "symbol," of course we are all sacramentalists—provided we have any sense of poetry, of the power of material acts and objects to act as suggestions of spiritual realities, of the beauty of the parables of our Lord. But is Christianity—the real Christianity of Jesus and His Apostles, as expressed supremely in the fourth Gospel—a *sacramental religion* in the sense that it requires definite acts, whether two or seven or any other number, as vehicles through which alone, or in some very special way, we can enter into communion with God? Is Christianity a religion of the institutional type, or is it purely spiritual?

The difference between the two types can, I think, be best appreciated by thinking of the contrast in ancient Israel between the religion of the prophets and the popular sacrificial religion of their day. The greater prophets, from Amos to Jeremiah, along with the most inspired of the psalmists, declare with one voice that the only sacrifice which God desires is that of the inward man, the self, or heart, for the doing of His will. Quite typical is the great passage in Micah: "Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? shall I come before

* Clow, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

Him with burnt offerings, with calves of a year old? He hath shown thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" (Micah vi, 6-8.) Jeremiah, in a remarkable sentence, declares in the name of Jehovah: "I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices; but this thing I commanded them, saying, Harken unto my voice." (Jer. vii, 22 f.) An increasing number of Old Testament students believe that Jeremiah meant exactly what he said. The religion of these prophets and psalmists was spiritual—not in the sense that they disparaged the outward life as of no account—but that their whole emphasis was laid on the *inward* life of conformity to the mind of God, as the only condition on which in the outward life His will could find expression. The religion of the priests, with its sacrificial ritual, supposed to be the Divinely appointed means of approach to and communion with God, was institutional; that of the greater prophets and psalmists was purely spiritual.

Now our Lord, and John the Baptist before Him, were in the full line of the great prophetic succession. Neither of them attached importance to the Temple sacrifices. John is not reported to have ever mentioned them; Jesus in the Gospels only mentions them with apparent approval twice, directing healed lepers to go and show themselves to the priests, and offer the usual sacrifices.* He teaches that the ceremonial distinction between clean and unclean food has no real significance; what defiles a man is not what enters his body but what comes out of his heart or inner life. (Mark vii, 15-19.) His religion is inward to the core. And so is that of His Apostles: especially after the experience at Pentecost they declare, right through the Acts and the Epistles, that the conditions of entering the fellowship of believers in Christ are repentance, faith, and reception of the Spirit. What constitutes a Christian is possession of, or by, the Spirit, manifesting itself in the life of love. It is true that in the earliest days the gift of the Spirit was associated with Baptism; but Baptism is not represented as the condition of receiving the gift. Cornelius received it when he had not yet been baptized; and Simon the Samaritan sorcerer, after he had been baptized, was declared to be "in the gall of bitterness and in the bond of iniquity" (Acts x, 44-48, viii, 13-24).

Christianity is a spiritual religion because it is, far more abundantly than that of the prophets, the religion of the Spirit. In prophetic days the gift of the Spirit was confined to the few; Peter

* No doubt as public evidence that they were really cured. (Mark i, 44, Luke xvii, 14.) In the latter passage the offering is not mentioned.)

on the day of Pentecost claims that the New Age has already dawned because it is now given to *all* believers in Jesus, without distinction of class or sex. "On the servants and on the handmaidens will I pour out my Spirit, and they shall prophesy." Paul writes indignantly to the Galatians, "Having begun in the Spirit, are ye now perfected in the flesh?"—"the flesh" meaning "a law of commandments contained in ordinances." His whole position in that fiery outburst is that in the religion of the Spirit there is no need, and indeed no room, for a string of rules to tell people how to live. The Spirit will guide them aright, if only they are willing to "walk in line" (Gal. v, 25).

It is often said, or assumed, that the religion of the Spirit is too abstract and difficult for the mass of men and women. Whatever may be the case with the few whose spiritual powers of perception are more developed, ordinary people require sensible "points of contact" with the Divine, outward "means of grace" by which alone they can enter effectually into experience of communion with God. I believe we may search in vain through the New Testament documents to find this view either expressed or taken for granted. Rather, the call is to *all* men and women to have their inward eyes so enlightened, and their spiritual senses so quickened, that they may find God everywhere—like Brother Lawrence, who declared that God was as near and as clear to him when washing dishes in the monastery kitchen as when he was kneeling before the altar. The fourth evangelist reports that our Lord's very deepest teaching on the spiritual worship which God requires was given to an alien and degraded woman by the well at Sychar.

Not for one moment would I question the reality of the communion with their crucified and risen Lord which many devout Christians find in the sacrament of the bread and wine; never would I say a word that might tend to deprive them of it. But, if we face the facts that I have alluded to, and are driven to conclude that these rites rest upon the authority of the Church and not on that of our Lord Himself, then, if we wish to defend them, it will be to their spiritual helpfulness—to a higher expediency—that we shall have to appeal. I have talked to many people, quite ordinary men and women who have joined the Society of Friends, and who have told me that for long years before taking that step they had found no spiritual sustenance in the sacrament of the Supper. There are many who are able to enter more deeply into heartfelt communion with God through Christ in the quiet fellowship of a Quaker meeting, than they ever can by sharing in the most solemn and splendid ritual; and who, just because they have been thrown back on themselves and God—because they have had to find for themselves their living Lord—have received a strength

for the daily life of love and duty which they would not have received through anything done for them by priest or minister.

Few, at present, we may be and are who find the Reality without the symbol; but there are indications that in many countries, if Christianity is to have a future at all, it will not be Christianity of the sacramental or institutional type. In Germany especially we find great numbers who are seeking for a spiritual life which they cannot find in the organised religion of the Churches. And, particularly in India, there are many signs that institutional Christianity will not satisfy the mystical mind of the East. It may well be that, when a really native Church develops in that great land, it will wish to take its own path, and to drop the sacramental observances which it has learned from the West. How shall we meet such a situation if it comes? Shall we treat it as schism, thereby using our religion to intensify racial and national division and bitterness, or shall we be ready to receive a non-sacramental Church into the fellowship, acknowledging that we have set up fences where our Master would have erected none?*

The only true test by which we can judge whether a religious body that professes and calls itself Christian is or is not a part of the real Church of Christ has been laid down by our Lord Himself: "By their fruits ye shall know them." If such a body is producing strong, courageous and devoted lives; if it is manifestly bearing the "fruits of the Spirit," which are love, joy, peace, gentleness, self-control and so forth; if it is showing a real concern to help in establishing the Kingdom of God upon earth by sharing with others the best it has received from God through Christ; then it is at our own peril, and the peril of the world of men for whom Christ died, that we cut it off from His fellowship by applying tests which are not of His devising. The application of such tests has always tended to make the Church quite other than the Brotherhood of all His true followers—which is the only kind of Church He Himself can have intended to establish, if He ever consciously thought of founding a Church at all. It not only cuts off from the Brotherhood some who ought to be included; it keeps in many whose lives are not being moulded by His Spirit. How many millions of professed Christians are there who mistake the sign for the Reality, and suppose that they are spiritually safe, for this world and the next, simply because some rite has been "validly" performed for their benefit?

* See a striking passage in *Whither Bound in Missions?* by Daniel J. Fleming, pp. 96 f.: "Suppose that the Indian Church should feel that owing to the emphasis on baptism the word 'Christian' has come to signify merely those who have undergone this rite and the children of such, that very largely the word is losing for India its moral significance . . . and suppose that in order to correct this impression they wanted publicly to announce that baptism is not necessary to become a Christian or a member of the Christian Church. Would you want your missionaries to consider this question absolutely on its merits?"

But how, it may be asked, is the unity of the Church to be preserved? All I can say here is that history shows us by ample evidence that unity is not preserved by outward tests. The sacramental interpretation of the four words *Hoc est corpus meum* has not only split the Western Church into fragments, it has caused infinite bitterness, wrath, persecution, and bloodshed. The question *What constitutes a valid sacrament?* inevitably raises that of a rightly ordained ministry or priesthood, and opens up endless divisions about Apostolic Succession and episcopal ordination—matters which have really nothing to do with the religion of Jesus Christ. Not one of these desolating schisms and controversies need ever have arisen, had the Church better understood the mind of her Master and been content to be guided by His principles. The unity of the Church, if it is ever recovered, will be the inward unity of all who love and follow Jesus Christ, whatever the outward means by which they seek to maintain their communion with Him.

EDWARD GRUBB.

SOME BRITISH AMBASSADORS AT PARIS.

FOR a decade more than a century the town mansion of the Princess Pauline Borghese, second sister of the Emperor Napoleon, has housed the diplomatic representatives of the British Crown in the French capital. To-day within its walls the visitor will find preserved many intimate memorials of this illustrious and volatile lady. Her bedroom, with its sumptuous appointments—her very bed—remains as she left it. Her pictures and tapestries, the many mirrors which reflected her exquisite person, still adorn the *salons*. Her spirit, as Lord Lytton once agreeably informed a little group of Nonconformist divines, permeates the precincts. Since her time no fewer than fourteen British Ambassadors have dwelt within this mansion; they have slept in Pauline's sumptuous bedchamber; they have, in moments of relaxation, often moralised upon her personality and peculiar history. Is it then surprising that they should have found in her a charming analogue to France herself—that country whose amity they have devoted long, laborious days and nights in wooing? For Pauline was beautiful, she was intelligent, she was capricious, she was passionate, she was vain. She had, as her biographer M. Fleischmann observes, many lovers, but a single constant and enduring love for only one being—herself. It needs, then, no very extravagant flight of ambassadorial oratory to compare the spirit of Pauline with the spirit of *Marianne*.

Yet the distinguished envoy from the Court of St. James's, whoever he has happened to be, woos not for himself; but he fills the rôle of intermediary in the age-long *affaire de cœur* between England and France, which from epoch to epoch alternately prospers and languishes, is now hot and now cold; but, no matter what other *liaisons* intervene, will probably always subsist, being the oldest of all European political *rapprochements* and based on a mutual interest which no quarrel can permanently rupture nor caprice on the lady's part wholly destroy.

The house, which was acquired by the Duke of Wellington in 1814, appears always to have had a peculiar fascination for its occupants. Lady Canning, whose birthplace it was, looking back from the tragic India of Mutiny times, recalled its rooms and spacious garden as "still for me the essence of all that is charming and gracious in Paris." The letters of the witty Lady Granville contain many references to the fascination it had for her; and her daughter, Lady Georgine Fullerton, apostrophised it on leaving in melodious verse:

Ne'ermore, dear house, thy gates will ope for me,
Nor thy trees, swaying, spread their grateful shade.

Even the Ambassadors waxed sentimental. Lord Lytton loved every nook and corner of "*le nid de notre belle Pauline*." In the garden he penned some of his best poetry and in the wayward Princess's boudoir death suddenly came to him. The burly and celibate Lord Lyons, whom the coming of the Prussians drove into exile in 1870, acknowledged his pleasure "in finding myself in the old house again and am impatient to return to it for good." And indeed, during nearly twenty years in Paris he rarely stirred from within its walls. Many besides Lord Dufferin took pleasure in showing visitors over the Embassy and dilating (once to Mr. John Hay's surprise) less upon celebrated protocols and the political despatches of Wellington, than upon the assembled mementoes of "the prettiest and wickedest of the Bonapartes."

The mansion in the Rue du Faubourg St. Honoré was built in 1723 by an obscure architect named Mazin for Armand de Bethune, Duc de Charost, peer of France and Baron d'Ancenis (born 1662), who was for a time governor of the person of the young king, Louis XV. The only incident worthy of record in the pre-Pauline history of the Hotel de Charost is a striking one. In 1785 it had been rented by the duke's successor to the Count de la Marck, Prince d'Aremberg, an actor in the pre-Revolutionary drama; and here occurred a momentous interview between Mirabeau and Queen Marie Antoinette's partisan, Mercy-Argenteau. In consequence of this interview Mirabeau resolved to attach himself to the Queen's fortunes.

"At the appointed hour," relates the Comte de Pimodan, "Mercy-Argenteau arrived in his carriage by the principal entrance in the rue du Faubourg St. Honoré, while Mirabeau slipped in, without being seen by the servants, by the gate of the garden which extends as far as the Champs-Élysées, of which gate Mirabeau had the key. In this manner he could reach La Marck's quarters unobserved."

It sounds like one of those clandestine adventures, but of a tender sort, which lent piquancy to life at the Hotel de Charost when it became the Hôtel de Borghese.

After Waterloo, the Duke of Wellington, appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Armies, reluctantly yielded the Paris Embassy to Sir Charles Stuart, recently British Ambassador at the Hague. Stuart is a rather baffling figure in the annals of diplomacy. He was the son of one of Wellington's companions-in-arms, General Stuart, and grandson of Lord Bute, George III's Prime Minister. His mother was the daughter and co-heiress of Lord Vere Bertie, a son of the first Duke of Ancaster, and he had been trained early for a diplomatic career. When he was thirty-five, and had filled various posts at Vienna and elsewhere, Henry Brougham

wrote thus of him to his friend, Creevy, then at the Hague:

C. Stuart will do whatever he can to make himself useful to you. He is a plain man, of some prejudices, caring little for politics and of very good practical sense. You will find none of his prejudices (which, after all, are little or nothing) at all of an aristocratic or disagreeable kind. He has no very violent passions or acute feelings about him and likes to go quietly and enjoy himself in his way. He has read a great deal and seen much more and done, for his standing, more business than any diplomatic man I ever heard of. By the way, as for diplomacy or rather its foppery, he has none of these things about him; and if you ever think him close or buttoned-up, I assure you he had it all his life just as much. He has no nonsense in his composition and is a strictly honourable man.

In spite of what has been written of the *faiblesses* of the Duke's immediate successor in Paris, it is probable that they hardly differed, save in kind (and not always that), from those of other illustrious figures, soldiers, statesmen and diplomats of the day. Others might seek distraction in the bottle or the gaming table; but it is certain that the era of the stoics, of blameless private lives, of stern and unbending Tories and of pale, ascetic Whigs, the era of Grey and Aberdeen, of Peel, of Palmerston, Russell and Gladstone, had not yet begun. Of Stuart, Chateaubriand wrote in his *Mémoires*:

He liked me well enough when I was Minister, because I treated him without ceremony and my door was always open to him. He came into my room in riding-boots at all hours, dirty and dressed like a bandit, after running about the boulevards with certain women whom he paid badly, and who publicly addressed him as "Stuart."*

"Sir Charles Stuart," records Lady Granville, "is in a fever of mind which he cannot conceal, from the fear of not remaining Ambassador here, but from all I hear he seems the best person, being excessively liked by the French." Augustus Hare describes Stuart as "singularly undistinguished in appearance," yet with a "great charm of manner and much sound wisdom and shrewdness, though of a kind fitted to cope more with the important events than with the details of life." It is believed that his official chief Castle-reagh, suggested to Stuart that he would considerably increase the chances of his tenure by a suitable marriage. Stuart took the hint and brought to the Embassy a youthful bride in the person of Lady Elizabeth Yorke, daughter of the Earl of Hardwicke. It was this lady who became known far and wide, as we learn from contem-

* M. de Marcellus, at one time French Ambassador in London, notes that Chateaubriand "has neglected to cite the source whence he has drawn these biographical details concerning Sir Charles Stuart, British Ambassador during his ministry. I will supplement this omission: the source is myself. It is, in fact, I who, for his private edification alone, dared to lift a corner of the veil which hid these gallant mysteries of diplomacy. Chateaubriand: *Oeuvres*, Vol. V. p. 27.

tion was growing too acute. "Normanby will be off to Paris to-morrow," wrote Lord Palmerston to Cowley from the Foreign Office, August 17th, 1846.

Constantine Phipps, Marquess of Normanby (then better known as the Earl of Mulgrave) had served as a Colonial Governor and as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He prided himself on knowing Paris intimately, and as a young man had gained a considerable *succès d'estime* for his novels and sketches of French society. He had, for example, then written such a passage as was afterwards to be recalled by M. Louis Blanc:

Now, France I cannot help thinking a vain nation, as well as a proud one. Its public will not tolerate for an instant any of its caterers or writers to fly in its face. It must be flattered. All who approach must approach with homage. The grave historian or philosopher must have a sentence or a paragraph in honour of the Great Nation. The essayist must wind up with a flourish of the kind and the dramatist must have a similar claptrap. The critic who ventures to praise Shakespeare must take care to express a *caveat* in favour of Racine. . . . Our insular pride has nothing so illiberal as this.

Normanby boasted an even more powerful recommendation in that his wife had been one of Queen Victoria's much-discussed bed-chamber women, and his brother, Colonel Charles Phipps, was Her Majesty's private secretary. This highly advantageous position in respect to the sovereign he now represented was, however, somewhat offset by the rather strained relations which subsisted between his official chief, Palmerston, and the Queen. Normanby's six years at the Embassy were to prove some of the most dramatic and stormy in the history of the office, and he was ultimately to bring down both Palmerston and himself. He had only been a fortnight in Paris before he had a personal quarrel with the French Foreign Minister, Guizot, on his hands, and things went from bad to worse. A strange lapse on his or Lady Normanby's part soon set all Paris talking, and for a time threatened a duel or a resignation. The Ambassador sent out invitations for a big Embassy ball; a card reached M. Guizot, which was afterwards recalled as having been "sent by mistake." The Minister deemed himself affronted by the Ambassador, and Palmerston declared that the Normanbys had behaved tactlessly. When the Revolution of 1848 broke out, Palmerston wrote: "I can give you but provisional instructions. Continue at your post. Keep up unofficial and useful communication with the men who from hour to hour may have the direction of events, but commit us to nothing." Learning that Normanby was short of ready cash, at the height of the crisis, Palmerston scribbled a note: "I send you 100 sovereigns by this messenger and will send you a hundred more by

the next." "How like Pam (commented Lady Normanby) to send a hundred sovereigns to this country which is making such a pother about sending us *one*." For at the moment poor Louis Philippe was effecting his much-harassed escape to England.

It was the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon that finished off Palmerston; for while he was telling Walewski, the French Ambassador in London, what an excellent thing he thought it was, Normanby in Paris was holding up his hands in horror at it as a crime. The rejoinder to his denunciations was simple: to quote Walewski's report of Palmerston's private opinions. The Prime Minister (Lord John Russell) met the Ambassador's complaints (as well as the Queen's indignation) by demanding Palmerston's resignation. Normanby's own dismissal was not long delayed. A letter which the new Foreign Secretary, Lord Granville (son of the late Ambassador), wrote him is a curious illustration of the relations existing in those days between the chief in Downing Street and distinguished emissaries of the Crown abroad. Normanby had just composed a violent denunciation of Louis Philippe's "crime."

"My dear Normanby; Your letters are charming and most useful and instructive; but they are like letters which one might find in an old chest, narrating events which appear to be perfectly incompatible with the age in which we live. . . .

Still, I think our policy is to be well with the President as long as he retains the immense power which he now wields, without committing ourselves to any approval of his late acts.

I am now going to make a most pert request, for one who writes such a hand as I do. Your handwriting is beautiful, but I, like Lord Palmerston, cannot read it. Perhaps you will sign the copies and keep the originals. Do not tell Lady Normanby, or she will never speak to me again, for my impertinence."

Three weeks later, the readers of the *Globe*, then the habitual recipient of Ministerial confidences, read a communiqué in its columns, intimating that the Ambassador to Paris had resigned. The Normanbys were furious, but there could be no appeal.

The appointment of the second Lord Cowley to the post took everybody by surprise. Little was known of him except that he was amiable and conscientious; but he proved a most admirable Ambassador, and remained in Paris for the next fifteen years. Lady Cowley was the daughter of Lord Henry Fitzgerald and Lady de Ros. Her knowledge of the world, of society and of courts was of great value to her husband, whose diffidence it was said "occasionally hampered his diplomacy." An interesting and popular member of the new Ambassador's family was his little daughter, Lady Fedorovna, who twenty years later became the wife of Francis Bertie, a future Ambassador, thereby forging another link in the

porary diarists and letter-writers, as Lady Betty or even Betty, *tout court*. Her daughter's biographer speaks of her as "of homely appearance, but with manners of the most captivating courtesy, with an unequalled conversational charm and speaking French like a native." His dictum that she was "the most popular Ambassador ever sent to Paris" conflicts, however, with our prejudices in favour of her immediate successor, Lady Granville, and perhaps one or two others.

In the spring of 1817 there was born at the Embassy the baby who became the beautiful and high-souled Lady Canning. New-born babies are notoriously unlike their later selves.

"Pray forgive her for being a girl," wrote Lady Hardwicke to her sister. "Sir Charles would have forgiven even two girls. . . . The first look of the young lady was so strikingly like her father as to make us all laugh."

The aged sovereign, Queen Charlotte, consented to be godmother to "*la petite Mademoiselle l'Ambassadrice*," as the porter at the Embassy insisted on calling her. A year later, in the chamber and upon the bed of Princess Pauline another daughter (afterwards also a celebrated beauty and the admiration of all beholders at the Eglinton tournament, Louisa, Lady Waterford), first saw the light.

Lord Granville, who succeeded Stuart, besides being considered one of the handsomest men of his time (which Stuart was not), was also a notorious gambler (*le Napoleon des joueurs* was his title in Paris) and at one sitting once lost over £20,000. Several of the attachés varied their official duties with addiction to gaming, and were constant nightly attendants at the *Salon des Etrangers* and other notorious establishments. In the Memoirs of Captain Gronow, sometime M.P. for Stafford, we read odd testimony to the manners of contemporary diplomats. Thus:

Fox, the secretary of the Embassy, an excellent man, but odd, indolent and careless . . . was seldom seen in the daytime, unless it was at the Embassy either in a state of negligée or in bed. At night he used to go to the *Salon des Etrangers*, and if he possessed a napoleon, it was sure to be thrown away at hazard or *rouge et noir*.

Once, however, fortune favoured him in a most singular manner. A colleague, Henry Baring, having urged him to take up the dice-box, Fox replied:

"I will do so for the last time; for all my money is thrown away upon this infernal table." Fox staked all he had in his pockets; he threw in eleven times, breaking the bank and taking home for his share 60,000 francs.

After this several days passed without any tidings being heard of him; but upon my calling at the Embassy to get my passport visa'd, I went into his room and saw it filled with Cashmir shawls, silks, Chantilly veils, bonnets, gloves, shoes and other articles

of ladies' dress. On my asking the purpose of all this millinery, Fox replied in a good-natured way, "Why, my dear Gronow, it was the only means to prevent those rascals at the *Salon* winning back my money."

"The Embassy," sighed Miss Agnes Berry, in a letter written in 1825, "can never be what it was in dear Elizabeth's reign. And yet," she conceded, "Lady Granville has been very good to us." Lady Granville had been resolutely good to everybody, even those female members of the French *noblesse* whose arrogance and condescension had at first so offended her.

"My dear," she wrote to her sister, "French people are—what shall I say?—what I don't like, as most comprehensive. They now show themselves to me at their best, for they are extremely civil and *prévénants*; but there is a *fonds* of ill-breeding, insolence, conceit and pretension *qui se fait jour*, through all their behaviour. . . . It is odd that their effect is to crush me with a sense of my inferiority, whilst I am absolutely gasping with the sense of my superiority."

All the same, she is obliged to avow that these ladies

have an *aplomb*, a language, a dress *de convenance* which it is impossible for me to reach as it would be for one of them to think five minutes like a deep-thinking, deep-feeling Englishwoman.

Her desire to please eventually had its reward, and the Embassy became one of the great centres of Parisian life and gaiety. It was at this period that repairs to the Embassy were carried out, for the building had long been neglected. She had written to Lady Carlisle at the outset:

Were you to see me in my new apartments you would not believe in me. We have a *luxé* of rooms. If the repair was equal to the space and beauty of this palace it would be perfection, but there are holes in the floor big enough to let me through and props to keep them up. All this must be set right in the spring.

Yet the success of the Granvilles did not prevent an interruption of their régime and a return of the Stuarts (now Lord and Lady Stuart de Rothesay) when George Canning died. True, it was not for long, but long enough for "Betty" to give a magnificent Marie Stuart ball, at which numerous Royalties were present, and which is still remembered (perhaps because of Eugène Lamy's spirited designs of it) in the annals of the Embassy. This was the year before the Bourbon dynasty finally fell in 1830, and not long afterwards the Granvilles were back again in the Rue du Faubourg St. Honoré and remained there undisturbed until 1843. In that year Lord Granville, whose health had utterly broken down under the strain (it was the time of the Spanish Marriages and widespread diplomatic intrigues), yielded his post to the aged Lord Cowley, brother of the Duke of Wellington and father of a succeeding Ambassador. Cowley did not remain long: the international situa-

chain connecting the first British occupant of the Hôtel de Borghese with one of the latest.

During his long occupancy of the Embassy, though subjected by the French Emperor to many diplomatic trials, Cowley lost his temper only once, and that was when Richard Cobden, the Free Trade apostle, backed by the Government of the day, came over to Paris to negotiate a special Commercial Treaty. A lesser patriot or an Ambassador of less magnanimity might have felt affronted; but Cowley gave Cobden every facility and his loyal co-operation. But once, at a meeting between the negotiators, Cobden went too far, showing too great haste to press matters to a conclusion. Whereupon (in Cobden's own words) the Ambassador

"jumped up from his chair, and seizing his hat, declared with considerable excitement that he would leave the room, throw up all responsibility, and leave the matter in my hands; that I had undertaken not to act without his consent and in opposition to his instructions, et cetera. In vain, M. Rouher explained that he had acted on my personal assurance and that what I had said did not bind me as a plenipotentiary and still less Lord Cowley. The whole scene ended in Lord Cowley's refusing to sign."

Others besides Prince Napoleon had been astonished that conflict had not previously arisen between the two men. "Do not say," Cobden had written to Bright, "a word to disparage Lord Cowley. He has acted a very manly part and has done his best to help me." Lord Morley's comment on the incident is that Cowley "was probably only suffering from that jealous and surly spirit which the Foreign Office thinks business-like." At all events, it is certain that the Ambassador was only obeying his instructions. "You will not," he afterwards wrote in friendly fashion to Cobden, "bless the day when you made acquaintance with diplomacy. But as you have now got entangled in our meshes, you must take us as we are, for better, for worse." The affair ended happily: and the treaty upon which Cobden had set his heart eventually went through.

Following Cowley came the still more lengthy embassy of Lord Lyons, lasting until 1886, which has been made sufficiently familiar through the excellent biography of Lord Newton and the reminiscences of Sir Edward Malet. Then came Lord Lytton, one of the most truly popular Ambassadors ever sent to Paris, who died in harness and was given a French State funeral from the Embassy. Lytton was the nephew of Henry Bulwer, Lord Dalling, formerly secretary at Paris, who had married the first Lord Cowley's daughter, and he himself had been an attaché in the Faubourg St. Honoré as far back as 1854. His successor was Lord Dufferin, slender, dark-featured, magnetic, eloquent; after whom came a

return to an older and sturdier type in the person of Sir Edmund Monson, whose famous "pin-pricks" speech so stirred up the violent Anglophobes and is still remembered in Paris.

"All nations and Governments," Lord Grey of Falloden has written, "are apt to be sensitive and suspicious of each other; France is no exception to this rule. Paris is apt to be sensitive and quick to suspect, perhaps even more so than most of the other capitals. It is therefore not easy for a foreign diplomatist in Paris to inspire confidence; but if he does inspire confidence he comes in course of time to be really trusted and the trust given him is ungrudging and whole-hearted."

Such trust, in Lord Grey's opinion, was given to the late Lord Bertie. But the later period of Bertie's embassy was overshadowed by the War; and this is true also of that of his immediate successor, Lord Derby, who was, however, personally very popular.

Long ago, an acute observer, M. de Blowitz, remarked in *The Times*:

There is one point which does not seem to have been invariably grasped by our Ambassadors in Paris since the establishment of the Republic. An Ambassador always does his work better if he is really fully in touch with the society of the capital to which he is accredited. It is no secret that there have been deficiencies in this respect at the British Embassy in Paris. Sometimes a British Ambassador and his family have seen practically no society at all; but more commonly they have frequented that section of the world which belongs to the Faubourg St. Germain, just as their predecessors did two or three generations ago. Doubtless it is pleasanter, if you are yourself of aristocratic birth and education, to consort chiefly with people of like traditions . . . but, none the less, this is not the society which represents the classes which now rule France.

Time was, when the Embassy in Paris and the parcel of ground upon which it stands was the only spot in all the fair land of France where an Englishman could take sanctuary and which, despite the aloof demeanour of the gorgeous French butler, he could call his very own. Now, there are other spots and sanctuaries, few in number but densely peopled, whose soil is vested in the English Motherland. These are the cemeteries wherein lie our British dead, who in life believed—let their illusion be respected!—that they fought in the cause of France, whose imminent danger they succeeded in averting and whose wrongs they gave their lives to right. Is it an excess of sentiment to suggest that these unseen and silent Englishmen in France must hereafter prove more eloquent and convincing ambassadors of their country in the cause of international goodwill and understanding than any body of men or arguments emanating from the ephemeral governments of the day?

BECKLES WILLSON.

working in the tanks at the bottom of the ship the boys get "pay and a half." Pay varies from 4½d. to 5½d. an hour. A good week including plenty of overtime and night work means something over £2. A certain lad of 17 began on Friday morning at 8 o'clock and worked until 2 p.m. on Saturday, with an hour's break on Saturday morning for going home. On Sunday night he began at 8 and worked for 12 hours; similarly he worked during the three following nights—a total of 78 hours' night work. Short intervals were allowed for meals, but he "couldn't eat anything." Boilers are covered with asbestos under health conditions that merit official investigation. Inside the boilers is a pressure of sixty to eighty pounds of steam, and the men and boys working outside, wearing only boots and trousers, are greatly affected by the intense heat. If they get the steam "full in the face" they "go right off"; because of this they work in pairs. The boys are paid at about 8½d. an hour.

The factories of Thames dockland are concerned with chemicals, glass, india-rubber, sugar, soap, guano and box and paper making. Engineering, too, is well represented. Nearly all the factories provide for trade depressions by using casual labour and keeping an ever-hopeful crowd of hangers-on, ready to work whenever there is work to be done. The employer is thus shielded from the necessity of paying a large staff in slack times. It is notorious that in some factories there is gross neglect of Board of Health regulations. Chemical factories are supposed to supply their workers with nail brushes and plenty of hot water; there is a Thameside factory whose total neglect of this precaution results in cases of lead poisoning. In some factories hot water and brushes are supplied only during the inspector's visit. Men who work at paint spraying are very apt to suffer from lead poisoning, and need adequate supervision. Paint gets under the finger nails and contaminates food; yet no opportunity is allowed for washing the hands before meals. Official health regulations provide for the issuing of rations of milk to workmen in certain factories; this is often ignored. In glass works young lads have to spend their time in a very hot atmosphere charged with sulphur fumes; their health suffers and they lose weight. The hot glass on the floor causes foot trouble, and also makes boots wear out very quickly—"six pairs in three months," said one lad. Working conditions such as these inevitably militate against personal cleanliness, self-respect, and morale, and the casual becomes less employable.

There are endless other sorts of work to be done by those who by force of circumstances or temperament are casuals. Newspaper selling is easily taken up and laid down, and is done chiefly by boys, old men and old women. There is keen competition for a

good pitch, and the boy who is a good runner gets the best sales when the evening papers come out. The profit is something like 5d a quire. Many market stalls have casual helpers on busy days; there are fruit and wood to be hawked, and coal carts to be taken out. Hop and fruit picking, mostly done by dwellers in the slums of great towns, is a pleasant holiday from ordinary life. Whole families work at it together, and earn enough to live on for some weeks afterwards. This is the healthiest work many people ever have the chance of doing, but undoubtedly it fosters the casual habit.

The sources from which casual workers come are many, but the greatest and most obvious is the children of casuals or of fathers who for any reason are away from the home. The latter class is easily explained, for the poverty of the home is likely to be greater and its disciplinary influence less than in the case of those children who are living with both parents. There are many reasons why the child of the casual labourer drifts into some similar low grade employment; but the following cases, taken from the Thames dock area, will suggest more than could a generalised enumeration of facts;

A., aged 17, is intelligent and has considerable initiative. His father and elder brother are scalers; his younger brother is a van boy. A. was first a messenger boy; after eighteen months he was "too old." He was then a rivet boy for five weeks. After some months' idleness he was rivet boy again, this time for three weeks. He is now unemployed.

B., aged 50, is a casual deal porter. His three sons are all casuals; the eldest, aged 23, is a deal porter; the second is a casual labourer in a guano factory; the third is a rivet boy. Three other children are too young to work.

C., aged 53, is a casual docker, and drinks heavily. He has three sons; the eldest, aged 18, is a scaler out of work. The second is 17 years old and very intelligent; for fifteen months he was a clerk in a West End publishing office at 17s. a week. But dinners and fares were expensive and his father "spoke for" him to be barman at 22s. 6d. with board. After some months the business was sold. Since then he has done scaling, but has had only a few days' work.

The short alleys and culs-de-sac off Victoria Dock Road contain some of the filthiest houses of Greater London. The district is unhealthy; water is near the surface of the ground, and tuberculosis and rheumatism are extremely common. That pauperism and casual labour are intimately associated has been found again and again by official inquiry. The Minority Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law speaks definitely: "The existence of a large class of under-employed men, living on casual jobs, and habitually unable to obtain anything like a full week's work, is

THE MAKING OF A CASUAL.

IN order to know where the casual worker of British industry is born, where he works, plays and lives, let us take an east-going 'bus at Aldgate and travel by the main road towards West Ham and Barking. This turbulent thoroughfare, called in turn Commercial Road, East India Dock Road, Barking Road, has a personality and life all its own, contributed by its people and its traffic, changing always but a unique whole. It is a true artery of trade, this road of many names.

In Aldgate we leave a haymarket, memory of more peaceful days, and follow bustling, jostling, rumbling carts, lorries, vans of every description. We are deafened by so much noise and bewildered by the strangeness of the sight. The stream of traffic never dwindles; the moving things that turn south to go to the docks are replaced by even more from other directions. There are horse vans from Covent Garden and motors from Smithfield and a score of factories. Trams with their tireless rolling and 'buses vibrating with sound carry their human freightage about its business. Farther on the road seems foreign; we are getting nearer to the docks, and all great docks provide entry for an alien world. There are dark-skinned men unsuitably dressed in English clothes; their faces are scarred and tanned, full of unknown story. Little knots of men stand about, too inert even to talk.

We come to the entrance of Blackwall Tunnel close to the East India Docks, and now we are in Dockland proper. A high wall separates road and docks, but over it we see the spars and funnels of ocean cargo boats; we almost think we are by the sea. The quayside is lined with cranes and long black sheds; the ground is intersected by rails. Here white meat-vans are being loaded with sides of meat; there are coal dumps and trucks of coal standing about. The air chokes us with coal dust and street filth. On our left is a long wooden one-storied building. It is painted green and is labelled "Employment Exchange," but outside it are idle groups and much dejected sucking at empty pipes. Here and there along the road advertisement pages of daily papers are posted, and youths and men gaze at them dispiritedly.

But the busy road continues. It crosses the river Lea by the Iron Bridge which forms the boundary between London and West Ham. To the north the Lea is a busy sight; wharves and factories crowd its banks; great barges are being repaired; a forge furnace glows cheerily. To the south the Lea twists in very complex windings; here industry is of the heavy sort, and the wharves are bigger. A railway follows the river, and Victoria Dock Road leads to the Victoria and Albert Docks. "Like a Sunday afternoon," said a

newspaper describing this district during the general strike. Yes, there was no heavy traffic; but the simile was a poor one. For in the strike silence of Dockland there was an atmosphere of tension, of nerve strain, of emotional struggle that no Sunday afternoon accounts for. The ordinary City and West End Londoner had no idea of the strain the dockers were passing through. Industry was asleep; huge crowds stood about, dumb with the misery of it. And then, when energy had been latent too long, a lorry would be attacked and its driver mauled; occasionally a private car was smashed. Baton charges helped to fill Poplar Hospital, and to crush the spirits of those already crushed. In the later days of the strike armoured cars were a common sight, and ships were unloaded under military protection. It was a terrible episode in the history of the casual; he almost smelt the breath of civil war.

A casual worker is one who may and does lose his job without notice and not by his own fault. He exists because of the fluctuations to which great fields of labour, notably docks and factories, are subject. Dock work, which is done by the unskilled or semi-skilled, is dependent on the coming and going of ships—events which are governed by no regularity and cannot be foreseen with any precision. To save heavy expense a ship must stay in dock the shortest possible time; she must be unloaded, repaired and sent out again in the fewest possible days by a large number of men and boys working maximum hours. Fluctuations of factory demands for labour are largely seasonal. Many factories employ a varying number of hands according to the orders to be executed at the moment. In a general industrial slump the casual is the first to lose his job and the last to find another. The population tends to be static at such times. But when trade is prosperous there is an influx of work-seekers drawn by an immediate prospect of good pay, and a thickly crowded district becomes yet more crowded. During the war unemployment was at a minimum in dock areas in and near London. The supply of workers was diminished, and there was urgent need for the quick repairing of ships and the production of munitions and other commodities. There too the post-war depression was especially manifest owing to the presence of chemical, glass, engineering and other industries of great war-time importance. Demobilisation intensified the problem, and there was unprecedented distress and unemployment.

Casual dock work consists chiefly of handling of goods and ship repairing, including boiler-making and scaling (i.e., chipping mineral deposits from the inside of boilers). Large numbers of boys from 16 to 18 are employed as scalers, rivet boys and bilge boys. A rivet boy's work is to take the red-hot rivets from the forge to the "holder up"; the riveter hammers them in. For

universally recognised to be a grave social evil. . . . These families contribute the great majority of the 49,000 children who were being fed at school in London in the winter of 1907-8, and of the much larger number who are being similarly fed in a hundred towns in the winter of 1908-9." The child of the dockside casual is born in the midst of squalor, and spends his early years under conditions of want and serious overcrowding. An average worked out for the families of a number of unemployed persons showed $4\frac{1}{2}$ children per family, and more than two persons per room. The child's only playground is the street. At five years of age he goes to school. Many schools in thickly crowded areas are old, having been built under the voluntary system or in the early days of the Board schools. Classrooms are stuffy and badly lit; playgrounds are absurdly small. An overworked poorly paid teacher in these surroundings can usually do little to counteract the home handicaps of the child, but some teachers put up a truly heroic fight in the cause of their pupils, and effect much. It has been said that the development of the average slum child is one year behind that of the child brought up in favourable circumstances, so the school has a hard task. Few children in the poorer schools sit for county scholarships; if a specially bright child does win a scholarship he must contend with unimagined difficulties in keeping pace with his fellows at a secondary school.

At the age of 14 a boy gladly leaves the too cramping discipline of school, and is tremendously eager to begin to help in the support of the home. He longs to feel the independence he thinks wage-earning will give. He cannot afford to wait until a fairly good job turns up, and he dare not take one that would lead to betterment but is poorly paid. His family clamours for every possible penny. In illustration may be quoted the case of D., aged 17, who left an office in Leadenhall Street to do rough casual work in a local factory, where the pay was better. He lost this job after two months. There are 12 in his family, six children under 14. The father is a casual. The immediate outlook of the youngster leaving school in a highly industrial area includes little besides casual or "blind-alley" employment. His relatives and his "pals" are casuals, or have been or will be casuals. There is no one to tell him what he is capable of, or what better work he might look for. There is little chance of getting technical training. He and his friends distrust the Labour Exchange, and if he does apply there, poorly dressed and untidy, there is not much hope of his success. So he may wait to be "spoken for" by father or neighbour, or he may wander about actively hunting for work; but most boys simply "stand on the stone" outside the busiest factory or dock. Very few dockland lads join the forces. Some, no doubt, are discouraged

by the suggestion of over much discipline, but great numbers are debarred by poor physical development, or defective eyes or teeth. They ought to emigrate, but lack of training and bad physique stand in their way; their outlook, moreover, is too narrow, and home ties too binding. These young people who have been employed at "blind-alley" work find themselves left with no resource but to become casuals when their employers shake them off. Such are van boys, errand boys and boys employed at factories* which automatically discharge them at 16 to avoid paying insurance money and Trade Board wages.

During a period of prosperity of local industry there is apt to be a good deal of immigration. The immigrants are mostly the ne'er-do-weels of other industrial centres, such as Belfast, Liverpool, or the Tyne, and are, of course, in search of casual work. But when a slump succeeds a boom they stay in their new home to increase the distress and under-employment of the district. When a particular trade is badly depressed its regular workers are cast out and forced to market their labour where they can. Seamen tend to weary of their sea life which they think a "dog's" one, and among dockside casuals are found many who have once been at sea. Some have lost their character and cannot get on another boat; others want to stay at home for a time.

Large numbers of casuals are men and boys who are unfit, or appear to be unfit, for regular employment. Unfitness may be physical and consist of definite disease or deformity; it may be mental, preventing the individual from competing with his fellows on equal terms, or rendering him incapable of sustained effort. Moral defects can be an insuperable bar to good regular work where testimonials are necessary, and anyone whose character is not officially clear drifts perforce to casual work where no questions are asked about the past. The general appearance, too, of a suitor for jobs is very important, and he who is incorrigibly dirty and untidy is rarely chosen for a regular post however capable he may be. The different kinds of people found in the docks are endless, but, owing to Trade Union regulations, and the necessity for holding a "ticket," not quite so amazing as formerly. In the middle of the last century Henry Mayhew could write of "decayed and bankrupt master butchers, master bakers, publicans, grocers, old soldiers, old sailors, Polish refugees, broken-down gentlemen, discharged lawyers' clerks, suspended Government clerks, alms-men, pensioners, servants, thieves—indeed, everyone who wants a loaf and is willing to work for it."* Casual labour easily and in divers ways causes personal deterioration; hence it comes about that "once a casual always a casual" is true. The "casual taint"

* *London Labour and the London Poor*. Henry Mayhew. 1861.

clings. The work is uneducative and intermittent; it makes people improvident and careless. They have lost economic freedom, and they quickly lose self-respect. It is easier to get a few days' good money in a busy dock than to answer an advertisement or to apply for a Labour Exchange post where perhaps a testimonial or influence is needed. It is no mystery how the casual system gets and keeps its numerous supporters.

In view of a problem such as this it seems idle to talk about reform; but the problem is bound up with the nation's welfare. There are East End and dockside settlements doing immeasurably good work; but they cannot attempt more than the alleviation of some of the results of a root evil. Involuntarily we turn to education as a possible remedy, and it seems a small thing to suggest that no child should leave an elementary school without some knowledge of the economic facts he is bound to face immediately after. The young boy has a right to know of the chances at his disposal; he should be clearly told how to set about getting the best work of which he is capable. This would perhaps raise the price of low-grade labour, but justice is of greater importance. Continuation schools and evening classes should provide their pupils with economic instruction about the labour market, and should offer adequate technical training, as well as some cultural standard and incentive to the young worker to attend.

In the foundation of Juvenile Unemployment Education Centres very excellent official action was taken; but these Centres are still crying out for really efficient staffing, housing and equipment. Their curricula need revision on modern lines; their teachers should be well-paid expert educationists, for their work is as difficult as any in the whole range of education; housing and equipment should be good enough for the task. The unemployed periods of a lad's life are critical; and the degeneration then imminent must be fought by all who care actively for the individual or for the race.

Some method of allotting work could surely be devised other than flinging it to those who patiently "stand on the stone" morning after morning. If the Employment Exchange system were revised so that it could be trusted and used by employers and workers, standards of working and living would be largely improved. But the greatest need of all is that utopian co-operation between master and man that we have never yet seen, and which would make industrial history a tale of prosperity and peace.

PETER ROKER.

ANDRÉ MAUROIS' ENGLISH PORTRAITS.

THE fascinations of a looking-glass are not exercised only on the feminine sex; there are few things more essential in humanity as differentiated from the animals than curiosity about our own appearance. And the same curiosity makes the reflection of ourselves in the minds of others, when only too occasionally we catch glimpses of it, intensely piquant, with the added charm that unlike the cold glass it offers every opportunity for argument, flattery and recrimination. It was, therefore, not surprising that a book like *The Silence of Colonel Bramble* should tickle the palate of the British public. Indeed, it was perhaps in pandering to the passion for mirrors that M. Maurois missed the serious consideration he deserved.

It is important that in these days a French writer should be able to see us, and still more important that he should be able to portray us, in so sympathetic a light. The picture is by no means a commonplace among his countrymen. English stolidity, for instance, is curiously often explained as the mask of diabolical cunning. Many French books lately published prove that we owe our Empire to this, combined with a complete disregard of the most elementary morality which we disguise under the pretence of prudishness. India is, of course, the most fruitful source of these tales. For example, *Le Reveil de l'Asie* reveals a vast Machiavellian intrigue hatched by Lord Curzon, and *Tu Trahiras*, a typical novel of this class, attributes to our rapacity for Empire murder, seduction, adultery, treachery, forgery, blackmail and other such little details of an English official life! This sort of violence, of course, is mere crude propaganda, but, nevertheless, the book, like so many of its prototypes, had a popular vogue, and was more widely believed amongst educated people than one would have thought possible. It is arguable that as counter-propaganda M. Maurois' study of the English would not be very effective, but it surely deserves our attention that such a sympathetic and affectionate influence should be at work, and the more particularly as he has made and is making a real study of the English nation, though in an unpretentious form. It has often been said that the French and the English will never understand one another, and consequently there must always be a mutual distrust and lack of sympathy. If this be so, we have the less reason for ignoring our friends, and particularly their opinion of us. All M. Maurois' work betrays his interest in, and friendship for, the childish people across the Channel. The Bramble books are not by any means alone in expressing it.

The French Genius is essentially inspired by the typical rather

than the individual, while in the English it is exactly the opposite. Molière wrote almost every one of his plays around a specific type: the hypocrite, the valetudinarian, the highbrow, the parvenu. All the greatest of English comedy, on the contrary, and particularly that of Shakespeare, is written round individual characters. Occasionally, in the case of the eighteenth century plays, they have specific characteristics, but even then it is not possible to label them. They are not examples, and will not stand for anything beyond their own individualities. And it is worth noticing in this connection that when English comedy did even so far approach the French it was in an age when literary conceptions in England drew nearer those of France in every other particular also. It is a matter of national temperament. Whereas the French spirit is analytical, the English is inventive; while the French seek to understand what they know, the English seek to know what they do not hope to understand. The analytical mind turns naturally to types, since types can be made to obey and illustrate certain laws; and logic, a science in which the French are naturally supreme, produces types as a consequence and a part of the machinery of argument. It is a convenient form in which to present the sum total of deductive observation.

As a nation we, on the other hand, have a love of tradition which amounts almost to a passion. It saves an immense amount of trouble and thus ministers to the laziness which is one of our essential characteristics. Observation, and especially deductive observation, by its means are made unnecessary. Precedent and tradition make a kind of sacred law which needs no troublesome facts to bolster it up. Without it our imagination would starve just as fairy stories could not exist without giants, ogres, witches and good fairies. Traditional figures are as much the mechanism of imagination as types are of logic. But since the analytical mind produces types and the inventive traditional figures, the former are entirely consistent and usually faithful, while the latter are unreasonable and often more than half a wild fiction. For while the type represents as far as possible what is, the tradition represents more or less what its inventors like to imagine is, the case.

In a study of national character this difference of inspiration must be taken into account. M. Maurois' genius for the typical serves him well. He can sum up a whole national character in one sketch, but at the same time, in some measure, he mistakes the tradition for the type. His portrait is so exact and consistent that it would startle us were it not that to a large extent we have deliberately invented the figure ourselves. In respect for the tradition of the English Gentleman all Englishmen, especially of course in the company of foreigners, unconsciously model them-

selves slightly by it. And it is here that M. Maurois goes astray. The type he draws is the result of real observation, but he has not realised when he is observing a pose, slight and unconscious perhaps, but still a pose. If other people's opinions are spiritual mirrors, we undoubtedly compose our features, straighten our ties, and generally arrange ourselves so that the reflection may be as far as possible to our satisfaction nor jar too roughly our illusions, and, like a child, we occasionally pull faces and laugh with delight at them. There is perhaps an advantage in doing so, for the grimaces may serve to hide defects we should not find so amusing. It is in the capture of these postures that M. Maurois so delicately flatters our prejudices and yet unavoidably misrepresents us. At times he reflects, almost without a flaw, the Englishman whom as a figure the English themselves are eager to emphasise and enjoy. In a picture of the English by a Frenchman it is almost inevitable, and if anyone is to blame it is ourselves.

"Affections are not impaired by being tempered by benevolent laughter," says Aldous Huxley, "for affection implies intimacy and one cannot be intimate with another human being without finding something to laugh at in his or her character." M. Maurois' affection for us is exactly of that nature. It is tempered with a benevolent laughter which has even a kind of parental condescension about it. He laughs indulgently, as all lovers of the English have done and probably will do. As a nation we do not appear to be either fascinating or admirable. "Englishmen are such babies," our apologists seem to say, "one cannot take them seriously. They really think that life is one huge game, and if you realise that and will play with them they are quite charming. The mistake is to treat them as if they were grown-up." M. Maurois speaks of "the youthful charm of the Happy Nation" as something which must melt a Frenchman's reserve. As inheritors of an England no longer very obviously Merrie we may well be proud of the epithet. After an hour of the company of English officers the Frenchmen's mouths twitch with a smile as one smiles at the exit of a delightful *enfant terrible*. And though it may not be strictly true that an Englishman is at heart a child, it is quite probable that a Frenchman would most easily reach a sympathetic understanding of him by supposing that he were. For in "childishness" is implied a different set of values. A child takes with intent seriousness matters which to the grown-up are of no importance at all, but at the same time the reverse is quite equally the case. But a benevolent tolerance of this childish standard does not imply a blindness for the defects, though directly due to that standard, which are especially English. We have the faults of our virtues, and only too often the virtues themselves are acquired

in the haphazard way in which we acquire almost everything—a method which the French can never quite forgive.

"The Englishman as an individual is sentimental and loyal, but he can afford the luxury of these noble sentiments because the British nation is imbued with a holy selfishness." We must admit the truth of the comment; whether the Englishman is more sentimental than most other men is questionable but beside the point. Certainly he is selfish. But the words "as an individual" are an inaccuracy. As André Maurois himself says, "A nation is a living organism but a nationality is nothing." Had he said "The English as a nation are sentimental and loyal," he would have expressed the truth more exactly. An Englishman is not necessarily anything so far as his being English goes, his nationality implies no definite characteristic, but the nation, the living organism of which he is a part, has very definite characteristics. And of these characteristics one of the most fundamental is laziness. M. Maurois even makes it responsible, combined with audacity and extravagance, for our Empire.

In an outside estimate of our national character the three qualities are important. They are interdependent. Extravagance and laziness go naturally hand in hand, and audacity is the natural consequence. Our extravagance has often been a source of amazement to our neighbours; it is a characteristic which they cannot understand, but which they instinctively despise. To the English, on the other hand, thrift is not easily distinguishable from meanness, and that is the unforgivable sin. But as a matter of fact the thrifty man is seldom stingy; he wants full value for his money, that is all. It is the extravagant, even the generous man, who wants something for nothing because he is ready to give something for nothing also. But since nothing is got for nothing, extravagance creates demand and a demand which must be satisfied; in the English case a demand for fresh sources of supply and fresh fields in which to seek fortune. The colonial spirit is thus born. Having squandered the resources of our own country, not in money's worth alone, we are forced to make new countries to satisfy our demands. Why should a man leave his own country if he can provide himself with all he wants within its borders?

There are two ways of making good the results of extravagance. One is by work; the other by making bold bids for fortune. To the natural spendthrift hard and patient work is as bad as saving money, and so audacity is the only course left. Audacity has always been one of our greatest, most useful and most dangerous characteristics. Like its immediate causes, it is due to that shortsightedness which other nations cannot understand in us, and frequently will not admit, but which more than once has proved

our salvation. Partly because of a placidity of temperament which prevents them from meeting trouble half-way, partly from an innate optimism which believes that the best is sure to turn up if one only leaves things alone, the English plan and act for the needs of the present and leave the future to take care of itself. Should fortune be favourable we get the reputation of subtle cunning subtly dissembled. Thus we acquired our Empire "in a fit of absence of mind," and thus we built up a haphazard, archaic, but elastic Constitution which is the admiration of the world. The method accounts, however, for much of the selfishness and wastefulness of which we are accused, not without justice.

One of the most paradoxical characteristics in a nation which has its share of humility when concerned with itself is our instinctive sense of superiority when dealing with others. It is in our opinion of others that we most unconsciously reveal ourselves. The assumption that the entire human race is divided into three grades, British, Foreigners, and Savages, is due to many causes, but among the least is an active conceit such as it would seem to prove. The Englishman is the least boastful of men; he is not vain but self-sufficient. He has had to rely on himself alone in the more primitive places of the earth, and as one of an Imperial race finds himself with an authority which he gradually takes for granted. It is not so much that he has a high opinion of himself as that he has learnt to have a low opinion of others. It has not been safe, moreover, to trust them, and as it is unnatural to him to distrust his own kind, he assumes that they are another order of beings and to be treated as such.

In considering a nation as a whole the geniuses it produces are even less to be ignored than the type which exemplifies it. A genius is the supreme production, the gift of the spirit of a nation to the world. If an artist is to be judged by his greatest work so is a nation to be judged by her greatest sons. They may be apparently in no way representative of the spirit from which they spring, but nevertheless they are a criterion of that spirit. A child may not resemble his mother, but he is flesh of her flesh nevertheless; and the Bible teaches us to know a tree by the fruit thereof. Often the resemblance to the parent stock is not so entirely lacking as at first appears. In genius the human spirit reaches a higher level and, flooding its banks as it were, perforce finds expression. It is as if the normal impulses were continuously at a higher pressure. In this way genius contains an exaggeration of some of the very qualities of the ordinary man, sometimes in a greater, sometimes in a less degree. It is not so much that the mind and spirit of a genius are

different from those around him, but that they are richer, fuller and more varied.

It is, however, not expressly as aspects of national psychology that M. Maurois has made his studies, one of Mrs. Siddons, the other of Shelley, though they are essentially studies of character. Neither attempts serious criticism or biography; and though both take the form of a romantic and half-fictitious narrative of the events in the lives of the artists, such a narrative is chiefly made an excuse for character-sketches. Of Mrs. Siddons our knowledge is too much alloyed with conjecture. As a genius we can only know her at second and third hand; as a character, also, we know little but what we are told. A nature apparently so self-possessed, a temperament so devoted to her art, betrayed itself little enough in the ordinary events of life. We like to fancy, looking at her superb beauty, that she revealed herself on the stage, but alas! that is a book of which we shall never read a line. About a character so remote and romantic we are ready to accept much without contradiction. She seems to have been an odd mixture of sentimentality and hard matter-of-factness, of high-flown heroics and chill commonsense. We are told—though André Maurois unaccountably ignores this significant characteristic—that she habitually talked as though she were on the stage, with theatrical gestures and often with long quotations from her parts, even when the latter were not particularly suitable. In her romantic and somewhat foolish marriage with Siddons, in her treatment of Lawrence and at many unexpected points in her career, she seems to have shown the most complete sentimentality, while, on the other hand, of love affairs, in spite of her beauty and her profession, she is reported to have had none. Was she then, like many Englishwomen, something of a sentimental prude? One who made up for her rigid observance of the proprieties by an indulgence in imitation or vicarious emotion? Did she in fact make her imagination fill the gaps left by her Anglo-Saxon incapacity for any but stage passion? M. Maurois' sketch of her is but a slight one. She does not fill the consciousness of the English as one of our great national geniuses. She has become, through the ephemeral nature of her art, a shadowy figure, whose chief significance to us is that she sat to Gainsborough and Romney. In her own branch of art she was one of the greatest, if not the greatest, artist the world has seen, yet as a character she has only a remote and academic interest; she is not even a tradition.

It is in the other character-portrait, of a figure much more vital—a pastel perhaps, but a finished work of art, this portrait—that M. Maurois betrays his most subtle psychological penetration. While to a superficial glance Shelley seems to belong less

definitely to the English nation than such poets as Shakespeare, Browning or Keats, nevertheless it is soon clear that no other nation could have produced him exactly as he was. He was, of course, a crank, and the English are less tolerant of cranks than any other nation, or perhaps it would be truer to say that they are not so much intolerant as intensely and actively bored by them and more than a little shocked. Crankiness is bad form. For both reasons they ignore cranks very pointedly and as far as possible remove them from decent society. But Shelley's crankiness arose from a temperament made up to a large extent of those very qualities which we have learnt to consider as peculiarly "English," only in a wildly exaggerated degree. His political opinions for instance showed that short-sighted sentimentality of which M. Maurois among many others accuses us. He was illogical, unreasonable and childish to a degree. He was temperamentally extravagant both spiritually and materially, and (most fundamental characteristic of all) he allowed his imagination to run away with him.

The strongest element of the English genius is imagination; the imagination which has found vent all through our history in our passion for the far-flung places of the world, and in our old love of adventure and the unknown, but which is shown most clearly in our literature. Our poetry is richer in imagery, the natural language of the imagination, than any other. Frequently the imaginative element takes the place of passion (in which we are naturally deficient it seems) of emotion, of sensibility, and often even of thought. It is at once the glory and the danger of English art. France, in the words of one of her writers, is *l'ennemi de la trop grande imagination*. For in the French the intellect, so far as it is possible to generalise, has the ascendancy over all other attributes. It is even consciously cultivated to restrain them. Thus imagination is made to become a servant instead of a mistress. Here is the reason why the French genius at its best found expression in classicism while the greatest of our literature, from Shakespeare downwards, was essentially romantic. Without entering into the hoary controversy as to the correct definition of the overworked terms, it may be said that while classicism makes use of the imagination as a form of adornment, romanticism finds in it the chief source of inspiration. It is the nature of imagination that it must work on the unknown, and thus the imaginative and the inventive spirit, already spoken of, are one.

Shelley is perhaps our supreme instance of the imaginative artist. In imagery he is the richest of our poets, with the possible exception of Shakespeare. His power of mythical personification is due directly to the fact that he could not look at the world

except through the glass of his imagination. At every turn he made fairy tales for himself. Emilia Viviani, for instance, fired his imagination alone. Apparently she left his passion unstirred, but she fitted into his fairy world, and she was something strange and new around which his fancies could weave themselves.

The significance of this fairy-story attitude of mind is not lost on M. Maurois as it has been on some of our foreign critics. Childishness, which all through the Bramble books we realise is to an observer one of the essential traits of the English character, was at the very core of Shelley's. Thus the Infant Dundas, who in *General Bramble* thinks the practising of his overhead service the most important consideration in his new appointment to Constantinople, is a modern echo of the poet who devoted hours to sailing paper-boats and blowing soap-bubbles. "To the last," as Francis Thompson says, "in a degree uncommon even among poets, Shelley retained the idiosyncrasy of childhood." That is to say, he "believed in love, believed in loveliness, believed in belief." The capacity for belief which he had in such measure is, of course, inherent in the desire to know without attempting to understand which is so peculiarly English. The analytical mind demands reason and proof, while it is the nature both of belief and imagination that they had no need of either. It was the world of fact that Shelley found difficulty in accepting; anything that demanded faith found him eager. It was thus that he was so easily duped, and it was this attitude that was responsible for his fervent acceptance of so impossible a doctrine as Godwin's; it was even responsible for his atheism which, especially when, as with him, it takes its usual form:—pantheism—is a belief as actual and more fantastic than the Christian creed.

The idiosyncrasy of childhood implies, as has been said, a different set of values from that of the grown-up world, and it is this new scale of values which is at the root of the matter and which perplexes while it amuses all those who make a study of the English. It seems that others can never share our angle of vision. M. Maurois fully realises this fundamental difference, and with delicate humour caricatures it, but we feel that while he recognises it and tolerates it the attitude is beyond his complete sympathy. The Englishman feels that any other attitude runs the risk of priggishness. The Frenchman is not so desperately concerned as himself to avoid the risk.

VERONICA RICE.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

ANGLO-GERMAN TRADE CONFERENCE.

REPRESENTATIVES of the Federation of British Industries and of the Reichsverband der Deutschen Industrie held a conference in London on December 3rd and 4th, and satisfied themselves, as they said, that some technical barriers to trade, such as the double taxation of industries and subsidies, were, as a result, more clearly understood. It was decided that the discussions should be continued in Germany in the early spring and a protocol was drawn up to record the results of the conference.

The main achievements of the conference may be summarised thus:

(1) It was agreed that the two Federations, acting on general principles laid down at the conference, should between now and the next meeting draw up proposed formulæ for submission to their respective Governments for the removal of the existing incidence of double taxation of the nationals of one country by the revenue authorities of the other. Those formulæ, it is hoped, will be finally drafted at the meeting which is to take place in the spring.

It is the German hope that an Anglo-German Treaty may be concluded analogous to those which Germany has concluded with Italy, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary and Austria. By these treaties German residents in those countries and nationals of those countries resident in Germany as agents of trading firms at home are taxed only on their own income, not on the business they make for their firms. That business is taxed in the home country, and the double tax is precluded by the treaties. A similar Anglo-German treaty was discussed, which it is hoped may be reduced to a definite formula for submission to the two Governments in the spring.

(2) A less clear decision was reached for the elaboration of similar proposals about tariff barriers. It was the German delegates who raised this question, the British delegates being somewhat circumscribed in their ability to discuss it by reason of the Governments' fiscal policy. The fact was, however, made clear by the famous tariff map drawn up in London that the British tariff walls are the lowest in the world. Dr. Duisberg disputes the accuracy of the map so far as Germany's walls are concerned, but does not dispute the fact that the German walls are higher than the British.

(3) It was decided that an analysis be made by each Federation of the exact nature of each Government's subsidies, so that the full facts may be available for the resumed meeting in the spring. Subsidies are regarded as injurious to international trade. The

question of exports credits, whether guaranteed by the Government or not, was separately discussed. The hope is that, as a result of the expert work about to be done between now and May, it may be possible to arrive at a common definition of principles which should govern such credits.

(4) A systematic exchange of information about trade fairs and statistics was decided on in the hope that ultimately a common policy might be formulated.

One of the points about which Sir Max Muspratt, the President of the Federation of British Industries, and Dr. C. Duisberg, President of the Reichsverband der Deutschen Industrie, were particularly concerned at the end of the conference, was that neither the United States nor any other country should imagine that any combine had been discussed which might militate against their interests.

At the end of the meeting, therefore, Sir Max and Dr. Duisberg drew up a joint disclaimer of any such intention. It was clearly designed to help American opinion, which had been much concerned about nothing, at the time of the Romsey meeting. The disclaimer ran thus:

"In view of certain rumours which have appeared in the Press the representatives of the Reichsverband der Deutschen Industrie and of the Federation of British Industries desire to state clearly and emphatically that the question of international cartels or combines has not been discussed at the conference, still less has any suggestion for combined action by British and German industry against the industry of any other country been mentioned or considered. The representatives of both organisations would regard such action as not merely improper, but extremely foolish."

A short official statement was issued at the end of the meeting in these terms:

"On the resumption of the Anglo-German Trade Conference this morning, reports were received from sub-committees appointed yesterday to consider the question of international trade affairs and some of the taxation questions which have been discussed at the previous day's meeting. The discussion which had been left unconcluded at the previous session, in regard to the general European economic situation, was continued, and it was agreed that various points should be further investigated by the two organisations with a view to their next meeting. A short general discussion followed on the question of credit insurance and as to the possibility of increasing this class of insurance and the supply of information on the credit of potential customers. It was agreed that no further step could be taken until after the international meeting of the representatives of European insurance companies,

which will take place in the near future. Various minor inconveniences to international trade, such as the question of passports and visas, were briefly discussed. The conference then broke up and at the conclusion of the meeting great satisfaction was expressed by representatives of both organisations that the progress made and the great future possibilities opened up for co-operation between the two bodies."

Although the official reports seem to record aspirations rather than achievements, the foundations have been laid of what the leading German and British industrialists expect to be important developments.

Much public confusion has been caused, however, not only in America but in Germany and in Great Britain, by the dual series of meetings that are taking place. In October Dr. Duisberg and Herr Kastl led a delegation of "private" industrialists and bankers to Romsey, there to meet Sir Robert Horne and his British colleagues. In December Dr. Duisberg and Herr Kastl in their capacity as President and Secretary of the Reichsverband der Deutschen Industrie, came to London to meet Sir Max Muspratt and Sir Eric Geddes and their colleagues of the Federation of British Industries. In the spring the "Romsey" industrialists (according to present arrangements) are to meet the Germans at Dr. Duisberg's headquarters near Cologne and the Federation of British Industries industrialists are to go to Berlin to meet the same people about the same time. These are busy men. What is the explanation of their expenditure of time by these duplicated meetings?

The muddle originated in this way. In September 1925, Sir Max Muspratt went to see Dr. Duisberg at Leverkusen and invited him and his colleagues to come to London to meet the Federation of British Industries. Dr. Duisberg accepted. In August, 1926, Sir Robert Horne sent two envoys to Berlin as a private venture on his part and in ignorance of what Sir Max had done, to see if a big meeting of Anglo-German industrialists could be arranged. Sir Robert Horne has no connection with the Federation of British Industries; Dr. Duisberg and Herr Kastl, being the obvious people for Sir Robert's purpose, were approached, and they accepted Sir Robert's proposal. The Germans were naturally a little confused. They had not received what the diplomatists would call the "definitive" invitation either for St. James's Street or for Romsey, and they waited. The Romsey invitation came first, and they crossed to England. Then the invitation from St. James's Street came, and they crossed again.

As arrangements now stand there will be two British pilgrimages to Germany in the spring and both sets of pilgrims contem-

plate arriving about the same time. Sir Robert Horne has accepted Dr. Duisberg's invitation for a return visit of the "Romseyites" to Leverkusen in April, and Sir Max Muspratt has accepted Dr. Duisberg's invitation for a return visit to Berlin "in the early spring or late winter." The irony of it is that these distinguished business men have organised these meetings to improve business. Their methods seem unbusinesslike. No doubt some simplification will be effected before the spring.

GERMANY'S PROBLEMS.

The two main problems which exercise German politicians, financiers and industrialists who look ahead, are the danger of increased unemployment and the propaganda of the so-called *Wirtschaftspartei*. The latter is a new political party which appeals to the middle classes by its slogan of "A hundred per cent. restitution." Those of the middle classes who lost capital and real property in 1923 are increasingly sore about it. The daily necessity of raising more and more cash in millions of marks led them to sell real property for a song to speculators, mainly foreign. They see, for instance, their former house, sold in 1923 for the equivalent of a few shillings, now in possession of another, and worth perhaps a thousand pounds. They resent the "trickery" of it. By advocating restitution, the *Wirtschaftspartei* advocates something impossible, has no constructive policy, depends on discontent for its appeal, but is winning alarmingly increasing support.

The problem of unemployment has given a new turn to the old quarrel between the bankers and the industrialists. The latter demand increased production, and have stimulated speculation in industrial securities to such an extent that Stock Exchange quotations in Berlin have jumped on an average about 200 per cent. in twelve months. The bankers by contrast argue that Western Europe is over-industrialised because former markets and former capacity for consumption have gone, and that what is needed is consolidation, not expansion.

The German banks are much more intimately concerned in German industry than the British banks in British industry. British banks advance loans to industries on security. German banks are big holders of industrial stocks. The dispute between the bankers and the industrialists is tantamount in practice to internal dissension in the directorate of companies. In technique American methods of production are being adopted, but the danger is that the bankers may be proved right in their fear that industry will thereby be hoist with its own petard. The banks are more and more disinclined to finance industrial expansion.

In spite of these internal difficulties, Germany's recovery since

1923 has been remarkable. The very pessimism of those in authority combines somehow with the still existent distress of the country-folk to act as a spur to hard work, to the elimination of stupid trade disputes and to general content with small mercies.

While certain political writers, both in Great Britain and in France, still attach some importance to what they demand as Germany's "repentance" about the Great War, it is difficult to find anyone in Germany, even among high officials, who thinks much either about repentance or about the Great War. Herr Stresemann and Chancellor Marx, it is true, have since the Locarno Conference protested against "war guilt" being saddled exclusively on German shoulders, but even they are not deeply concerned about it. The truth is that Germany has suffered a bigger thing than the military defeat of 1918. While diplomatic thought in London and in Paris still stretches back to the war period, and still takes its form from the 1918 hypotheses, the corresponding German thread was snapped by the 1923 inflation. It is the last biggest thing that is the starting-point of what, for convenience, may be called "national thought"; and the last biggest thing for Germany was the catastrophe of 1923.

To ask any typical representative of the German middle classes, a German professor of history for example, whether those classes are "repentant" is to be told that such a question is a matter of disputation for academic historians and has no present reality in the minds of the people. The middle classes in Germany are fifty years behind the corresponding classes in Great Britain in their grasp of international affairs, and the English middle classes are ignorant enough in that field. There is, however, the human link which binds Germany, as it binds all other belligerents, to the memory of the war.

One surprising result of the cutting off of German diplomatic thought from the war period is the elimination of German interest in Great Britain. The French occupation of the Ruhr coincided with the great inflation, and up to then Great Britain loomed large on the horizon. Present values, however, are based rigidly on present realities. German diplomatists are exercised about Russia because the problem of relations with Russia is of immediate practical importance to Germany. They are exercised about France because the continued military occupation of German territory and the continued military control of Germany are regarded as the particular concern of France, and the effect of Thoiry has not yet disclosed whether the spirit of M. Poincaré or that of M. Briand is to decide French policy. They are exercised about the United States because of what is currently called "the almighty dollar." A German banker said to me, "I cannot walk past

the Adlon Hotel without an American running out and offering to finance something." America has provided the bulk of Germany's post-1923 credits; the dollar has become the criterion of financial values in Berlin.

It is not regarded in Berlin as an odd thing, even for diplomats, whose main business should be tact, to engage in conversation with an English banker and to quote the exchange in terms of dollars, or in conversation with an Englishman who speaks in English to ask him when he is returning to New York. Since the Locarno Conference, when, as the result of British diplomacy the bases of Franco-German reconciliation were laid, the work of British diplomacy, so far as Germany was concerned, was finished, and London slipped from the minds of the Wilhelmstrasse. Thoiry was an exclusive Franco-German affair. With the December meeting of the League Council, however, and with the ebbing freshness of Thoiry, the Wilhelmstrasse again looks across the North Sea.

The German industrialists by contrast think mainly in terms of Great Britain. Russia in their eyes is an uncertain speculation, France a disturbing factor which needs pacifying, the United States a distant financier, while Great Britain is a matter of life and death. They recognise, none the less, that Germany and Great Britain are powerless to avert economic disaster for the whole of Europe unless French fears can be allayed. That point of view becomes especially interesting when expressed by the Ruhr industrialists. Dr. Duisberg, for instance, the Leverkusen magnate, was banished to his own cellar at the time when the Ruhr was occupied. He lived in three rooms in his cellar for fifteen months, and was not allowed to use his own front door. His house and his office in the chemical works were occupied by "enemy" officers. The memory of those days weighs heavy on him, but he is the foremost advocate in Germany of an understanding with Germany's former enemies. The man whose work discovered the explosive which prolonged the Great War from 1915 (when the existing supplies ran out and raw materials were cut off) to 1918, is now a pacifist who turns the other cheek. His only present concern is to help in the economic salvation of Europe.

Since 1923 economics are an everyday reality in German minds. The grotesque days when the shopkeepers refused to open till afternoon for fear that the money received for sales in the morning should be halved in value in the afternoon have made the people nervous of economic as well as of financial collapses. That mentality to some degree explains the earnestness with which Locarno and its three offshoots—Thoiry, Romsey, and the Steel Trust—are supported in Germany. It is true that the bankers

scoffed at Thoiry, but the attitude was due to their indignation against the puerile plan of attempting to sell some of the Dawes railway bonds—that plan in which M. Briand was able to excite Herr Stresemann's temporary interest. Germany of to-day is anxious to translate what may be called the Locarno-Thoiry aspiration into practical achievement.

THE PROBLEM OF DISARMAMENT.

The December meeting of the League Council was mainly concerned with an incidental aspect of the general problem of disarmament. It is odd that disarmament should be a problem. No one wants war, yet few are prepared to disarm. A British General, addressing a body of O.T.C. cadets on Salisbury Plain just before the war, said, "Unless you are part of the organisation for war, you are no use for war." That truth cuts two ways. If no one in the world was any use for war, there would be no war. The point is sometimes made that disarmament of the heart and of the mind must precede the disarmament of the hand and of the factory, that if the men have no rifles and yet want to fight, they will fight with sticks. The answer of those who regard the organisation for war as the main cause of war is this: if men want to fight with sticks, let them, and good luck to them. It would not matter. What matters is that the philosophy of government should be based on dreadnoughts, field guns and aeroplanes. Granted the organisation for war on the scale which is familiar to us, war is a certainty. Once it begins, the accumulated force of tradition, training, national habit and warped patriotism intensify it and prolong it.

The League of Nations has set itself to reduce, and ultimately to destroy the means of war. A big disarmament conference is contemplated. Committee work has been carried on for some time to prepare a dossier of evidence on which that conference may set to work. It was the general hope some short time ago that the conference might meet in 1927. The hope is deferred, and 1928 now takes the place of 1927 as the earliest likely date.

In the meantime the Council of the League of Nations has considered an interim phase of the problem. The December meeting of the Council was concerned above all with the question of German disarmament. It happened that at Locarno in October 1925 the representatives of the European countries who from 1914 to 1918 fought against Germany agreed with the representatives of Germany that in the future it would be better to have peace than to have war. The two countries on which European peace mainly depends, namely France and Germany, refreshed the Locarno idea in the autumn of 1926. M. Briand and Herr Stresemann met at

every facility for any investigation which the Council, acting if need be by a majority vote, might consider necessary."

3. (Monthly Summary, March, 1925, p. 64 and June, 1925, p. 147.) On June 10th, 1925, the Council decided to address "to the Austrian, Bulgarian, German and Hungarian Governments a letter explaining its point of view and expressing its confidence that, should the occasion arise, the stipulations of the Peace Treaties by which States liable to investigation undertook to give every facility to such effect, would be fully carried out."

At the same time the Secretary-General, acting on the instructions of the Council, had in March, 1925, notified the four countries which had undertaken to submit to investigation the decisions reached with regard to the organisation of the right of investigation and the regulations on ways and means to assure its execution. The object of this notification was to enable these countries to take the necessary measures to ensure that as soon as an investigation was decided upon by the Council, the rights recognised by the Peace Treaties could be exercised with the collaboration of these countries.

4. (Monthly Summary, December, 1924, p. 269, March, 1925, p. 64.) At the time when it was dealing with the general question of investigation, the Council considered that of the application of the scheme approved by it to the Rhine zone demilitarised by the Treaty of Versailles. On December 11th, 1924, the Council instructed the Permanent Advisory Commission to submit practical proposals for the application to the demilitarised Rhine zone of Chapters 1 and 5 of the scheme for the exercise of the right of investigation. Chapter 1 of the scheme stipulates that the "investigations provided for in the Treaties may, if the Council so decides, cover such demilitarisation of territory as may be laid down in the said Treaties, and any or all of the military, naval or air clauses of these Treaties." Chapter 5 stipulates that "within the period fixed by the Council and with its approval, the Chairman of the Commissions of Investigation may detach groups to remain at points in the demilitarised zones where continuity of investigation is required." As requested by the Council, the Permanent Advisory Commission "proceeded to a discussion—in which the British and Swedish delegates abstained from taking part—and submitted to the Council a report on the subject." On March 14th, 1925, the Council decided "to postpone to a subsequent session, with a view to more exhaustive study, the system of investigation to be applied to the demilitarised Rhine zone." Since then the examination of the question has not been resumed. No decision has been taken by the Council regarding the voting procedure

(unanimity or majority) to be applied to decisions to be taken as a result of the reports of the Investigation Commission.

5. (Monthly Summary, September, 1924, p. 175.) The scheme which was adopted by the Council on September 27th fixes the initial procedure with regard to investigation and determines the method and scope of such investigation as well as the constitution and operation of the Commission.

(a) *Rôle of the Council.* Once an investigation is decided upon, the Council will notify the Government concerned, without informing it of the details, of such investigation as may bear on the demilitarisation of territories provided for by the Treaties and the military, naval and air clauses of the Treaties. The programme of investigation, and the lists of the experts, will be decided upon by the Council on the proposal of the Permanent Advisory Commission. The Council determines the composition and appoints the Presidents, who receive their instructions from and are responsible to the Council. The Council fixes the period of the investigations and receives all reports and information.

(b) *Composition and Functions of the Permanent Advisory Commission.* The Permanent Advisory Commission is responsible to the Council for preparing the organisation for any investigation upon which the Council may decide. These investigations will be carried out by Special Commissions entitled "Commissions of Investigation." The Permanent Advisory Commission is composed of experts selected by the States represented on the Council, each State nominating three experts (for military, naval and air questions). Any State, not being a member of the Council, neighbour of a State which has given, by one of the Peace Treaties, an undertaking to submit to investigations, and being a signatory of that Treaty, shall be represented on the Permanent Advisory Commission for all questions concerning such investigations. The Permanent Advisory Commission shall furnish to the Council any information it may require with regard to the observance of the disarmament clauses of the Peace Treaties. The Commission will receive immediately after their arrival copies of the reports and information submitted to the Council, and may propose that the right of investigation shall be exercised. The Commission will submit to the Council if necessary, each year, the programme of the investigations it recommends. At each session of the Council, the Commission may propose such additions to the programme as it may consider necessary. The Permanent Advisory Commission will draw up, for the approval of the Council, the preliminary list of experts from which the members of the Commissions of Investigation will be selected. According to the nature and importance of the investigation, the Permanent Advisory

Thoiry and reaffirmed their Locarno understanding. One of the implications of that understanding was that the war of 1914-1918 was to be a bygone, that Germany and the rest of us were to start afresh, as friends. It would be difficult for friendship to develop between two individuals, if the condition were laid down that one of them should be armed with a pistol in case the other should at any time in the future deserve to be shot, while that other for his part were not allowed to have a pistol. Equality of confidence is the essence of the matter. It was the essence of Locarno and of Thoiry that the parties to the arrangement should be spontaneous equals. Such a conception is a matter not of priggishness, but of realism. Since 1919 the ex-Allies had exercised in Germany a form of military control over Germany. In 1926 it became a diplomatic commonplace that the military control of Germany must come to an end if Locarno was to prove anything but a sham. Technically the calling off of the Military Control Commission was a matter for the Ambassadors' Conference, who, as a condition of such calling off had to satisfy themselves that Germany had disarmed according to the criteria laid down by themselves in June 1925. In practical politics it was a matter for M. Briand, M. Poincaré, and Sir Austen Chamberlain to decide. When Herr Stresemann met M. Briand and Sir Austen at Geneva in the first fortnight of December his main concern was the equalisation, as between Germany and the Allies, of the principle of disarmament. He wanted to know when the Military Control Commission would be withdrawn from Berlin, and what precise measure was to be substituted for carrying out Article 213 of the Treaty of Versailles: for although the Military Control of Germany was on all sides recognised as a temporary measure, something more permanent, if vaguer, was prescribed in the treaty.

The idea of a regular permanent organisation to be imposed on Germany as a sort of watchdog was intolerable to German opinion and could not honestly be defended or reconciled with the treaty.

THE COUNCIL'S RIGHT TO "INVESTIGATE."

All the Treaties of Peace contain an Article (No. 213 of the Treaty of Versailles; 159 of the Treaty of Saint-Germain; 143 of the Treaty of Trianon; and 104 of the Treaty of Neuilly) which gives to the Council of the League of Nations the right of investigation into the fulfilment of the obligations entered into by the defeated countries about their armaments. The Article runs: "So long as the present Treaty remains in force, Germany (Austria,

Bulgaria or Hungary) undertakes to submit to any investigation which the Council of the League of Nations, acting if need be by a majority vote, may consider necessary."

The subsequent decisions of the Council about this matter are given below in the form of extracts from the Monthly Summary in which they have been published.

1. (Monthly Summary, June, 1924, p. 108, and December, 1924, p. 269.) In June, 1924, the Council at the request of the British Government decided to examine the right of investigation. It instructed the Permanent Advisory Commission for military, naval, and air questions to examine the question of the organisation to be placed at the disposal of the Council with a view to the exercise of this right. Some months later the Permanent Advisory Commission submitted a scheme; on September 27th the Council voted a resolution setting up "the organisation for the exercise of the right of investigation."

In December of the same year the Council proceeded to certain measures of detail concerning the establishment of lists of experts from which the members of the Commissions would be selected, the constitution of archives and the Secretariat of the Commissions. It decided that the Chairman of the Commissions should be appointed by the Council for a period of one year and that the Council's decisions should be taken by a majority vote when the composition of the Commissions was in question.

2. (Monthly Summary, December, 1924, p. 269, March, 1925, p. 64, and June, 1925, p. 147.) The Council instructed the Permanent Advisory Commissions "to prepare a report dealing both from a technical and a practical point of view with the ways and means of ensuring the free and complete execution of the duties entrusted to the Commissions of investigation. A Committee of three jurists was appointed to submit in legal form the proposals drawn up by the Permanent Advisory Commission."

In March, 1925, the Council adopted the report in question, which was presented in the form of "regulations regarding ways and means of assuring the Commissions of Investigation the free and complete execution of their duties." It requested the "Secretary-General to cause a study to be made as to whether, and if so to what extent, the system set forth in this report would necessitate legislative measures on the part of the countries liable to investigation."

On June 10th, 1925, the Council considered a memorandum on the subject prepared by the Secretariat. "This document," Viscount Ishii reported, "brought out clearly what was in the view of the Council the essential factor in the situation, namely, that the countries concerned were definitely bound by treaties to give

Commission will submit to the Council proposals as to the exact composition of the Commission of Investigation; the Permanent Advisory Commission will supply the Presidents of the Commissions of Investigation with such information as may be necessary and, in the case of technical difficulties, if the matter comes within its competence, with the necessary additional advice or assistance. The Permanent Advisory Commission will draft the instructions for the Presidents of the Investigation Commissions, who will furnish the Permanent Advisory Commission with copies of their reports to the Council. The Permanent Advisory Commission will forward to the Council its reasoned opinion on these reports. Members of the Permanent Advisory Commission cannot be members of a Commission of Investigation.

(c) *Constitution and Functions of the Commissions of Investigation.* The members of these Commissions will be chosen from a list drawn up by the Council of Experts qualified in the various matters likely to form the subject of investigations. This list will consist of experts appointed by the Governments of States represented on the Council at the date of the drawing-up of the list.

Each State will furnish an equal number of experts who should at all times be available in their respective countries. At any time when a change takes place in the normal constitution of the Council, this list shall be revised so as to be brought into line with the composition of the Council. With the exception of States subjected to investigation, the States represented on the Council, when an investigation is decided upon, will in principle be represented on every Commission of Investigation. Should the Council not include any representative of a State signatory of the "Treaties of Peace" and, at the same time, bordering on the State under investigation, or any representative of a non-signatory of the Peace Treaties, the Council will select a State from each of these categories, and the experts of these States will be added to those of the States represented on the Council. Every local investigation will be carried out by at least three experts of different nationalities. The Presidents of the Commissions of Investigation will not reside in a State subject to investigation, except during the period of investigation. The Presidents can, within a period fixed by the Council, and with its approval, detach groups to remain at points in de-militarised zones where continuity of investigation is required. The organisation instituted by the Council should be ready to enter into operation for each of the States subject to investigation before the withdrawal of the inter-allied commissions of control.

6. (Monthly Summary, March, 1925, p. 64.) The regulations on ways and means of assuring the Commissions the free and complete

execution of their duties are embodied in two chapters, the first dealing with the powers of the Commissions, the second with the facilities which Governments of countries liable to investigation should grant to the Commissions. The Commissions of Investigation, within the scope of the programme decided upon in each particular case by the Council, shall have the right and the duty to extend their investigations to all matters dealt with in that programme. The Commissions may proceed to any place in the country where the investigation is in progress, and in the course of any such investigation enter or search any building or premises belonging to the State, to any local or other authority or to a private individual. The Commissions shall be entitled to enter or search war or merchant vessels, fortifications and defences of all kinds and to inspect transport material. The Commissions may further examine books or documents relating to the transport of goods. The members of the Commissions shall enjoy full diplomatic privileges and immunities and shall furthermore have the right to complete freedom of movement in the discharge of their duties. With regard to facilities, it will be the duty of the Government concerned, on receipt of a notification from the Council, to take all measures to ensure that the Commission appointed by the Council may accomplish its commission to the fullest extent in complete freedom and without encountering resistance, whether active or passive, on the part of any authority or of the local population. The Government concerned shall provide the Commission with the local means for the accomplishment of its duties.

THE DECEMBER DECISION.

It was agreed at the December, 1926, meeting of the Council that the Military Control Commission should be withdrawn from Germany on January 31st, 1927 (the anniversary of the British evacuation of Cologne), and that the League method of investigation should be, not continuous or regular, but operative only in response to a definite complaint. That was an excellent decision.

Another excellent decision which it is now within the power of the former "Allies" to take is to withdraw their troops from the Rhineland. The anachronism of military control over Germany has been laid to rest. The occupation of the Rhineland is another anachronism that deserves its rest. The German Government has given to the Committee of the Reichstag, which is concerned with the Rhineland occupied zones, the following figures of the present position. The total strength of the Allied occupying troops on September 15th, 1926, was 79,840. There has been a little easing in the requisitioning of billets in private houses, but on September 15th

the number of houses or flats totally requisitioned was 4,907, and of single rooms requisitioned 2,674.

The road to peace in Europe is long and difficult. Shortly before the Council met in December it was reported that a Budapest engineer, one Mr. Svachuley, an expert in aircraft, had solved the problem of starting an aeroplane immediately off the ground by spiral rising. Tests were carried out before a select company; and when they were finished, the French Military Attaché in Budapest invited Mr. Svachuley to go at once to Paris to apply his invention to a bombing machine at the Blériot Works. Such facts are commonplace, but are symptomatic. The routine advances made in their technique by the various War Offices of the world are a form of sabotage of such diplomatic work as that just done at Geneva. Science itself is morally neutral; it is the minds that apply it that do the harm.

THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE.

Although the imminence of the League's Disarmament Conference has been postponed, and although it may be reluctantly conceded to those who seek excuses for postponement that the difficulties in the way of early success are formidable, yet it is satisfactory to record that the Geneva experts are engaged in preparatory work. The slowness of their progress is of less moment than the fact that they are at work. The prestige of the League is engaged in a reduction of armaments, and diplomatic experience has often shown that the engagement of diplomatic prestige is an important factor in events. The report of the Joint Disarmament Commission is now available, and provides important material for the Disarmament Conference itself. The Joint Commission consists of representatives of the League's Economic, Financial and Transit Committees, and of the Workers' and Employers' Group of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office. It is the first task of the three sub-committees of the League's Preparatory Commission to draw up a final report on the questionnaire submitted to it by the Commission. The other two sub-committees are still at work.

An interesting part of the report concerns poison gas. Five distinguished engineers were consulted on this point. They were Dr. A. T. de Mouilpied (Great Britain), an industrial chemist; Professor Just (Germany), formerly a university professor, now an industrial chemist; M. Joseph Frossard (France), Director-General of the Kuhlmann Institutes in Paris; Professor Livio Cambi (Italy), Director of the Institute of Industrial Chemistry at Milan University; and Dr. E. Zanetti (U.S.A.), Professor of Chemistry at Columbia University.

The conclusions reached by the Joint Commission have been summarised by the Geneva secretariat thus:

(1) The Commission studied the consequences from the economic point of view, of inserting in the Convention relative to disarmament, or to the prohibition of certain forms of warfare, provisions similar to those contained in the Statute of the International Labour Organisation concerning the procedure to be followed in the case of disputes as to the execution of clauses of conventions. It was of the opinion that a Convention for disarmament and prohibition of certain forms of warfare, if drawn up under the auspices of the League, should contain clauses establishing a system for the pacific settlement of any international disputes which might arise out of the application or eventual violation thereof. Despite the minor economic drawbacks which such clauses might have and despite the serious economic consequences which certain forms of procedure might involve in cases of violation, the Commission considered that their insertion could only serve to enhance the feeling of security, by reason of the stricter—because more closely supervised—application of the Convention.

The Commission also studied measures to ensure the application of the Convention and made certain recommendations, concerning, in particular, the constitution of a permanent statistical organisation to centralise and examine information regarding the application of the Convention.

(2) The Joint Commission, asked to give its opinion on certain aspects of chemical warfare, considered that factories normally and legitimately employed for chemical purposes, including dye-works, could be rapidly adapted to manufacturing poison gases. It was of the opinion that no delay would be required for adaptation in the case of poison gases, which were produced in large quantities in industry. It did not seem possible, generally speaking, to prevent the manufacture of such gases—they were current products of industry or intermediate agents indispensable for obtaining other products, and it was absolutely impossible to consider their suppression.

The Commission pointed out, nevertheless, that it might be possible to institute industries in different countries, agreements which would be sanctioned by the States concerned and would provide more particularly for the rationing of manufacture.

(3) The Commission examined the possibility of comparing the scale of armaments of the various countries by comparing their military budgets as well as the more general question of the possibility of limiting armaments by limiting military budgets. The Commission came to the conclusion that at the present stage an examination of military budgets could not serve as the sole basis

for a limitation of armaments. Limitation of military budgets should be the result of transactional agreements between the Contracting States, and could only be effective if it were the consequence of a limitation of military factors such as material and troops. These conclusions led the Commission to contemplate the limitation, not only of National Defence budgets as a whole, but also of certain chapters of these budgets.

In order to follow the application of the Convention, the Commission recommended that forms should be drawn up allowing the uniform presentation of the necessary budget information.

(4) The Commission considered the influence on armaments and war strength of certain economic factors, such as population, various resources (raw material, foodstuffs and other products), density, length and character of communications, financial elements on which the power of a country depends in time of war, etc.

All these factors, which were dealt with in several reports, exercised, the Commission considered, an influence which it was difficult to estimate in figures, but which would have to be taken into account on the occasion of concrete proposals by States for a limitation of armaments. It pointed out that it would be useful to have at its disposal statistics which would enable it to follow the fluctuation of the various economic factors.

Finally, the Commission studied economic conditions of a nature to promote regional disarmament. M. Sokal, permanent delegate of Poland to the League of Nations, took part in the discussion. The Commission, while emphasising the essentially political character of this question, noted in its report that, in the absence of a World Economic Organisation, a regional organisation might effectively contribute to security, and thus facilitate disarmament.

December 15th, 1926.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

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THE LOST DANCERS.

THE village or little town of Absolom, in the western division of Wessex, just where it abuts on the Celtic frontier, lies huddled in the valley that separates Mount Zion from the hills of the Lost Dancers. How the eastern hill came to be called Mount Zion nobody knows, but the name is probably a corruption of a Celtic word and has no relation to the Hebrew tongue. The view, however, has been advanced that Phœnician merchants named it in prehistoric times as a haven of hope shining afar from the Land of Sorcery. Absolom is probably a Phœnician word. The hills of the Lost Dancers are linguistically not so mysterious. Just above Absolom to the west is a stone circle and the stones are said to represent nine dancers who, while engaged in ungodly rites, were overtaken by an avenging deity and turned to stone, a variant of the fate of Lot's wife. There are many legends about these dancers. One story is that they were fleeing towards Zion from the Land of Sorcery and were smitten by the Evil One before they could glide down the hills to Absolom. Another story is that once a year, at or about the winter solstice, they come to life at midnight and continue their flight in the knowledge that if they reach a certain grange called Hope they will retain their human form and live as mortals live. The story goes on to say that in their flight down the precipitous hills in the

moonlight they have always missed the path and have taken a sheep track that leads to Dark House, where they have been captured and led back to the Circle. There two tall stones or dolmens keep watch and ward over them. The legend says that these two tall stones are demons who in the pursuit of the Lost Dancers play Celtic pipes of a singular sweetness to which the Dancers dance as they flee, and that it is because of the music that they cannot take the turn of the path that leads to Hope Farm. Time and tempest have worn the nine stones to mere stumps, but there they were in the old circular form until ten years ago. One day early in January a shepherd's boy startled all Absolom and all the farms of the uplands and the lowlands by asserting not only that the nine stones were gone but that the Lost Dancers had been seen.

Now the western moors are very superstitious, and the moors on the east are not only superstitious but have a traditional fear of the Land of Sorcery, as they call the particular western moor where traces of a lost civilisation are to be seen on every hand, of a lost religion written in circles and dolmens, and strange burial places, of lost warriors written in terms of forts and castles crowning the serrated hills. Absolom itself shares these superstitions and fears and is always waiting for some event or other associated with the old dead world that lies against the sunset. A long-anticipated event had happened. The tall dolmens were in place though fallen, but their charges, so long heather and fern hidden, had disappeared. That the stones had sunk still farther in the soft turf might seem a reasonable explanation; or that they had been removed by ignorant strangers for the purpose of wall building also might seem a reasonable surmise—carts (but possibly gipsy carts) had been seen on the moor at the end of the year. Yet no such explanations satisfied the upland folk or the lowland folk. The Dancers had come to life.

The tenants of the Dark House Farm were closely questioned, but they were dour folk and gave gruff denials to any charge of knowledge. The suggestion that they were in league with the powers of darkness was an old and sore tradition, and nothing angered more these dark-haired Celts than any reference to the Lost Dancers. The Dark House people were a little clan apart, of which the farmer was the head or chief. On his farm-lands quite a little village community dwelt, and rarely was it that any one of the community married outside the group. Mr. Richard Land, the farmer, was a very well-to-do man who rode to hounds and owned much property in the Hundred of Absolom. He was greatly respected and in some manner feared. His ancestors had farmed the estate from time immemorial, the tribe had felt their

not unkindly rule as long. The wives for the most part, if they came as strangers at all, came from the Land of Sorcery. Mr. Land resented any talk about the Lost Dancers, and when he went to church on the first Sunday in January a cloud was on his swarthy brow. The children from the Dark House Estate were cross-examined by their school fellows. They frowned and knew nothing. But when one dark-faced girl was asked "Who stole the Dancers?" she answered angrily, "Be careful they don't steal you." The saying circled round and the belief steadily grew that the Dancers were hidden in Mr. Land's capacious cellars. The belief was unreasonable, since if the Dancers had come to the Dark House they would, according to the legend, have been led back to the Circle.

Superstition is unreasonable, or perhaps has a logic of its own. If it were reasonable or normal, suspicion would have fallen on Hope Farm, but that is exactly where suspicion did not fall. They were open-hearted people in that little community of fair-haired rosy-faced folk that dwelt on farmer John Gale's estate. Every one liked them though they, too, so far as marriage was concerned, kept themselves to themselves. These people had one peculiarity. They would never marry into any swarthy, dark-haired family, and as most of the inhabitants of Absolom had varying degrees of swarthinness and big-round-headedness the brides for the Gale Estate came from the east if they came from the outer world at all. But apart from this peculiarity these fair-haired folk were the life of the little town and played a principal part in all festivities. Farmer Gale and Farmer Land were close friends, rode together in the hunting-field and feasted together in their hospitable homes. But there was never a love affair between the families, and the two elderly men laughed over the fact. "East is east and west is west," they said, and "Wine and oil will not mingle." It would have been unthinkable for fair-haired Edith, a dancer if ever there was one on the earth, and swarthy-haired young Richard, as good a dancer as she, to marry. They would wander the hills together; they would feast together, they would dance together, but there was no affinity for marriage.

"'Tis a pity," said Mr. Land to Mr. Gale; "Iss, 'tes a pity," said he, as he drained a stout wineglass of Mr. Land's sloe-gin on the Sunday next after Christmas when church was done. "They be fit for each other," said Mr. Land as he drained his glass. "Lithe of limb, clean of mind, pure of soul: Iss, 'tes a pity, Mr. Gale." "The lands would march together, the folk would be content. My sons lie in France, Mr. Land." "Ess, 'tis a pity, Mr. Gale. Richard be my only one that doth not lie in France." And he finished another glass. "It be impossible, Mr. Land.

Thy wine will not commix with my oil. They be brother and sister but never man and woman. 'Tis a pity, Mr. Land. It cannot be until the nine Lost Dancers come to Hope, and that, in a way of speaking, be never." "Well, one never knows, Mr. Gale. It be the impossible that do always seem to happen, but I doubt they stones moving. But there, 'tis fine hunting weather for to-morrow, and that old dog-fox out of Sorcery Hill that I be bent on on having is as sly as any dancers." So they laughed and parted.

It was the following week that the rumour ran round that the Dancers were missing, and while Mr. Land frowned in church on Sunday his brother churchwarden smiled, but as they walked up the aisle together with the offertory nobody noticed anything, for Mr. Land was always grave in church and Mr. Gale always had a smile. The parson preached against superstition that Sunday. He did not mention the Dancers, but everyone, even the children, knew what he meant when he said a timely word about the witch of Endor. It was Mr. Land's turn to go round to Mr. Gale's house after church and try the cherry brandy, so comforting (said Mrs. Gale) in this severe weather. When the two men were alone Mr. Land burst out with his wrongs. "I do believe, iss I do verily believe that the whole parish do believe that they vermin be in my cellars. I caught old Mrs. Multon, an old witch if ever they be one, at my dairy door, smelling 'em out wi' a twig. It be hard, Mr. Gale, and if rights be rights they vermin be in thy cellars." "But what does it all mean, Mr. Land? Be they stones gone? If they be not, what be all this fuss for, and if they be gone, well they be gone, as many another old stone be gone. Be they gone?" "Richard says they be gone, and that they be not pulled up by stone masons, but be gone as if they never were. Gone and no trace whatsomever of they stones. Moreover, he say the pair o' owd girt stones be flat as pancakes. He wur thur wi' your Edith, and they did laugh both together consumedly, he did say." Mr. Land frowned and stuck his great hands in his pockets in an attitude of defiance. "It be all a mistake, I be sure," said Mr. Gale. "They have missed the place and taken a mischief in doing it. Mischief is in the blood of both of them." "But," said Mr. Land, a curious look of weakness coming over his strong face, "but whur be the Dancers?" "Do you believe in this, this"—and a not less curious look of weakness came over Mr. Gale's hearty weather-beaten face—"in this—nonsense?" "Well," said Mr. Land slowly, "there be no smoke without fire." "I won't believe it, and specially after what passon said just now," said Mr. Gale in a tone less emphatic than his words. "But passon did admit that the witch did make Samuel see things. I don't

believe, Mr. Gale, but, darn it all, whur be the Stones?" And Mr. Land drained his glass, shook his friend's hand, accepted an invitation to supper, and took as speedy a departure as his size and agitation permitted.

"Whur be the Stones?" repeated Mr. Gale and, as he said the words, through the clear, frosty noontide air came floating down from the hills across the little town the sound of music, the sound of pipes that Pan might have played in days when man believed, a sound of incredible sweetness with a lilt in it that almost made the farmer wish to dance. At that moment Edith came into the room laughing and actually dancing to the music. "What be it?" said her father. "I don't know; someone in the town I do suppose, some of them strangers that come here now, but whoever it be he *can* play. I never heard such music," and she danced again. "Do you know the old story, Edith, my girl," said her father gravely. His dialect disappeared when he was formal, and he was thinking strange, curious, not unpleasant thoughts. "About the Lost Dancers, Father?" said the tripping girl with a rallying note in her voice. "Yes," he said, "that part of the story about the creatures that blow the old pipes and make folk dance and make them lose the old safe way." "Oh yes, I had forgotten that. What does mother say?" Her mother had just come into the old oak-wainscotted parlour, and was saying "Listen to the old pipes. I did not know any one could play them nowadays. Who can have come into the town? It almost makes an oldsome woman like me want to dance again as I danced long ago when we were young. It is lovely to feel young." Her husband half-sighed and then laughed. "Look at Edith," he said. The girl, with a strange puzzled look on her face, was dancing a folk step to the music as it slowly, sweetly, immeasurably died away. "It was like a dream," she said, as her sisters came in to call them to dinner, "and I saw Richard dancing it, too, in my dream." "Richard is a good dancer," said Mr. Gale tactfully, "and a good boy," said Mrs. Gale cheerfully. "Brave, too," said Edith. "He saved the Dancers last night." "What do you mean?" said her father almost abruptly. "I saw it in my dream. Richard has the pipes. We found them together, but they were very old." She would say no more, but it was enough to think about.

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Sunday supper on Hope Farm was always a cheery meal, but on that winter moonlit evening, when the frost had hardened the snow and the harsh wind had dropped, it was a Christmas feast indeed. There were quite a troop of young people and the merry supper party became a carol party, and many a yuletide memory was awakened, and the old story of the struggle between Good

and Evil, common to Celts and Saxons alike, was translated into Christmas ballads, not as old as the hills, but as old in some form or another as the two races. The story was indeed the link between them.

Quoth Joseph to the Oxen in the stall
 "Bow thy white knees: behold the Lord of all!"
 And Mary to the lambs that huddled close
 Sighed "Here a Lamb is, fear not any foes!"
 And breathless shepherds hastening from the fold
 Of that great company of angels told,
 And with them Kings who brought from out the East
 Dawn and due gifts to make the Christmas feast.

The hour had grown late, and the little company were getting ready for departure when someone said, "listen to the music on the farm." They all hastened to the great door of the farm-house and the music grew louder, not such music as accompanied the simple folk carols, but something strange, as it were an echo of some melody that comes from beyond the hills of Time. Then someone said, "where are Dick and Edie?" Not long before they had been singing lustily in the great parlour. But now they were gone. A long hill track comes down from the moor to the farm-house and it was easy to see in the moonlight the old path to the Land of Sorcery. There was a two-horse gipsy caravan creeping cautiously down the hill. The driver, clearly a hefty fellow, even in the distance, was leading the horses, restive creatures. Afterwards some of the company said that they saw flashes from the horses' eyes, but in the cold, clear moonlight it was possible to imagine anything. Another man, equally hefty, was leading on the other side. Dark, huge, bearded fellows both, it was observed, as they drew nearer. Behind the caravan were two figures that seemed tall in the moonlight, but not so tall as the driver and his mate. These other figures were very youthful, a boy and a girl, and it was they who were playing the pipes. They looked, as they drew near, like some ideal creatures, so lithesome were they and noble as they played. The music thrilled the air, thin, tender and infinitely sweet, the music of birds in the heather when March has come and gone. The caravan was large and well-lit within, and as it at last gained the level and was beside the farm-house and stopped it was seen that it was full of rosy little people, nine children asleep in the very rapture of slumbrous abandonment.

"Whom, what, have we here?" said Farmer Gale sternly, and the music stopped. The two gipsy men stepped at once forward into the light of the farm door. One said, "they be safe, sir, safe and sound, but we did fear that hill so sticky and slippery. We are bringing them from the Christmas Party at Hill Farm back

to Rakeford village. A task, sir, on such a night, but there be three miles of straight road before us now and they be so comfortable as in their own beds." The farmer suddenly looked relieved. He had recognised the speaker, Lewis Varlet, the carrier from Rakeford. "I didn't know you at first, Lewis," he said. "Come, you must have some good cheer ere you go on." "Not to-night, sir, duty first. The young gentleman and lady have given us the old music. That is enough. We must push on. These little tired dancers must get home or else the Master will think they be lost. Good day, sir." "Good night, you mean," said Farmer Gale, laughing, but the two gigantic bearded men, with looks of infinite meaning, mounted the caravan, and on the level road the great horses, steaming and restless for home, carried that strange company out of sight in a moment, as it seemed, but not before the children sleepily called out "good morning," and not before Dick and Edie played their pipes again for a last farewell and sang:

Farewell, farewell!
 These souls are home at last.
 Hark to the homing bell!
 The goal is past.

The party dispersed happily, but in the great parlour the two farmers and their wives and Dick and Edie sat for a while. "Well, that is all right," said Farmer Gale, "I thought for a moment that they were gipsies stealing little children as in the old days." "There is something queer in all this," said Farmer Land. "Lewis Varlet died last week and his twin brother, a man who works on Rakeford Farm, died two days later. Moreover," and the farmer spoke impressively, "this is Sunday and there could be no party at Hill Farm. What do Dick and Edie say?" "That is all right," said Edith, quite calmly. "The Lost Dancers are found and Dick and I are to be married at Easter. It couldn't be, you know, while the Dancers were still lost. But I don't think," she added, with a wisdom that belied her years, "that these happenings should go any further, or else people will think we've been witched, as perhaps we have been." The old people nodded. It was time for bed. There might have been mischief, play-acting, whatever you like, on the part of someone. But, as Mr. Land said, Lewis Varlet was dead; and nobody confessed anything even when Easter was come and the dark people crowded into the pews in the north aisle and the fair people into the pews in the south. Some say that Lewis Varlet and his brother Owen were seen at the wedding, with the children, in the belfry-loft above the font; but some people will say anything.

J. E. G. DE M.

REVIEWS.

JOHN WYCLIF.*

Dr. Workman, the Principal of Westminster Training College, furnishes in his work on John Wyclif an exhaustive and masterly study not only of the great Reformer, but of his age and especially of the condition of the Church in his time. The work, which has occupied its author for many years, is a monument of learning and research. Undoubtedly it will take its place as the leading authority upon the subject if only by reason of the fact that it presents Wyclif to us in the living context of the history in which he played so great a part. In regard to that history the book is a mine of information. Dr. Workman has not been content with presenting a general outline of the movements of thought, of political and of ecclesiastical life in the fourteenth century, but has dealt in elaborate detail with even the minor actors and movements which played a part in that extremely active but disordered period of English and European history. Indeed, his combination of largeness of outline with extreme thoroughness of detail reminds one of the pre-Raphaelite painters of the last century.

The work is not only a monument of accurate and painstaking scholarship, but it is remarkable both for the clearness and attractiveness of the style and for the well-balanced judgment with which Dr. Workman treats not only Wyclif but the Mediæval Church. While doing justice to the greatness of his hero, he is frank in regard to the inconsistencies and extravagances into which at times he fell, as he is fair in his estimates of the men with whom Wyclif had to do. Hence, the book extenuates nothing and presents a complete account which is never warped by prejudice or thrown out of proportion. This book will restore Wyclif to the historic position he ought to occupy, for strange to say, the memory of John Hus, who derived not only his inspiration but the entire body of his teaching from Wyclif, has eclipsed his much greater and more original predecessor. Dr. Workman treats Wyclif under three heads: as Schoolman, as Politician, as Reformer, and under all these heads presents not merely a comprehensive and detailed account of his ceaseless activities and of his almost numberless writings, but increases the value of his account by a wealth of footnotes, which not only enable the student to verify the statement of the text, but will facilitate original research.

Dr. Workman treats Wyclif not so much as the forerunner of the Reformation, but as "the father of the Puritans, Covenanters

* *John Wyclif: A Study of the English Mediæval Church.* By Herbert R. Work-

and Nonconformists of Great Britain and America." He finds the difficulty of any brief characterisation of Wyclif in the fact that he was "representative of both the mediæval and modern world and that the words which would truly describe him in the one sphere fail to apply in the other." The greatness of Wyclif's character and achievements was his own, the responsibility for his vehemence and for the extravagances into which he fell, especially in his last days, must be shared between him and the extraordinary disorder and confusion of his times. For example, when the Church was torn by the Great Schism and its machinery dislocated throughout, Wyclif's Erastianism became a natural reaction; when the abuses of patronage and the consequent neglect of clerical duties are remembered, it is small wonder that he not only demanded complete disendowment but the entire overthrow of the existing ecclesiastical system.

It is impossible to do justice in a short notice to so comprehensive a work. We can only congratulate Dr. Workman on his great achievement and add that the Oxford University Press has spared no expense in the presentation of the work and in its admirable illustrations.

J. S. L.

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PALMERSTON.*

Mr. Guedalla made his name by his brilliant style, and he has won a second reputation as an earnest student of modern history. His latest and most important book will be read for many years both as a work of art and as a valuable contribution to our knowledge of one of the outstanding figures of the nineteenth century. Evelyn Ashley's official biography was written fifty years ago, and the Marquis of Lorne's little monograph is more than thirty years old. A large-scale biography on which an American scholar is at work is not yet complete. There is therefore room and need for the volume which Mr. Guedalla has given us—a biographical study enriched with new material. The author must be used to complaints that his style is at times too ornate, and it must be confessed that the reader occasionally longs for a little less artifice. Yet for every sentence which we may be tempted to criticise there are a dozen which it is sheer delight to read and to re-read. The unlocking of the treasure-house at Broadlands has made it possible to reconstruct something of the early life of the man whose world-wide fame as Foreign Minister and Prime Minister has focussed attention on the later stages of his career. But the young statesman who learned his first lessons in diplo-

* *Palmerston.* By Philip Guedalla. Ernest Benn. 25s.

macy from Lord Malmesbury and received the confidences of Princess Lieven was regarded as so promising that he was offered, and refused, the Chancellorship of the Exchequer at 25 and the Governor-Generalship of India on more than one subsequent occasion. His long service at the War Office during the closing years of the Napoleonic struggle and the quiet era of the Restoration taught him the art of administration and laid the foundation of his life-long interest in national defence. A Pittite, then a Canningite, and finally a Whig, he was never a party man. He accepted the Reform Bill without enthusiasm, and desired that England should never be ruled but by men of property or education. Yet Mr. Guedalla points out how liberal was his hero on questions of Catholic rights, on Ireland, and on the slave trade, and reminds us that he was an outspoken champion of Free Trade several years before Cobden began his campaign. With an eighteenth-century horror of abstract ideas and high-sounding formulas, he had the Englishman's instinct for grappling with gross abuses when his attention was called to their existence. The interlude at the Home Office from 1852 to 1855 was a period of eager reform, which won the enthusiastic approval of his son-in-law, Lord Shaftesbury. No man was ever less of a Radical, but he was equally little of a reactionary.

When Palmerston went to the Foreign Office in 1830 he found the main task of his life. If he is not to be described as the greatest of our Foreign Ministers, he is at any rate the one who impressed himself most forcibly on the imagination of Europe. Mr. Guedalla recalls the main incidents of his long and astonishing career. If the creation of the Belgium was the most enduring of his triumphs the handling of the Eastern crisis of 1840 was his most daring achievement. He was never in the least afraid of threats from France or any one else. While his colleagues were almost ill with anxiety he rode serenely through the driving storm, saved Turkey from Mehemet Ali, and compelled Louis Philippe to dismiss the bellicose Thiers. Far less successful was his treatment of the Spanish Marriages crisis in 1846. If rancour is ever to be imputed to this easy-going temperament, it is in regard to the Orleanists, whose fall he witnessed without dissatisfaction, and whose successor he greeted with somewhat premature congratulations in 1851. The great Minister could boast that he had never involved his country in war; but his provocative handling of the Orleanists, whose fall he witnessed without dissatisfaction, made not only the Court but his colleagues wonder what he would do next. On the disputed issue of his dismissal in 1851 Mr. Guedalla is mildly critical. We owe him thanks for printing the angry letters of his accomplished wife. Palmerston was a man

to like rather than to love, for he lacked the deeper pieties; but the devotion of Emily Lamb, which began before her marriage to Earl Cowper, and found its natural satisfaction after his death, is the most attractive trait in his life.

No part of this brilliant volume is more striking than the picture of the last decade, when the old lion was called to the helm by the voice of the people during the disasters and disappointments of the Crimean War. "He towered above them all, indomitable relic of an almost legendary past." No British Prime Minister of the nineteenth century enjoyed such an uncontested supremacy, for no one so completely embodied the buoyant, sport-loving temperament of his age. In the words of Mr. Guedalla, "he never lost his youth," and "spirit" is at all times a more popular quality than moral greatness or intellectual distinction.

G. P. GOOCH.

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THE SLAVE PROBLEM.*

We heartily recommend this book to the attention of the public as the work of a man who has devoted his life to the study of this question, and investigated the facts, in many cases on the spot, at considerable personal danger. The meaning of the title is that there is no safe or adequate boundary between the acceptance of some form of slavery and the adoption of that principle of "Sacred Trust" for the welfare of the backward races, which is implied in the Mandatory system which is established by the League of Nations. This truth is brought home to us by the descriptions in this book of the various excuses which are made by white men, who desire to exploit the black races by various forms of compulsory labour. Sometimes it is the plea of emergency for some particular form of public work; sometimes the difficulty of trusting the natives not to produce too much, in others not to be too slack in their work. And we must remember that there are many cases in which Great Britain is responsible, either directly or indirectly, for abuses which naturally drift into some form of slavery. Some of the worst instances of this are to be found in our colony of Hong-Kong, where the purchase and sale of young girls for employment as domestic servants, a practice stated to be contrary to Chinese law, is in fact general throughout the country. The abuses in Kenya Colony have been frequently mentioned in the House of Commons; while those who study this book will see how South Africans to-day are trying to undo improvements in the condition of the natives which had been introduced by previous British administrators.

* *Slavery or "A Sacred Trust."* By John H. Harris. With a Preface by Gilbert Murray. Williams and Norgate. 5s.

Moreover, the danger of the revival or introduction of new forms of slavery can be gathered from the statement that "Great Britain has Forced Labour Ordinances operating in no less than twelve Dependencies." On the other hand, we ought to be encouraged to go further in the work of reform by at least two circumstances, which are brought out in this book. One is the splendid example given to western nations by the Maharaja of Nepaul, in the careful and sympathetic emancipation of the slaves in his territory. The other is the proof given in this book of the success of native Africans as peasant proprietors. If we could realise more thoroughly the great capacities that have been shown, in various directions, by the so-called "inferior" races, we should be more eager for their emancipation from various forms of tyranny.

In order to show the definite proposals by Mr. Harris and his friends we quote in conclusion the following :

First in order, because it is now getting fully into its stride, comes the Mandatory system for the establishment of the principles of the "Sacred Trust" throughout Mandated areas. Secondly, the provision of a new Anti-Slavery Convention, and the evolution of machinery for putting into operation the agreed inter-national commitments for the total abolition of "slavery in all its forms." Thirdly, the proposal, now only in its initial stages, for International labour conventions, covering certain forms of coloured labour, to be adopted by the Conference of the International Labour Organisation.

C. E. MAURICE.

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CHRISTMAS VERSE.*

This delightful book of Christmas verse, old and new, was issued by that excellent critic and poet Dean Beeching as long ago as 1895. He never published his second edition but on his greatly regretted death in 1919 a copy was left by him "marked with deletions and corrections, and an amount of new matter for insertion. The revision has been carried out, and both deletions and additions have been a little increased." But the book is as originally planned. There are now 115 Christmas poems and these are grouped into early carols, traditional carols, later poems and carols (which form the bulk of the book and contain a substantial number of striking modern poems on this sacred theme) and poems on Christmas merrymaking. To this are added six exquisite later hymns.

* *A Book of Christmas Verse*. Selected by H. C. Beeching. Humphrey Milford. 6s. net.

The volume opens with

Welcome Yule, thou merry man
In worship of this holy day

of course, this is followed by the famous

I sing of a maiden
That is makeless
King of all kingrës
To her son she cries;
He came also still
Thou his mother was,
As dew in April
That falleth on the grass.

Each one of these eighteen ancient English carols are exquisite and it is a joy to possess them in their present company with the three traditional carols, one of which is very famous :

I saw three ships come sailing in
On Christmas Day, on Christmas Day,
I saw three ships come sailing in
On Christmas Day in the morning.

The names of the authors of the later poems show an extraordinary variety : Dunbar, Southwell, Donne, Ben Jonson, William Drummond, Wither, Giles Fletcher, Herrick, Milton, Crashaw, Jeremy Taylor, Joseph Beaumont, Vaughan, Watts, Wesley, Coleridge, Heber, De Vere, Lord Tennyson, Kingsley, Rossetti, William Morris, R. L. Stevenson, Mr. Robert Bridges and one or two of his contemporaries. It is a galaxy of poets on a theme that has often inspired great poetry though, to be frank, not always. There is nothing from Shakespeare though it would not, one would have thought have been hard to find something of supreme excellence. Stevenson's "Children at Sea" is a noble poem :

As the winter day was ending, with entry of the night,
We cleared the weary headland, and passed below the light.

But quotations are impossible from a selection that tempts quotation at every page. The compilation is the work of a true poet and all should have it.

* * *

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY POETRY.*

Here is an excellent book of characteristic eighteenth-century poetry compiled by the Goldsmith Reader in English at Oxford. It represents

"The poetry that was written in this country during the hundred years from 1700 to 1800. It happens to cover the period from the death of Dryden to the death of Cowper, but neither the books nor deaths of poets, nor poetical fashions and reputations, have fixed

* *The Oxford Book of Eighteenth Century Verse*. Chosen by David Nichol Smith. Oxford : at the Clarendon Press. 8s. 6d. net.

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the limits; nor has it been made with the purpose of illustrating any particular view of what this period stands for in the history of our literature."

Dr. Nichol Smith has deliberately omitted *The Ancient Mariner* and *Tintern Abbey*. The flood gates then had been opened and the romantics were at work. The big end of the century is not "eighteenth" in any sense of the term other than clock-time. The authors for the purpose of the chronological arrangement of the book are rightly "placed by a central date in their career, or by the date of their most important work." The method creates, as all methods of this type create, some difficulties but after all the student must be credited—as it is the fashion now not so to credit students—with some intelligence and thinking power. It is important that there should be a balanced judgment as to eighteenth-century poetry. Why should we speak in defence of it. Let it be the subject of pure criticism as is the case with earlier verse. We should indeed do well to forget the hackneyed terms "classical" and "romantic" when we consider the poetry of the eighteenth century." As long as we continue to employ them we must think of the century as, from one point of view, a period of decadence, and from another, a period of preparation. It was much more. It was a period of definite achievement." That is the true outlook though it is difficult even for critics of the present day to discharge from their minds the thought that the eighteenth century did represent the decay of the seed as well as its new wonderful life. It is legitimate, perhaps, to keep in mind that the definite achievements in poetry of the eighteenth century were not less important in subsequent developments, as the science, the philosophy, the theology, the critical forces of the century in relevant achievements in later days.

Dr. Nichol Smith is not concerned with the nature of the achievements but he gives the student material enough and that material throws light, brilliant light, on all that was to follow. He gives us a passage from Akenside that Wordsworth, in his thoughtful frame, might have written. The term "verse"—unless it is the classical "verse"—should hardly be used of the eighteenth century. Earlier verse is less formal, more passionate, less philosophic, more ravishing than anything, almost, that any eighteenth-century poet wrote. The eighteenth-century lyric has no touch of the greatest age of English poetry. It is something wholly different. The spontaneity of the Elizabethan and Stuart lyric has gone. The century is self-conscious. Even Congreve has lost the magic touch. Prior has not a sign of it. Poetry has an importance that verse has not and the eighteenth-century poet is very conscious of the importance of the vocation. Watts in his hymnal way

is wonderful and he magnifies this office. Swift has all the gifts except the gift of verse. He has something even of Donne and yet he has nothing of Donne's strange incommunicable and inexplicable art. The greatness, the superb achievements of Pope cannot be doubted by any honest critic but he is the very incarnation of self-conscious efficiency. Nor can any other judgment be given of other poets, great or small, until the half-century is well turned and then suddenly we find ourselves gliding into an atmosphere where self-consciousness is slowly swallowed by something that may be called the trust of anticipation. It would be fair to say that there is a sense everywhere that a new day is at hand despite the gathering darkness

Hope like the gleaming taper's light
Adorns and cheers our way
As still as darker grows the night
Emits a brighter ray.

That is a possible way of looking at the poetic achievements, superb in their self-conscious way, of the eighteenth century. The parallel with our own time is very obvious.

J. E. G. DE M.

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THE PRINCE OF POETS.*

"Of making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh." This saying of the Preacher is particularly true of works devoted to the elucidation of the mystery of the authorship of the plays, and sonnets, credited to William Shakespeare of Stratford-on-Avon. The author of this book, General Hickson, starts with the theory that "the young rustic" from Stratford could never have written or thought the thoughts attributed to Shakespeare. He proves, if that is the term, entirely to his own satisfaction, that under the nom-de-plume of Shakespeare and nineteen other authors—amongst whom were Marlowe, Spencer, Cervantes, Montaigne and Bacon—this "Prince of Poets" wrote and shook his spear of anonymity, and thereby cozened, or as the author of this book says, *gulled* the Elizabethan and succeeding ages as to his identity. This was a greater feat in fact than the inspired writings somewhat generally attributed to William Shakespeare.

General Hickson claims for his prince royal birth and great literary descent, being, as he believes, the legal son of Queen Elizabeth by Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and the foster son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, who received this royal scion into his family, passing him off to the world as his own son and educating

* *The Prince of Poets and Most Illustrious of Philosophers.* By S. A. E. Hickson, Brig.-Gen., C.B., D.S.O. (R.E., Ret.). Gay and Handcock, Ltd., London. 7s. 6d. net

him from his earliest years. General Hickson spares no pains to prove his case from "literature, biography, and history, closely examined with the aid of State papers, records of the Privy Council, and Calendar of Hatfield MSS., etc.," and by his large and pathetic knowledge of the works of the literary geniuses whom his prince impersonated, the reader is induced to read on, perhaps not altogether without both amusement and instruction.

Induction from faulty premises is a dangerous thing. Granted the first step, namely, the impossibility of such genius emerging from the backwoods of Warwickshire, and then building up arguments from the particular to the general, the desired result or, indeed, any result, becomes comparatively easy. Given a literary and analytical mind with something, or anything, to be proved, and with the premises that rules out the actual solution, almost anything can be proved. It is a different case from the recent work that endeavoured to show that William Shakespeare spent the seven unrecorded years of his life as a page in a noble family living in Arden, north of Stratford. Those years are an admitted blank in Shakespeare's life, and in those circumstances ingenious speculation is allowable.

"Whence hath this man learning," has often puzzled the world, even from the greatest to the least. Where did the prophets of old time acquire their perfect and poetic literature? The birth and training of the singers of Israel are seldom noted; they were often drawn from shepherds and herdmen; nature was their book, and human nature the instrument upon which they played. The world takes little heed of their ancestry. "Isaiah, the son of Amoz," is all the record the Bible gives of that great seer, and Amos, the prophet, makes no claim on his parentage. "I was no prophet, neither was I a prophet's son; but I was an herdman, and a gatherer of sycamore fruit. And the Lord took me and I followed the flock, and the Lord said unto me, Go, prophesy unto my people Israel." Shakespeare in his own name was great.

But the patient and gentle reader will be well repaid by the perusal of this interesting *in memoriam* treatise on the life and works of England's greatest literary son. How Spain will take it is another matter! Perhaps before long a Spanish critic may set out to show that Cervantes was the author of the plays under the nom-de-plume of William Shakespeare. General Hickson shows that there are many astonishing similarities between Shakespeare and other great writers, Bacon amongst them; but great intellects of a contemporary age often run parallel. The vast ebbs and flows of life are constant in all ages, but every age expresses itself in the methods of its day. In the art of portrait painting the period may be traced, not alone by the fashion of the dress, but in the

lineaments of the persons portrayed. So in literature, there is an underlying current of thought which pervades this period. This book is well printed, and the portrait illustrations are interesting. The theory is, of course, absurd, but not more absurd than many other matters on which printer's ink is spent in these self-conscious days.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

The Schweich Lectures for 1924 delivered by Dr. David George Hogarth deal with *Kings of the Hittites*,* and are practically printed as delivered. Dr. Hogarth writes, "I feel that the time has not come to attempt fuller treatment. Such reserve seems to me incumbent on anyone who deals with the *Southern* Hittites, seeing how small is the progress yet made with the excavations of North Syria and North Mesopotamian mounds, and that all such excavations which have been made, whether at Carchemish, at Zenjirli, at Sakjegeusi, or at Tell Khalaf, still remain imperfectly published." But Dr. Hogarth has been associated from the first with the British Museum's excavations at Carchemish and his lectures naturally deal with the south and the Kings of the Hittites. Zenjirli and Sakjegeusi and Carchemish are dealt with in the first two lectures, and in the third and last lecture conclusions reached applicable to the present stage of research. Who were those Hittites "whose Kings, in the ninth century, were credited with taking service for Assyria against Damascus? Of what race or races? How come to Northern Syria and South-Eastern Asia Minor? Whence and why equipped with a variety of the particular and peculiar civilisation which had been proper to the imperial Hatti of the Second Millennium? None of these questions can yet be answered with finality. But, summing up the evidence of to-day, we may divine the direction which further research will take to-morrow." Hittite art and writing in Syria still stands in need of explanation. There seems to have been a population possessing Hittite humanism in North Mesopotamia perhaps earlier than the Second Millennium. If the North Mesopotamian civilisation during most of the Second Millennium was Hittite the Aramæan invasion of North Syria brought with it a Hittite art. It is possible that at Carchemish the Hittite humanism was introduced by non-Semites. Dr. Hogarth suggests that Tyanean Hittite art came from a source beyond the Euphrates, "a source common to the Hittite civilisations of both Syria and South Cappadocia." Was not the source one common to Semite and non-Semite peoples?

Mr. W. B. Yeats in his volume, *Autobiographies: Reveries over Childhood and Youth, and the Trembling of the Veil*,† gives the reader really two works. The "Reveries" were written in 1914, while "The Trembling of the Veil" are political and social memories beginning with the year 1887 and dated 1922. In the chapter entitled "The Tragic Generation," a good story of John Synge is told. Mr. Yeats, in 1896, while in Paris, induced Synge to join a little Irish society, but he

* Humphrey Milford [for the British Academy]. 6s. net.

† Macmillan. 10s. 6d. net.

resigned after a few months because "it wanted to stir up Continental nations against England, and England will never give us freedom until she feels she is safe." Mr. Yeats says that this was "the one political sentence I ever heard him speak." It was, at any rate, a singularly true and prophetic statement. All these essays have an historical value as revealing many personalities and not least that of Mr. Yeats in a period when there was more moving of the spiritual waters in Ireland. The prose is, of course, charming, but the note of it all is sad and makes the reader realise how different the Irish are from the later Celtic races.

* * *

Monsignor Arthur Stapylton Barnes in *The Catholic Schools of England** has traced the history of Roman Catholic school education in England and includes in his convenient survey, as was natural, the pre-Reformation schools though these schools came under the Bishops of the Anglican Church from the Reformation. In the first chapter he attacks what he calls "the whole of the great Protestant myth which regards the Reformation as a period of enlightenment." Historical scholars, whether they are Roman Catholic or Protestant, have not severely attacked the standard of learning of Erasmus and the other great Protestant scholars of Holland, Germany, and England of the sixteenth century and it is somewhat ingenuous for the domestic prelate to his Holiness the Pope to feed his Roman Catholic readers with figments of the sort. The earnest work, moreover, of the Roman Catholic teaching brotherhoods in England, who have recently attained a legal status, can be recognised by all parties without the need of the rather foolish statement that their schools for the middle classes are "far in advance of anything of like character and cost to be found outside the Church." The statement implies something that is not true as the great Trust Schools and Edward Schools could without difficulty show were it worth while, something that the recent statistics published by the Board of Education show to be ludicrous. Confidence in a book is not strengthened by this class of propaganda which, while it leaves the ordinary public untouched, must be very distasteful to earnest—and there are many—Roman Catholic educationists. To be frank secondary education for girls in English Roman Catholic schools is not regarded as standing at a high level by many Roman Catholics, though improvement will, no doubt, come as the demand increases. The treatment of mediæval education is rather cursory but Monsignor Barnes does not lay claim to any special knowledge of the period. As to continuity from the Middle Ages Monsignor Barnes says that, "if our present Catholic schools can claim any real line of actual descent from the older schools founded in England by our Catholic forefathers, it is to those scholars and fellows of Winchester and of New College . . . that the credit of preserving the continuity is certainly done." The college at Douay was the link. Many Oxford men helped in the founding of this interesting institution which dates from 1579. In the time of James II some Roman Catholic schools in England itself became possible and, in fact, it was a Roman Catholic elementary school in London that moved, by repulsion, the efforts of Tenison. Monsignor Barnes is, apparently, unaware of this. St. Cuthbert's College, near Durham, was the English successor of Douay. This became possible at the end of the eighteenth century. From that time to this there has been a steady if slow growth of Roman Catholic schools

* Williams and Norgate. 10s. 6d. net.

and Monsignor Barnes gives a convenient summary of their births, growth, and modern activities. The small English Roman Catholic community have suffered in the past from lack of educational opportunities and educationists will welcome a forward movement as it is a disadvantage to any nation to have a somewhat backward middle-class section in its midst.

* * *

Students of political science should not miss Professor Laski's Inaugural Lecture at the School of Economics on *The Study of Politics*.* The author of *The Grammar of Politics* and other valuable books is a master of his subject, and in these pages, packed with learning, reflection and suggestion, he explains his conception of its scope, its methods and its rewards. He defines the central problem as "the problem of authority and freedom," and in this age-long conflict he comes down heavily on the side of the latter. He will hear nothing of the omnipotent State of Hobbes and Hegel, Austin and Fitzjames Stephen, controlling and dwarfing the individual. "I believe that the social conscience of the citizen is the surest guide to the conduct he should display in the face of events. That means, of course, the contingency of disobedience, the possibility that the individual should refuse submission to the powers that be where he is sincerely convinced that he can do no other. The moral obligation to resist, in other words, seems to me the root of social well-being." Like Mill and Humboldt, Professor Laski thinks more of the spiritual quality of the citizen than of the material strength of the State. It is this insistence on the moral aspect of political obligation, this demand for the good life for the common man, this passion for self-realisation, which make him such a stimulating teacher. His wide knowledge of history, law and administration saves him from the doctrinaire idealism into which scholars are sometimes tempted to fall. In teaching political science he will at the same time be teaching citizenship.

* * *

Mr. Maccallum Scott's travel books are a delight. *Suomi, or the Land of the Finns*,† is a sequel to *Beyond the Baltic*, and completes the story there told of little States struggling bravely towards a higher civilisation in the teeth of climate, war, revolution, and an alien yoke. While Mr. Herbert Fisher once advised an audience of teachers, when in doubt, to go south, Mr. Scott, himself a Scotchman, eloquently urges us all to go to the north—"the fountain of youth and energy, mother of truth and strength and valour, nurse of freedom, saviour of the world from the despotisms and slavery of the lotus lands of the south." Though Finland is far better known than Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania, there is still ample room for a book on the most advanced of the States which the world-war liberated from the Russian bear. The author is no mere globe-trotter, for he has been a lifelong student of the land, the literature and the history of the Finns. In this readable and richly-illustrated volume we hear of the beauties of coast and forest, the architecture of Helsingfors, the factories of Tammerfors, the collection of folk-songs by Lönnrot in the *Kalevala*, the poetry of Runeberg, and the literary contacts, between England and Finland. The book ends with an account of the terrible civil war, inspired and

* Milford. 1s.

† Thornton Butterworth. 7s. 6d.

Treaty the rightful claims of British subjects are whittled down to an undefined extent, and Parliament is to be asked to commit itself in the eyes of Russia and of the world to the principle of guaranteeing that the British taxpayer shall repay a Bolshevik loan, if the Bolsheviks in accordance with their principles and their practice should fail to repay that loan." The loan issue is, of course, only a part, and a small part, of the Russian question, but in this matter of guaranteed credit it may be as well, in order to show how far Conservative opinion has moved, to quote one or two sentences from *The Times* (no friend of the Soviet Union) on the debate on Export Credits of March 1st, 1926. "Mr. Runciman" echoed Mr. Alexander in decalring that the joint-stock banks were financing trade with Russia, and what was safe for them should be safe for the Government. . . . Sir Philip Pilditch innocently set the crown on it by remarking that as a member of the Advisory Committee he was as willing to recommend transactions with Russia as with any other country. . . . Speech followed speech, and there were very few, even among those of the Conservatives, which did not support the backing of Russian bills."

On the general question of our relations with the Soviet Republics no progress whatever has been made. In reply to periodical complaints from Sir Frederick Hall, the Front Bench spokesman repeats that the Government have plenty of evidence that the Trade Treaty of 1921 is being infringed.

Lesser orators, of course, make great play at their fêtes and garden parties with the "alien revolutionaries"; the Conservative Conference at Scarborough "views with alarm the continuance of subversive propaganda in this country on the part of the agents of the Union of Socialist Soviets of Russia." The Prime Minister, according to the Parliamentary correspondent of *The Times*, admits that his supporters have good cause to be uneasy, but explains that he is playing a waiting game. He does not say what he is waiting for. If he expects the overturn of the present Moscow Government all informed opinion is against him. The same weariness which at the moment is the safeguard for international peace is the protection in Russia from violent upheavals. But while we suffer the evils of "subversive propaganda" we seem to get none of the advantages of the "tainted" relations they involve. In the first place the great objective of all foreign policy, namely, disarmament, is frustrated. Apparently Chicherin would have associated his Government with the disarmament conference had the venue not been Switzerland. We have no interest whatever in the Vorovsky affair, and yet it was this quarrel which prevented Russian participation and in consequence stultified in advance the efforts towards disarmament.

In the second place, it is only to be supposed that Moscow, in reply to the bickerings and insults which compose all official reference to her, will do what she can to hamper British policy. Her success is doubtless exaggerated. The simple and ardent Tory rank and file see, for example, in the Chinese problem nothing but a Soviet plot. Their suspicions are confirmed by the story of Borodin's conviction in Glasgow in 1922. And, indeed, if the case is as they think it to be, Borodin has certainly had value for his six months' imprisonment. It is noticeable, however, that official attribution of the Cantonese movement to Bolshevism gets weaker and weaker as its real character is better perceived. This same tendency to recognise that while the U.S.S.R. will, of course, fish in troubled waters, they do not create the stream, is to be noticed in the relations between the United States and Mexico. In November Washington refused to allow Madame Kollontai, the Soviet Minister-designate to Mexico, to travel to her post through the United States, thereby warning President Calles that an outburst of Bolshevism would imperil good relations. This hint of Communist influence has been the strong suit of the Coolidge Government. But *The Times*, which sees in British affairs a Bolshevik behind every bush, views similar events across the Atlantic in better perspective, and talks of the "sudden evocation of the spectre of a 'Mexican-fostered Bolshevik hegemony.'" In short, relations with Russia remain an outstanding problem of British diplomacy to which no solution has been propounded, and which is made more and more difficult by the outpourings of Lord Birkenhead and his imitators.

Turning back to Mr. Baldwin's election address, we find that he declares for "the most friendly relations with our Allies, for the re-establishment of a settled state of affairs in Europe, and for co-operation in all matters admitting common action with the United States of America." How far has this aim been achieved and what work remains for this Parliament? The improvement of relations between France and Germany is a great advance for which Sir Austen Chamberlain deserves credit. But Locarno was avowedly but a beginning. It was the inauguration of disarmament, and it is by the measure of relief from the moral and financial burdens of armed forces that the real success must be tested. The Disarmament Commission is laboriously preparing yardsticks, and it is essential that the fullest preliminary work should be done, but behind these mechanics lie principles, and disarmament is hard for a government which on the one hand persists in treating Russia as a pariah and on the other pursues a policy of attempted imperial self-sufficiency and exclusiveness which must really govern in the ultimate its military programme. Behind the whole scheme of

aided by the Bolsheviks, which astonished lovers of the Finns by its ferocity, and which now seems like a bad dream to a people which in the darkest days of Russian oppression won the admiration and sympathy of the world, and now enjoys the freedom which, in Mr. Scott's belief, is the symbol and the pride of the invigorating north.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Mr. H. W. Fowler's volume entitled "A Dictionary of Modern English Usage,"* will give not only instruction but delight to many readers and students. The book was designed by Mr. Fowler and his late brother, Mr. Francis Scafe Fowler, who died in 1918, a victim of illness contracted during active service in 1915-16. The joint work of the two learned brothers was indeed a fruitful partnership dating back to the translation of Lucian in 1903. In fact, the execution of the book with its series of illuminating articles on special letters, words and phrases, was solely due to Mr. H. W. Fowler. It is interesting to note (to take the first article of all, that on "a, an") that the correct usage as to the association of the indefinite article and the word "history" has changed: *an historical* should now be written. Is this so? *An humble* is certainly now out of date since the *h* has definitely become aspirated, and the change is practically universal. But there are still a majority of writers who write "an history," "an historical treatise," and after all the right usage must be based on practice. The article on "and" is important. "There is perhaps no blunder by which journalistic and other hasty writing is so commonly defaced at present as the one exemplified in *He plays good cricket, likes golf and a rubber of whist.*" The rule for enumeration in the common form is "there must be nothing common to two or more of the items without being common to all. In the *He plays* example the word *likes* is common to the golf and whist items, but has no relation to the cricket item." The example ought to run, *He plays good cricket and likes golf and a rubber of whist.* The article on the gerund and quasi-gerundive is excellent. The volume is more than a treatise on usages. It is really a philosophy of spoken forms, and shows how the mind of the average English speaker is unconsciously moulding the language, in infinitely small particulars, into new forms. The tongue is still very much alive, and the book for this reason should have a large circulation overseas, and not least in the United States of America.

* * *

This book of Marjorie and C. H. B. Quennell, "Everyday Life in Anglo-Saxon, Viking, and Norman Times,"† is no less delightful than their previous books of a kindred nature. It "completes a cycle which started with the Norman Conquest in Part I of a 'History of Everyday Things in England,' and, swinging round by way of the Old Stone Age, in Part I of the 'Everyday Life' Series, has, with this Part IV, reached the starting point again." The historian will find as much pleasure and interest in its pages as the boys and girls for whom it is written. The numbers of illustrations on many and varied subjects greatly enhance the attractiveness and utility of a small but really good book.

* Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 7s. 6d. net.

† Batsford. 5s. net.

THE GOVERNMENT: ITS RECORD AND PROSPECTS.

A CONVENIENT way in which to review the achievement and prospects of the Government, and as a corollary the chances of the Opposition, will be to look at the programme on which the Prime Minister appealed to the country, consider how far he has succeeded in fulfilling it, and then examine the tasks which were outside his avowed intentions and have subsequently arisen from the pressure of events or the desires of the Conservative Party. In Mr. Baldwin's election address he first spoke of the issues which had immediately precipitated the appeal to the country, namely, the Campbell case and the Russian Treaties.

As to the former, he did not pledge himself directly to an inquiry such as the House had resolved on by its vote. He preferred to declare that "the admissions already extorted" proved "undue political pressure," and that an inquiry would only have emphasised the conclusion that the "course of justice had been deflected by partisan considerations." Opinions differ as to how far the admissions "extorted" were sufficient to prove the charges. Certainly it was not the case put forward at the election that the offence had been established. The case was that an inquiry was justified. The rest of the story may be briefly stated. On December 11th, 1924, in reply to Mr. Pielov the Prime Minister said that "the late Government gave instructions that no political prosecution should be directed by the Attorney-General without the sanction of the Cabinet. Such an instruction, in the opinion of the Government, was unconstitutional, subversive of the administration of justice, and derogatory to the office of Attorney-General. His Majesty's Government have therefore given directions that the instruction be excised." These were brave sentiments naturally evoking cheers from the new Tory members, but enthusiasts should have been warned by the opening sentence of the Prime Minister ("The verdict of the country . . . was final and decisive, and I see no useful purpose in reopening the matter") that his answer was merely an echo of an election speech, and that no real new step was to be taken. This was shown in the final word in the Campbell case which was spoken by Mr. Baldwin on December 18th, when he said, "In the view of His Majesty's Government it is the duty of the Attorney-General . . . when the proposed prosecution is of such a character that matters of public policy are, or may be, involved . . . to inform himself of the views of the Government or of the appropriate Minister before coming to a decision."

On the Russia Treaty the election address says, "Under that VOL. CXXXI.

preference, behind the Imperial Key Industry Tariff, behind the slow elimination of the trustee spirit from the scheme of Mandatory Government is the desire for the Empire of Blood and Iron which is in essence obnoxious to any real belief in international peace.

At the same time, on two matters there is good cause to congratulate the Government. The Imperial Conference concluded without any further attempt to create fiscal preferences. That is a negative gain. Positively there was the triumph of satisfying or converting General Hertzog. "The struggle for full unbounded liberty for South Africa as a people was over," declared this ex-rebel, and his satisfaction is fully shared by Mr. Roos. This means not only that great changes are probable in South African politics but that the British Commonwealth has been tremendously strengthened. In view of the all-round satisfaction at this great achievement, it is perhaps ungracious to refer to the debate of July 31st, 1906, when the granting of the Transvaal constitution was described as "the most reckless experiment ever tried in the development of a great colonial policy"; to the *Daily Mail* poster of August 1st, "C.-B. surrenders the Transvaal to the Boers"; or to the action of the official Conservative Party in voting as a protest against every penny of estimates for the army services.

We may now turn to Mr. Baldwin's programme of domestic reform. Stress was naturally laid on the merits of the Chamberlain Housing Act of 1923, which it was said had been "prolonged . . . unchanged until 1939." "Unchanged" would seem to imply that the intention was to continue the subsidy at the existing rate. In fact it has been reduced as permitted by Mr. Wheatley's Act. What the effect of this reduction will be, remains to be seen, but the 200,000 houses built in 1926 is satisfactory in so far as it shows that the industry is applying itself to its task. It would be a great mistake to suppose, however, that the housing shortage with its dreadful toll of disease and misery is a thing of the past.

As to widows' pensions, Mr. Baldwin stated plainly that he intended a contributory scheme, and this pledge has been kept. A great deal of the money spent, however, goes not to the additional relief of widowhood but to the assistance of the poor rate. In reference to these two Acts and the Rural Housing Act, it may be said that Mr. Neville Chamberlain, within the compass of Conservative policy, is the most successful member of the Cabinet.

Two other domestic affairs must be mentioned: the taking over of the Broadcasting organisation and the new Electricity scheme. Especially in the second case the Government had to face determined opposition from a section of its own party, who perceived, and quite rightly, that the policy involved further State inter-

ference with trade, and thus harmonised with the Socialist view, which regards such developments as inevitable. Food prices, which were the subject of a special paragraph in Mr. Baldwin's address, were made the subject of special inquiry by a Commission whose work was perpetuated by a Food Council seeking to cope with "profiteering" by the method of examination of the facts followed by publicity. The sale of food by weight has also been made the subject of further legislation. Of these last-named Bills there is little positive criticism to offer, but ridicule is justly reserved for a further trade act dealing with merchandise marks. As a slogan, "Buy British Goods" is serviceable, but when Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister solemnly proposed to force foreigners to colour their eggs or butter it was hard to keep a straight face. The result of this Act, should it become operative, may well be the very reverse of what its authors desire. If traders are so ill-advised as to set the cumbersome machinery in motion it may be that, inasmuch as buyers are guided by quality and price, the compulsory advertisement of foreign articles will lead to an increase in their sale.

Unemployment naturally formed one of the chief topics of Mr. Baldwin's address, and in view of the purpose for which that document was written it is but natural to find rather more clearness in its denunciation of the failure of the Labour Government than in its own definite proposals. "The Government," he says, "are no doubt . . . hoping to obscure their utter failure to deal with unemployment. . . . The unemployment situation is as grave, if not graver than it was a year ago, and more than justifies the warning I then gave of the necessity of looking ahead." (This, no doubt, is a reference to the Plymouth speech of October 24th, 1923, "If we go pottering about as we are we shall have grave unemployment with us to the end of time") . . . "the Government have no remedy whatsoever to propose beyond mere palliatives or an increase of doles." So far the indictment of Mr. MacDonald. Now for the constructive side. First there is a tear for the lapsed M'Kenna and Safeguarding Tariffs. "The Unionist Party would be unfaithful to its principles and to its duty if it did not treat the task of grappling with the unemployment of our people and with the serious condition of industry as a primary obligation." They therefore propose—even in the election address it comes as an anti-climax—to apply the principle of the Safeguarding of Industries Act and analogous measures.

What are the fruits of the policy judged merely by the test of the number of people employed? Let us take first the record of the previous Labour Government. On November 12th, 1923, there were 1,244,000 registered unemployed. On July 7th, 1924, the number had fallen to 1,024,000. On November 10th, 1924, about

the time when the present Government took office, it had risen to 1,218,000, by April 19th, 1926, it had fallen to 996,000. Subsequent figures are, of course, all governed by the effects of the general strike and the coal stoppage. There is in these records nothing to suggest that the change of Government did anything to improve the course of unemployment, and in view of the industrial disturbances of the summer, it is impossible to know whether the year's decline of about 40,000 which took place in the period of office of their predecessors would have been equalled or exceeded. The wider issue as to how far the existence of a Conservative Government makes for industrial peace or the reverse is a matter of debate. The year 1924 saw the smallest number of days lost in strife for fifteen years at least, namely, 8,424,000. The first year of Mr. Baldwin showed a further reduction to 7,966,000, but in the course of 1926 in the mining industry alone over 140,000,000 days were lost. What share of the blame for this disaster belongs to the Government cannot be examined here.

One further point only need be referred to, but it is most important. Mr. Baldwin said, "The burden of taxation weighs heavily upon industry and trade, diminishes real wages, and in a variety of ways adds to the cost of living. To assist in relieving the community of this burden, the most rigid economy in administration is essential." It will be sufficient to state the actual expenditure for 1924-5 (Mr. Snowden's year), £795,770,000; 1925-6, £826,100,000 (which included, of course, the major part of the coal subsidy), and the estimate for 1926-7, which was for £824,750,000.

It is curious to notice that none of the three new measures which must occupy a leading place in the Government's programme this year and next are even mentioned in Mr. Baldwin's election address. I mean Bills to equalise the Franchise between the sexes, to amend Trade Union law, and to reform the House of Lords. The first was, however, the subject of an election pledge by the Prime Minister; the other two have been pressed forward by the rank and file with whom at times Mr. Baldwin appears to be little in sympathy. The Franchise Bill is the most urgent, for time is required after its passage to make the necessary electoral arrangements and adjustments. If the intention is simply to enfranchise women on the same terms as those on which men at present vote, then it is difficult to see the reason for the reserve shown in answering relevant inquiries. When Mr. Whiteley introduced a Bill for this purpose on February 20th last year, Sir William Joynson-Hicks was obscure in the extreme. He repeated the pledge as to equality and suggested a conference of all parties "to deal with this difficult question." No conference has been called, and there the

matter has rested, all appeals being met with the "nothing to add" formula. Should the intention be, as many think it is, to advance the civic majority of men to twenty-five years of age, it will provoke great unpopularity. Many will say, for instance, that the purpose is to deprive the thousands of young men who were involved in the mining dispute of the opportunity to express themselves at the polls and that this will drive them into the arms of direct-actionists.

Then there is the amendment of Trade Union law. When Mr. McQuisten introduced his Bill and the field was prepared for a bitter fight, the remarkable speech of the Prime Minister secured an unexpected armistice. Since then we have had the general strike and an irresistible demand from the Tory Party for the disarmament of Trade Unions. So far as their case rests upon the general strike it is the weaker, because in May we learned on unimpeachable legal authority that the Trade Union Acts give no protection for such a stoppage—pronouncements which had their influence in bringing it to an end. Clearly when the new Bill is tabled the fight will cover much wider ground than such issues as intimidation or the dissipation of benefit funds, or ballots, secret or otherwise. The coal battle opened the eyes of many to the fact that the working people are set on industrial as well as political enfranchisement. What exact form it will take is a debatable question, but that change is required is widely believed. In *The Times* of December 10th last there was a letter signed by two leading Conservatives, Major Hills and Captain Macmillan. They declared that to deal with the single aspect of Trade Union law without at the same time attempting some remedy of the evils of the existing industrial system was "neither good statesmanship nor good politics." The approved plan, however, appears to resemble the Treaty of Versailles, whose first objective was the disarmament of Germany rather than a general "Locarno."

The third and most familiar of the fights to come will be the attempt to rehabilitate the powers of the House of Lords. This again has been steadily forced on the Front Bench from behind. The first shots were heard in Lord Asquith's attack made at the close of last session on the powers of the Speaker. This question indeed, though it cannot permanently obscure the great economic issue, may prove to be the flame which for the moment will weld all parts of the opposition into one spear-head.

In short, widows' pensions, reduced income-tax, little bits of protection, the application of liberal principles to Dominion autonomy, the preparation of European good-will; these things which in varying degrees will please the voter or sections of voters are done, and Mr. Baldwin has now to face issues which will arouse his antagonists to still greater and more successful efforts.

WEDGWOOD BENN.

THE FIVE FEARS OF SOUTH AFRICA

SOUTH AFRICA'S complacency about her "peculiar institution," the "Kaffir Boy," on whose exclusive duty of doing all her manual work her whole white community sits enthroned, has lately been getting disturbed by the notion of what is talked about as the "swamping" of white civilisation. This scare was started largely by the forecasts as to the rapid multiplication of natives made by Dr. C. W. Cousins in his Report on the 1921 Census. Dr. Cousins' conclusions are considered by Dr. Loram* and other South African publicists to be not entirely convincing as to the probable relative rates of increase of white and black. But, assuming only the indisputably apparent probabilities, what, in brief, is the character of the fears they are provoking?

First: the incentive of the Colour-Bar legislation, excluding natives from skilled occupations, is fear of the increasing competition of natives with Europeans in the wage-labour market. This cause of anxiety is not a necessary element in the relations between Europeans and natives. It is entirely an incident of the introduction of the capitalist system of industry and exploitation creating a competitive market for labour. It would not exist if white and black were living side by side, either in segregation or in the primitive relations which long obtained in the agricultural and pastoral industries when the two races remained on the footing of a definite distinction of master and servant. In so far as it is an incident of competition in a labour market, it is amenable, and can be made amenable only to the same methods of dealing with such problems as are being worked out in other capitalist industrial societies. In that aspect the problem is exhaustively handled in the Reports of the South African Economic and Wages Commission (1926). Let the European, they say, cease to refuse to do manual work, and standardise wage-rates. Even if those Reports leave unsolved some problems which may arise in the future as population increases, they are so cogent and so adequate as regards immediate questions, and already so far in advance of the ideas at present accepted among the South African electorate, that it would be idle and tedious to repeat them. Industrial organisation and equal pay for equal work are their basic principles. The alternative empirical prescription of the Colour Bar, which the Commissioners entirely condemn, could only have any curative effect if the industries in which it is demanded could be entirely worked without natives and the natives restored to the position of being able to support themselves upon adequate land and in a system of industry subserving their own needs alone. Such segregation is impossible, and is not desired by either race.

* Chief Native Commissioner, S.A. Union.

In its second aspect the fear of the increase of natives arises from a bad conscience. The injustice and lack of consideration with which the natives have been dealt with in regard to land (280,000,000 acres having been appropriated for 1,650,000 whites, leaving 20,000,000 for 4,650,000 natives), the declaration of war against Africans involved in the Colour-Bar Law passed last May, and the obstinate unintelligence and presumptuousness of the attitude of traditional Afrikaner social theory in respect of them, are all exasperating elements affording good reason for fear. But native resentment, by itself, some white men believe they can afford to ignore for the present. The white man's weapons can always repress native rebellion. That, however, is not a kind of security which will permanently enable the white man to "remain and to rule" in Africa; there is too much equitable and humane feeling, however blindly guided, towards the native, among the white community; and there are some things necessary to the enforcement of repression which cannot be done by South African Europeans to natives, more especially when the reason for resorting to acts of repression arises from the white man's own injustice.

Quite apart from the probable influence of this feeling and of sane and intelligent South Africans in raising the level of their community's understanding and temper, civilised Europe and America would have a good deal to say on a policy of white terrorism. When some of the Boer War prisoners, interned in Ceylon, assumed, as quite natural and legitimate, in their relations with the dark-skinned people of that British Colony, the standards of behaviour normal among South African Europeans in their relations with natives, they provoked some nasty retaliations: and there would doubtless be provoked rather dangerous reactions throughout all Africa if the natives of the Union were to cease to hope that by patience they and "western standards of civilisation" may live down these traditions of slavery. Increasing arrogance and insolence on the part of de-tribalised and urbanised natives is frequently now complained of. They are, it is said, ceasing to respect the whites. That, in so far as it is the result of closer observation and contact, not only may be very natural and indeed inevitable—for no South African native could reasonably respect the "poor whites" (who are described by a not unfriendly South African writer as "the most barbarous element in the population") any more than the American negro could respect the "white trash" of the Southern States—but is in a great measure creditable to their standards of human judgment, and of good omen for the future of the mixed community of South Africa. But apart from the phenomenon of the "poor white," it is questionable whether the ideals and morals of triumphant European civilisation as exhibited in Johannesburg, to say nothing of its eclectic

delights and interests as advertised to the world through the "moving pictures," could reasonably or desirably be expected to enhance the reverence of the natives for white people. If the native had not sufficient sense of dignity and decency to despise a great deal in European civilisation, in proportion as the ostensibly typical interests of its prosperous classes are more and more pressed on his notice, the prospects of the future of South Africa and of any similar mixed community might well appear more ominous than they actually are, or need be if the white man will safeguard his own standards of dignity, decency and good taste.

Thirdly, South Africans fear that white civilisation may be infected, or the morale of its European stocks deteriorated by the mere contiguity of increasing numbers of natives, and that the white man may adopt Kaffir habits. If there is danger of this, the only two conceivable modes of averting it, true segregation being neither possible nor desired, would be either resolutely to kill off the native increase year by year, and establish the white man in the position formerly held by the Matabele among the Mashonas, which would not be a preservation of white civilisation, or else to take care that the encroaching population shall be increasingly civilised. White people in contact with backward races are demoralised and deteriorated just in proportion to their own inferiority to the normal white standard. On the other hand, continuous contact, intermixture, and admission to the utilities of white civilisation under healthy conditions, attract and slowly but surely raise the standard of a black population. The conditions of mining work, and of the urban native locations, with their appalling residential and sanitary scandals, are actively demoralising. But the progressive influence is proved by experience in the United States and in the West Indies and, obviously enough, in some measure, in South Africa; and even if the results of experience and the special conditions of racial contact there, where uncivilised natives are proportionately more numerous than in the United States, do not encourage confidence that such advance can be very rapid, it is the only line of advance towards greater security that exists to be looked to.

The only conspicuous example of degeneration in the white race and its civilisation in South Africa is the case of the "poor white." And that is not due to contact with native tribalism or to the preponderance in numbers of natives. The present conditions of South African city life are often disastrous to natives, and doubtless life in such conditions of contact with natives is reciprocally, though in a less degree, demoralising to whites. But it is not this degree of white demoralisation that is regarded as presaging a menace to South African civilisation, through an increasing proportion of natives. If it were, the prescription is obvious. Keep the native out

of the cities by allowing him to have land on which he can live a life more natural and wholesome for him. It is entirely the pressure and policy of the European, which General Hertzog's native policy programme will reinforce, that drives or attracts him to the cities.

The "poor white" class is a disease of rural life—a characteristic product of that section of South African society that has kept itself most aloof from natives. Professor Duerden, in his Presidential address (1921) to the South African Association for the Advancement of Science, examined the causes which have produced the degeneration of the fine Boer stock into "poor whites," and pointed out, as the Economic and Wages Commission also do, the only conditions for arresting this degradation. He ascribes it to isolation, lack of education, easy-going and slovenly habits of farming, in conditions in which a mere livelihood was easy and there was abundance of leisure, and habitual dependence on "Kaffirs" for manual work. He recognises, as do the Economic Commission, that the prejudice against "Kaffir work" is being modified. "There is," he says, "reason to hope that the indigent white will insensibly disappear as a special class. . . . If given a new start, all but those inefficient by nature should recover, and the rising generation may be retrieved. The new agricultural and industrial development of South Africa carries with it the call for this regenerated class. Everywhere is the growing demand for efficient whites. Farmers demand efficient whites for their intensive agriculture and high pastoral attainments: industrialism calls for a high level of production only possible from efficient."

It is not contact with or influence of Bantu native life that has produced the "poor white" class, except in so far as its inefficiency, indolence and idleness were fostered and stereotyped by the South African Slave-State doctrine that work was only for Kaffirs; nor that maintains or can aggravate it, except in so far as that Slave-State doctrine is clung to. Nothing is more extraordinary in contemporary South African politics than that, whereas the causes which have produced the "poor white" have been perfectly clearly recognised, and a sane State policy in regard to that problem has been in some degree taken in hand, General Hertzog should now propose to under-cut the whole agricultural terrain indicated as affording hope for the rescue of the "poor white" class, by forcing into employment on the farms, under the Masters' and Servants' Laws, an enormous flood of underpaid natives, to be expelled from the position of "squatters" by the operation of his new Land Bill. Professor Duerden, having had wide experience of and contact with black and coloured races in various parts of the world, insisted on the fact that the European is a much more advanced and efficient human type than the native African, and that simply because of that

fact he "must" for long, by the mere force of his acquired qualities, continue to maintain his social leadership and his practical dominance in South Africa, as he does elsewhere, and need not be afraid of an increasing number of natives, provided he does not demoralise himself, as the progenitors of the "poor whites" demoralised their offspring, by clinging to those ideas about natives and about the modes in which an industrial society can afford to deal with them—the survival of which in the minds of so many South Africans is the chief real source of danger to the future of their community.

Fourthly, South African European society fears inter-racial conjugal unions and miscegenation. There is no convincing reason for supposing that increase of relative numbers is likely to promote these results. Whatever evil there is in them is the outcome of the inclinations and actions of Europeans themselves, and its mitigations depend upon white men's or white women's control of their own behaviour. Increase in the plurality of black and coloured persons over white in the West Indies has been accompanied not by an increase but by a decrease in the amount of illicit intimacy between the whites and the others in proportion to their respective numbers. The easy complaisance of women of African race whose traditional controls have been entirely (as in the West Indies and America) or partially (as in detribalised South Africa) destroyed, is no doubt a continual source of temptation and licence to white men living among them. But the extent of such demoralisation has no dependence on the relative numbers of the two races: it depends upon the circumstances in which Europeans are living; where, for example, the alternatives for a young white man are either celibacy or association with alien women. The trekking Boers, living isolated from opportunity, and by universal juvenile marriages, avoided such relations: but their early marriages and very large families have resulted in a progeny of 130,000 "poor whites" which is a more unpromising element in the South African population than are the half-million coloured people begotten by their own progenitors before they quitted the Cape. Many white men cannot, and will not, marry into such prospects. Inter-marriage, or illicit relations between descendants of the different races there will, it may be taken as certain, continue to be. But it has always been most rife where the two races have been in the positions of master and thrall. Racial intermixture may or may not be destined to increase in South Africa. At the present time, so far as South Africa is concerned, it may be accepted as a most influential fact that dominant social feeling condemns miscegenation and that neither of the pure races desires it. But the social relations which Repressionist policy, concurrent with the continued intermixture of white and coloured

people in every department of life, must inevitably tend to produce, will not extinguish mixed unions. Experience both in the United States and in the West Indies shows that illegitimate interbreeding tends to diminish only as both races raise themselves out of the mentality of the Servile State which at present so largely dominates South African white society. Honourable relations between men and women of whatever race are determined by perfectly well understood considerations of personal and human dignity, and no social policy which does not accept the necessity of recognising similar human standards for both the races can do anything to promote that common understanding and mutual respect. In those American States which have made mixed marriage illegal, thus overtly degrading the status of coloured women, the natural result has occurred in the form of increases in the mixed birth-rates, and, of course, concurrently, of illegitimacy.

Fifthly, the fear of increasing numbers prompts the argument that the native must not be given equal rights of political franchise or Parliamentary representation. It is much more important that the community should reform its ideas and pursue a sane policy in the sphere of its economic and social institutions than that it should tinker with the existing political franchise. General Hertzog's Government has, however, tabled certain proposals. It is argued that if all natives had the Parliamentary vote South Africa would be governed by black men and not by white. It is not really at all probable that she would be, but granting this fallacious assumption, it is obvious that the franchise cannot be extended if white voters *exclusively* are to rule: and they have at present exclusive power to extend or curtail the franchise as they think best.

As then natives outside the Cape Province cannot be given the franchise, natives within that Province are to be deprived of it. That, logical as it may appear, does not follow. In the first place, because the native franchise in the Cape shows no symptoms of being likely to swamp European civilisation—and would not, even if all the natives used their votes, so long as Europeans do not force them into that race-opposition which the Colour Bar and Repression policies tend to aggravate. Liberal ideas in the Cape have in the past wholesomely neutralised any such tendencies, but the withdrawal of existing privileges would be a provocative imbecility. The theoretical illogicality of maintaining the present discrimination between the Provinces would be a far lesser imprudence, to say nothing of the rights of Cape natives under the Act of Union.

Further, because General Hertzog does not think it wise to disfranchise the Cape coloured people, he proposes partially to enfranchise coloured men in the other Provinces: and thus recruit them to the side of the white community.

The Bills introduce the principle, which is proving so disastrous in India, of communal representation, and will, if adopted, establish in Parliament a solid block of votes representing native interests only, whereas the native vote in the Cape has never resulted in any such sectional representation.

They set up two new Colour-Bar tests defining what is a native and what is a coloured person. The principles of discrimination proposed are quite arbitrary and illogical and would include in each community persons preponderantly of the blood of the other, and exclude from each persons preponderantly of its own origin.

The natives are not clamouring for the Parliamentary franchise. They demand land, and they resent the Colour Bar. Refusal of their rights in these two matters may well give substantial cause for fears in South Africa.

Englishmen cannot too clearly realise that the lines upon which South African Native Policy is now being directed constitute a danger to the world. Their adoption cannot fail fatally to prejudice the relations between white and coloured races everywhere, and to compromise the future, both in Africa and in Asia, of the British Imperial Commonwealth. They are absolutely contrary to the principles upon which British dominion in Africa has been established, and on the moral strength of which its stability and justification depend. They constitute a breach of the conditions and understandings on the faith of which the control of native affairs was conceded to the Colonial Governments of the Cape and Natal, and to the Union Government of South Africa when that Government was constituted. The following summary of the principal features of legislation passed and contemplated by the present Union Government, drawn up on behalf of the Johannesburg Joint Conference of Europeans and Natives, may help to illustrate and explain this warning :

1. *Colour-Bar Act.* (Mines and Works Amendment Act, 1926.)

This Act, passed last session, gives the Government power to exclude natives from any form of skilled labour or industry.

2. *Proposed Legislation.*

(a) *Native Land Act 1913 Amendment Bill.*

This Bill purports to set apart large additional areas for native purchase and occupation; but as it provides no machinery by which natives desiring land and the land available can be brought together; as natives are extremely poor; as they will have to purchase land in these released areas exposed to full European competition, and as it definitely makes squatter tenure, under which so many natives live to-day, illegal, the result will be to force large numbers to leave the land they have been cultivating for generations, accept service with European farmers on any terms they may offer, and live for the future under conditions of virtual

slavery. The intention of the Bill is to increase the supply of native labour for the European farmers.

(b) *Union Native Council Bill 1927.*

This Bill establishes a Union Native Council, but such Council will be virtually a nominated one, and will not give the native any greater share in the government of the country than he has without it.

(c) *Representation of Natives in Parliament Bill, 1927.*

This Bill sweeps away the Cape Native Franchise, which in this Province is granted under the same conditions as the European franchise, and substitutes for it a limited franchise, to be exercised by Government nominees in favour of seven Europeans, who shall be Members of the House of Assembly, to represent the natives of the Union. The powers of these native representatives in Parliament will also be limited, as they are prevented from voting upon any proposal altering the basis of native representation, and upon any Vote of Confidence in the Ministry in power.

3. *Generally speaking, these Bills :*

(a) Do not recognise the native as an integral part of the Union, but regard him as a creature apart.

(b) Contain no inducement to him either to advance towards civilisation or to bear his share of the government of the country. Their tendency is to drive him back into barbarism.

(c) The Cape Native Franchise counts for more than the Parliamentary representation of the natives in that Province. Natives in the other Provinces regard it as protecting them also, and are strenuously opposed to its abolition. They would regard such abolition as a catastrophe.

4. *Coloured Persons' Rights Bill, 1927.*

This is also, in our opinion, indefensible in its present form, but we have not dealt with it, as it does not apply to natives, by which are meant members of the Bantu race.

OLIVIER.

"big brother stunt" has failed. Egypt does not want to come into the British Empire; and, to be quite frank, after the assassinations we do not want her in either. For what then are we occupying Egypt? Once upon a time, when great Powers did or did not balance and England was afraid, we remained in Egypt to keep French or perhaps Germans away from the Canal. There were no submarines then, and an enemy army in Egypt was unpleasant to contemplate. We had forgotten that even Napoleon did not enjoy his stay in Egypt while the sea was in other hands. We naturally did not realise then that in any sort of first-rate war in which we might become engaged, all trade would surely have to avoid the whole long death-trap of the Mediterranean. In such a war the Suez Canal becomes unimportant; we need safe open seas, above all, a safe Indian Ocean. Massawa and Obok are more dangerous than Cairo or Port Said.

But the great change made by the war is that we really are not afraid any more. It must be very exasperating to those nations who are still afraid and have reason to be afraid, but we are not afraid of them. Neither Germany, nor France, nor Italy can make our flesh creep now. We do not any more want to keep them out of Egypt. Or perhaps, after all, we are a little afraid; but the fear is of losing our trade. We cannot do anything, apparently, to help that trade by our occupation of Egypt—indeed, the resentment against us in Egypt because of that occupation unnaturally restricts that trade. But a prosperous Egypt, disciplined and efficient under some Fascist guidance, might provide a better market. In any case, at present, our trade benefits in no sort of way from our protection of Egypt. Indeed, we have to burden our trade with the cost of the army of occupation and even the cost of the High Commissioner.

We have, for reasons of economy, left Irak almost alone and without an army. It was made clear that, in spite of Balfour Declarations, we should leave Palestine out if it was going to cost us money. So our army was withdrawn altogether from Palestine, and the Palestine Budget made to balance. The *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Express* saw to it; and now public opinion will not long tolerate the costly and futile protection of Egypt. "What do we get out of it?" "Where do we come in?" will be asked with increasing insistence. Then the old-fashioned statesman will answer: "Our interest in the continued occupation of Egypt is threefold: the Soudan, the Canal, the protection of foreign capital invested in Egypt." As for the Soudan, I cannot see any difficulty in our continuing to protect the Soudan even if we cease to protect Egypt. In fact, we should do so, and in the interests of the Soudanese. We have done rather well in the Soudan, and that future could be easily arranged, on terms, with Egypt or with any interested Power.

The Canal: I have seen "on the files" an amusing, if imaginary, conversation between a General and an Editor on the value of an army as a defence of the Suez Canal. I believe Sir Maurice Amos wrote this novel State Paper. It certainly left me with the conviction that the use of a canal in wartime depends solely on command of the sea. However that may be, our Canal interests would be perfectly secured by definite possession (occupation or lease) of Sinai and a ten-kilometre strip to the west of the Canal. This too might be arranged; one can see the arrangement. The definite possession of this bird in the hand instead of the aviary in the Cairo bush is of special importance, and I cannot understand why, in the many negotiations, it has never been brought to the front. We require this base for Palestine. The railway from Kantara on the Canal to the Palestine frontier belongs to us already. We want to transfer rail-base from Kantara to Port Fuad (just across the canal from Port Said), if only in order to avoid the difficulties deliberately put in the way of passengers and freight at Kantara by frontier officials and the Suez Canal Company. But although no Egyptian would willingly go to Sinai, all this "wilderness" is still Egyptian territory, so that the new railway will not be made, and the unnecessary frontier will not be avoided.

There is yet another reason for securing the bird in the hand in Sinai. In some twenty years the Canal Concession expires. The Egyptian Government will then be making terms with the old, or new, concessionaires. The present Canal Company does well by its shareholders, even better by the vast army of lesser French officials and job-holders, but it mulcts our seaborne trade through the Canal as did any mediæval baron on the Rhine. When the terms of the new concession come to be reckoned out between the Government of Egypt and the Concessionaire, it will be just as well if the principal users of the Canal own the strip of land alongside, where a new canal could be made and at a smaller cost than that which cursed and ruined Lesseps. The usual military objection to any evacuation from Cairo to the Canal zone is that the Government at Cairo could always cut the sweet-water canal, and so the troops would perish of thirst. The Palestine railways carried water up to Jerusalem to keep it going during the drought of 1925, and I suppose the same railways could prevent calamity at Ismailia. But in any case, if Egypt can turn off the water from Ismailia, we, by our position in the Soudan, can turn off the water from Egypt. The consequences in either case would be disastrous to a good many persons and interests very mixed in nationality, so that I do not think either tap would ever be turned off. But the objection, never good, is stupid now.

Finally, we are told that we must remain in Egypt for the protection of foreign capital invested in Egypt. I wish most of this capital

THE OCCUPATION OF EGYPT.

BRITISH statesmen are tired of the problem of Egypt. It hardly fits in to the new Empire picture as outlined at the last Imperial Conference. We thought it was a good advertisement, once; but after all, it has not been one of our successes. There has been vacillation, a quality none of us care to appropriate. So the British statesmen prefer to look at other parts of the world, or at Locarno. When any question affecting Egypt crops up now, the Cabinet have a simple way out: they always say, "Oh, leave that to Lloyd," and pass on to those things they know about, such as what to do with China or with Mr. Cook.

None has yet observed that our relations with Egypt and with other parts of the Levant have been completely changed by the war, and by the rise of the New Rome. The Egyptian statesmen and patriots look on England as the oppressor, the seizer of unconsidered trifles, the nervous grabber lest others grab first. Up till yesterday they were shaking the Italian warmly by the hand in order to show us that they had powerful friends; they played, as it were, coyly, bestowing their favours widely and keeping all admirers at a distance. Suddenly they are not sure that these are admirers at all. The Post-War Great Power is uncivilised, and flirtations must come to an end. The young lady requires a protector, a governess is no longer enough.

As governess we have occupied Egypt for nearly forty-five years, and our reasons for governing Egypt have often changed, both in public and in private. I am not prepared to deny, or to affirm, the impression that we went to Egypt originally to protect the investments of the bondholders. Then we would gladly have had France and Turkey alongside. They declined the *condominium*, and it appears likely that we then stopped on in Egypt because Mahan had not yet taught us the true implications of sea-power. We wished to keep rivals away from the Suez Canal. Whatever our original reasons, Lord Cromer made the occupation of Egypt into a sort of national idyll. In our youth we all came under the glamour of Cromerism, and accepted his governing of Egypt as a striking advertisement to the world of British virtue. We saw Lord Cromer and his school of officers guiding a subject race towards economic prosperity, towards a higher culture, even towards freedom, with a display of unselfish devotion and intention so admirable that it called forth the manly admiration of President Roosevelt no less than the more Christian appreciation of the descendants of Wilberforce. The first British Proconsul gave us nothing, but we gloried in his instructions to his British subordinates, "You are here to govern Egypt solely in the interests of the Egyptians." The Imperialists

felt instinctively that such devotion was bound to obtain its reward. Sooner or later Egyptians would become English out of sheer admiration and gratitude. Sooner or later we should welcome into the paradise of the British Commonwealth another grateful and delighted Dominion, young, weak, but of our own creation.

To keep our hands free for this great task we squared year by year the other great nations of the world. We washed our hands of Tunis, or Abyssinia, or Morocco, or Madagascar—all in order that we might be left in peace to govern Egypt. We remained so prim, so perfectly impartial and neutral, that now everybody in Egypt talks French or Italian. Probably before the war we really did persuade the making of some laws to help the fellaheen; but, generally, looking back now, we seem above all to have been so neutral that, like all neuters, we created nothing. We warned off or bought off other foreign interference, and left Egypt to blossom without too much watering or manuring. This ought to have worked out all right. They ought to have been filially grateful. Perhaps they would have been if it had not been for Denshawi and the forced Labour Battalions of the war. Or perhaps the antiquity of their history keeps them still believing that it is better to be an Egyptian than an Englishman. In any case it is obvious that it has not resulted in any satisfaction. They are not grateful. They are not a bit English, and do not want to be. Their culture is Mediterranean, which they think is of a higher type than Anglo-Saxon. They wish we would go. If we would go to the Canal, that would be something; only go away from Cairo, where the presence of a governess is so humiliating. There are not as yet many people in Egypt who think they require protection at all—beyond that provided by their own army.

After the war we declared a "protectorate" over the country, formally and finally bringing it within the Commonwealth. Then there was trouble, and we reversed the protectorate and gave a constitution. Then Sir Lee Stack was murdered and we almost reversed the Constitution. The King of Egypt is always quite willing to "amend" the Constitution, which makes three parties to the always impending dog-fight. We contented ourselves with saying that Saad Pasha Zagloul should never more be Prime Minister or we and the King would amend or end Parliament. And still the Constitution does not work, and the King and the great Pasha and the British High Commissioner remain at cross purposes, playing the Constitution as though it was a declaration at auction bridge. The fourth hand is the unfortunate British taxpayer; they have forgotten him. For the moment the three are thinking of a re-deal, for none of their hands are good enough for any policy, and all hope that in time they may discover one. It is clear, however, that the

was English, but it is in fact mostly French, Italian and Greek. If they really want to have it protected it would be better that they should pay us for the protection, or else arrange for one of them more interested to do the protection in our place. There can be no sort of doubt, of course, that all our capital would be more secure than it is now if the protection were carried on by those exceptionally efficient Fascists who have done such wonders with Italy. English methods have really failed in Egypt. We have been too neutral, too Victorian, too full of out-of-date ideals. Egypt has never been so prosperous as during those seven hundred years when she was the granary of the Roman Empire. We have then only to consider ourselves in this matter of the continued protection and occupation of Egypt. We have no debts there, no commitments that we cannot adequately safeguard by holding the Canal and the Soudan. There is no moral claim on us to go on protecting Egypt for nothing. We have indeed sacrificed too much for the pleasure of protecting Egypt—lives, hard cash, and perhaps a little honour. Every negotiation with France has been hampered. Why should we not now cut our losses, and make the best terms for ourselves that are possible? At the moment the market is pretty good.

For the change effected by the end of the war has not shown itself alone in the new British atmosphere of safety. Italy has become ambitious. Roused apparently by "Vittorio Veneto," the Roman Empire, and the Senate, and the Lictors and the Fasces have all come to life again (though not the Tribunes), and they are somewhat shocked to find how small is now the Empire of Rome. It is clear that they are worthy of more; at least, they want more. Malta and Tunis, Albania and Rhodes, Abyssinia and that ill-defined land called Yemen, above all the derelict parts of Asia Minor—all appear as possible parts of the greater Rome, for all were once Roman. Roman editors study the map, paint-brush in hand. But of all that ancient Empire, Egypt was the most eligible province. There came thence to Rome corn and Cleopatra and the worship of Osiris. Even now Italians swarm in Egypt; it is the language of the street in Alexandria. For the delight of once again protecting Egypt Signor Mussolini would give much. One can see that it would not be difficult to come to terms—England tired of protecting, Italy ambitious to protect, and Egypt tired of Englishmen. For such a settlement it is probable that Rome would sacrifice Erythræa. We could thus round off the Soudan, and eliminate another possible submarine base from our Indian Ocean. We could also end that tiresome business with the Emir of Sanaa; Italian intrigue in Arabia is very disturbing. Our interests are East of Suez; and, though they fortify all the Dodecanese, we are not nervous of Italian sea-power. We wish it well—in the Mediterranean.

To all this there is only one objection, an objection which even if

well-founded need not be fatal. In spite of the similarity of their culture to that of Rome, the Egyptian statesmen tell me that they prefer British to Italian protection. This may of course be merely the natural politeness of the Orient; or it may be that the security given by the British fleet is felt to be of better quality; or there may be other reasons. One Pasha told me that the protection of Great Britain was pledged to them by Mr. Lloyd George; that, whether we liked it or not, we were bound in honour to continue to protect them from European nations. I think he exaggerated. Another told me that, rather than accept Italian protection, they would fight. He probably exaggerated also. I feel, however, that we should consult our own interests first. Their preference for English over Italian may be genuine, it may even be justified, but one looks in vain, at present, for any practical expression of the value they attach to the guarantee of territorial integrity supplied by the British fleet. Learning of these very strong objections to Rome, I suggested France, with which country also arrangements could no doubt be made; Paris is so obviously the spiritual home of the Egyptian intelligentsia. But no; it seems they prefer England even to France. I could not have imagined from my slight knowledge of Egypt how much—comparative—popularity we enjoy in that country. I understand that we are becoming popular also at Angora. I suppose that, if Ireland had been part of the Roman Empire, we should be popular in Ireland too.

But if we are going to continue to protect Egypt from somebody else, if we are to guarantee the territorial integrity of Egypt and risk wars for the sake of the Egyptians, it would seem to be now only fair to begin to demand payment, some sort of assistance. We protect Australia; but Australia's danger, the risk therefrom to us, is by no means so great as is Egypt's danger. In return Australia gives us a trade preference and Government orders and, quite rightly, a contribution towards the cost of the protecting Fleet. And Australia is our flesh and blood. Why should we be expected to render all these services for nothing to Egyptians? If they wish us to help them, let them say so. We can ensure them external peace; we can clear out from Cairo; but the insurance is worth paying for, and must be paid for. Three million pounds a year for the British fleet would not be too much to ask for the service rendered.

All this may be a new view of the Egyptian question, but I am persuaded that it is a view which British statesmen will take increasingly. We are only slowly coming to recognise the great changes made by the war in the position and ambitions of the British Empire. We alone are safe externally, we alone can confer safety; but more than ever we must have markets in the world outside, and a sharing of the Imperial burden.

JOSIAH C. WEDGWOOD.

AN EDUCATIONAL ADDRESS.*

THE Birkbeck College, or the London Mechanics' Institution as it was originally called, was formally opened by Dr. George Birkbeck, physician and philanthropist, on February 20th, 1824, in a chapel in Monkwell Street, London Wall: but in the course of the year quarters were found in Southampton Buildings, Holborn, and here on July 8th, 1825, a lecture theatre was inaugurated with befitting ceremony. Dr. George Birkbeck was just the man to be the first President to the Mechanics' Institution, and it was appropriate that the Institution should be called by his name. The idea of bringing science to the working men of the country belongs to this excellent and benign physician. He saw the importance of the new knowledge, and realised the advantages which would be derived from making it widely accessible. Moreover, he possessed just that turn of speech, easy, round, mellifluous, which is most acceptable in the Chairman of a philanthropic institution. He was one of those large-hearted men who without being in any way brilliant leave their mark on history by a conspicuous act of timely public service.

He did not stand alone. Apart from the help of humbler folk and notably of London artisans throughout, he was from the first supported by Henry Brougham, then in the full tide of his amazing activity and raised in this very year to the summit of Parliamentary reputation by two vigorous speeches in the House of Commons: one denouncing the Holy Alliance and all its works, and the other a fulmination against West-Indian slavery. It was a great thing for a young movement to have behind it the drive of Brougham's will and the wide advertisement which the unique popular gifts of this eloquent Scottish lawyer were able to secure for any cause which he chose to take up. It was all very well for fastidious classical scholars like Peacock to pour scorn on Brougham and "the march of mind." With all his faults, Brougham was a great force in English history, and at this particular epoch of his life one of the most valuable figures on the stage of politics.

Then there was Francis Place, the radical tailor of Charing Cross, whose influence is to be traced in all the democratic movements of that time. And finally, there was a written word of commendation from one of the two most famous living Englishmen. Lord Byron in the sunset of his great career, for he was to die a few months later on the soil of Hellas, bestowed a characteristic blessing on the enterprise. If the plan succeeded, as he firmly hoped that it might, the poet opined that the ancient aristocracy of England would be secure for ages to come. "The most useful and

* Being the Foundation Oration delivered at the Birkbeck College on December 8th, 1926.

numerous body of the nation will then," he added, "judge for themselves and, when properly informed, will judge correctly." There is no reason to suppose that Dr. George Birkbeck was at one with Lord Byron in thinking that the principal result of his philanthropic enterprise would be 'to secure the British aristocracy for ever.' He was not particularly interested in the British aristocracy, but equally with Lord Byron he expected that the propagation of scientific knowledge among the artisans of London would be attended with political results. An educated democracy would not, in his view, continue to tolerate the oppressive anachronisms which disfigured the British Statute Book. It would repeal the laws prohibiting the export of machinery and the emigration of British citizens, and would legalise the combination of workers to obtain their economic ends. Moreover, there is in the speeches of Dr. Birkbeck, as in the utterances of many of his contemporaries, a glow of enthusiasm kindled by the thought of the vast markets which were about to open themselves out to British trade as a consequence of the emancipation of South America from the paralysing dominion of Spain. As he contemplated this Eldorado of the future, your founder felt very much as a young poet had felt a few years before when first opening Chapman's Homer:

"Like some watcher in the skies
When a new planet swims into his ken."

The adoption of the new Liberal Policy would make a better world.

"Let European arts and European sciences freely cross
the western main to enrich the gray savannahs and the vast
mountain chains in regions distinguished alike for their sublimity
and inexhaustible fertility."

Dr. Birkbeck expected great things from such a process, and so did many others. In the prodigious South American boom of 1825 Anglo-Mexicans rose five hundred per cent.

It was one of those moments in the history of our country when warm vernal airs of hope begin to break up a long frost of discontent. The very bad years after the Napoleonic wars were over, trade was beginning to revive, and the country, encouraged by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "Prosperity Robinson," was taking note of its achievements and beginning to take pride in the restoration of the gold standard, the maintenance of the Sinking Fund and many other exhibitions of national prudence in finance.

"The general aspect of our commonwealth," writes the *Annual Register*, "presents at this moment a most arresting spectacle of social and political greatness. Perhaps taken together the annals of mankind may be taken to present nothing similar to it."

We had beaten Boney and restored the gold standard and were

about to set up a scheme of improved religious instruction for the slaves in the West Indies. Surely we were a very great nation indeed. There was a feeling abroad that we knew a great deal and had done a great deal and yet that immense regions still remained to be conquered. Why, in that very year, forty-eight Joint Stock Railway Companies and forty-two Joint Stock Gas Companies were registered. And would not Mr. Huskisson's policy of free trade effectually put an end to war? It is, perhaps, a symptom of the vague feeling of large and expanding horizons that the theme for the prize essay at Winchester College for 1824 was as follows: "The vast and unlimited regions of learning should be frequently contemplated." For that was just what Dr. Birkbeck was inviting the citizens of Glasgow and London to do.

There were, however, some dark shadows in the landscape, as William Cobbett, that breezy and intrepid assailant of public abuses, lost no opportunity of pointing out. "What do you want" he wrote in 1824, "more than these two facts, Magistrates in Norfolk fixing the subsistence of a man, his wife and their children at two-pence a day each; and the gaols in Wiltshire containing fifty-three poachers out of 114 persons." In this very year a private members' Bill to give prisoners accused of felony the right to be assisted by counsel was thrown out in the House of Commons. The sentences passed by the magistrates in Quarter Sessions were very savage. While Dr. Birkbeck was engaged in his beneficent task of spreading enlightenment among the workers of the great industrial towns, the Suffolk Magistrates were sentencing Henry Plain to seven years' transportation for poaching, and two of his accomplices to eighteen and twelve months' imprisonment respectively. A House of Commons chosen by the landed interest was not sensitive to these abuses of the judicial office.

In view of the very definite system of public education which then prevailed it might have been thought that the appetite for scientific learning among adult operatives would have been slender. This was not so. The use of scientific machinery had created in the minds of the workers who were employed to make, to mend or to mind machines a desire to learn something about the scientific principles underlying the great industrial inventions which now ruled the common life. In every town in which machinery was used there were intelligent operatives starving for instruction. The Mechanics' Institutions met a real and urgent need. Mr. George Trevelyan reminds us that in this very year the *Mechanics' Magazine* sold 16,000 copies and 1,500 workmen subscribed a guinea apiece to the London Institute. That is a very striking proof of the readiness of the thinking part of the industrial population to receive adult education in 1824.

There were many less fruitful years in English history. You are contemporary with the appearance of *St. Roman's Well* and *Redgauntlet*, with the first number of the *Westminster Review*, and with the purchase by the State of that collection of pictures (belonging to a Russian Jewish gentleman of great taste of the name of Angerstein) which formed the first nucleus of the National Gallery. In this year a brilliant engineer, George Stevenson, was constructing at Newcastle a steam-engine for a projected line between Stockton and Darlington: Sir Humphrey Davy, nearing the end of his illustrious career, was cruising in Scandinavian waters in search of some preservative for the copper sheathing of ships: while Faraday was at work on electro-magnetism and chloride, and standing on the verge of the discovery of benzol.

It is true that Mr. George Grote, the well-known banker in Threadneedle Street, had not yet published the Greek History which was to make him immortal; but he and his charming wife already formed the centre of a circle of earnest inquirers who were destined to make a great mark upon the economic and philosophical speculation of their age. An elder member of this group was the famous city financier David Ricardo. One of its latest recruits was a very young man, prematurely learned and serious, J. S. Mill, who in 1823 had founded the Utilitarian Society. All Wordsworth's best work had been done, but I should be surprised to learn that any one of the seven or eight hundred artificers who crowded in to hear the first course of lectures in chemistry given in this Institution had read a line of him, for though Wordsworth had his distinguished admirers, his popular vogue was to come. There was, however, one poem which must certainly have been known to many of these ardent searchers after chemical knowledge, and that was Lord Byron's *Vision of Judgment*, which described with a recklessness of language exceeding even Lord Byron's habitual measure, the appearance of King George III at the last judgment, and furnished matter for a celebrated State prosecution in this very year.

"He warred with freedom and the free
Nations as men, home subjects, foreign foes
So that they uttered the word liberty
Found George the Third their first opponent. Whose
History was ever stained as his will be
With national and individual woes?
I grant his household abstinence; I grant
His neutral virtues which most monarchs want."

These lines quoted in Leigh Hunt's trial gave the poem a wide advertisement. Plain spoken and scurrilous attacks against Crown and Parliament were not infrequent at the time, and Byron's poem

gave expression to revolutionary sentiments which were very widely prevalent in the big cities.

In those days, what with the paper tax and the stamp and advertisement duties, reading was something of a luxury. The artisan audiences who thronged your lecture-hall in 1824, would not have read so much as their successors of the twentieth century. Their choice of books may, for that very reason, have been wiser. Those who read at all would probably have been a good deal more familiar with the Bible and Milton and Bunyan than is common now. They would have skimmed fewer newspapers, for the circulation of morning dailies did not reach 20,000 copies, while the evening dailies sold even less, and the weeklies not more than 70,000 copies. Even those sales were regarded as a prodigious innovation. "There were never," writes a contemporary, "so many periodical publications as at the present period. On the last night of every month Paternoster Row and its vicinity exhibit a kind of Fair, upwards of 2,000 parcels being then packed and sent off by coaches and waggons." An analysis of the popular reading matter of the period would probably reveal the fact that a much larger proportion was then composed of religious tracts than is now the case. Of contemporary poets, none vied with Byron and Tom Moore; but Shelley and Keats who had died recently might have reached some members of the audience who frequented this Institution, and I can hardly believe that they would not have heard of Thomas Campbell, whose martial poems "On Linden when the sun was low," and "Not a drum was heard, not a funeral note," were quite as much appreciated then, as is Sir Henry Newbolt's fine piece entitled "Drake's Drum" by the present generation. Novels must have been already popular, for in this year Blackwood paid Miss Ferrier a sum of £1,000 for her second novel *Inheritance*; but hers, perhaps, was rather a special case, for she had acquired a fictitious notoriety by her first novel *Marriage* through the device, which has now become hackneyed but is none the better for that, of introducing well-known living characters into her story under the flimsiest of disguises. Whether Miss Ferrier would have penetrated into the working-class home I cannot say. Probably not. I suspect, however, that Mrs. Radcliffe's *Castle of Udolpho* was read in all classes of society, and that few would have escaped hearing of the great Sir Walter, the outpourings of whose prodigal genius furnished the chief intellectual excitement of the time.

There is in the *Annual Register* a list of the publications of the year, most serviceable to the historian of literary taste. What I chiefly remark is the large number of novels which appear anonymously. It is an exception to find an author giving his or her

name to a novel. You will remember that it was a good long time before even the great Sir Walter was forced into the open; and if Sir Walter was shy, so too, and with greater reason, were the lesser ladies and gentlemen who were now for the first time embarking upon fiction. In spite of Fielding and Richardson and Smollett and Jane Austen, there was still a faint suspicion of discredit attaching to this mode of literature. In any case, it was a risky proceeding for gentlemen and ladies of fashion and respectability to be caught out putting their hearts on paper and publishing the results to the world. There were many who felt with Jane Austen who, if any stranger entered the room while she was disporting herself pen in hand, would hastily cover over the guilty manuscript with a piece of needlework. We have changed all that now. To be known to have written a novel is not a reproach but a passport.

Some of you may remember the well-known sonnet of Keats which begins:

"Great spirits now on earth are sojourning"
and ends:

"And other spirits there are standing apart
Upon the forehead of the age to come:
These, these will give the world another heart
And other pulses. Hear you not the hum
Of mighty workings?
Listen awhile, ye nations, and be dumb."

Keats was thinking of Wordsworth and Leigh Hunt and of his friend the artist Haydon; but also of the younger school, Byron and Shelley, who were to give the world "another heart." But the prophets of liberation, as they may be called, were cut down in their youth: Byron at the age of thirty-seven, Shelley at the age of thirty; and it remained for others to carry on the torch. Young Alfred Tennyson was browsing in his father's library at Somersby, young Robert Browning was composing his first exercise in verse in the Byronic manner, Thackeray was a boy at Charterhouse and Dickens a bright-eyed observant lad, who had just picked up a good deal of curious information as to the inside of the Marshalsea prison, which was subsequently to be employed in the immortal pages of *Pickwick*.

The Government of the day was in name Tory. The Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool, was not a man of any great enlightenment, though he possessed a singular skill in keeping Cabinets together; and his Lord Chancellor, Eldon, was an epitome of all that was obstinate and retrograde and unflinching in Tory doctrine and practice. But there was in this so-called Tory Government a strong progressive and liberalising element. Robert Peel was at

the Home Office, Huskisson at the Board of Trade, and George Canning at the Foreign Office. These three men were the ablest statesmen in the country and each in his own official sphere made an important contribution to the cause of liberty and progress. Peel took in hand the reform of the Criminal Law and administration, Huskisson the sweeping away of obsolete protectionist fetters, George Canning the establishment of our Foreign Policy upon a liberal basis. The combined effect of the work of these capable servants of the Commonwealth was to prepare the way for the enlargement of the Parliamentary Franchise and the adoption of Free Trade as the fiscal policy of the country. Every forward-reaching mind in the kingdom was warmed by emotions of sanguine expectation at the new prospects which seemed now to be opening out for Britain under the combined influence of these three representatives of liberal thought in national and international affairs.

In the sphere of domestic policy the year 1824 is remarkable for one legislative Act of far-reaching importance—the repeal of the Combination Acts. For this achievement, the country has to thank a private member of Parliament. It was Joseph Hume, the radical leader, who secured for British Trades-Unionism a basis of legality. On February 12th, this admirable man moved for a select committee to inquire into the laws restricting the emigration of artisans, and the exportation of machinery; and also as to the state of the law, and its effects, as far as relate to the emigration of workmen and others to raise wages or to regulate their hours and wages. Hume was, in fact, proposing a revolution in national industrial policy such as might have been expected to arouse in such a Parliament a vigorous and obstinate resistance. His proposals, however, could hardly have been received with a greater measure of acquiescence if they had emanated from a Tory squire. Eagerly welcomed by Huskisson, they were with very little delay embodied in Bills which passed through the House without opposition and very little comment, favourable or otherwise, in the country at large.

That so great a change should have been effected so easily may perhaps be ascribed in the indifference of a landlord Parliament to town issues: but in part also it must have been due to the fact that the ideas with which Hume and Huskisson operated were finding increasing favour with thinking people. Politics, it is often said, depend on personalities. This is true, but they depend also on ideas, and from time to time the political scene is entirely transformed by the emergence of a new idea and by the sudden recognition of its efficacy and power by a great number of people simultaneously. Now, in the year which witnessed the foundation of this Institution, there were three creative and transforming ideas in

English politics. They were not new, for they had all been thought of before, but they had all the gloss and seductiveness of novelty because they were now being for the first time expounded by prominent statesmen and made the basis of State action. The first was the doctrine, old at least as Adam Smith, that all trade implies reciprocal advantage. The second was the idea that the less trade is interfered with by the State the better for trade. And the third was the conviction that Britain, being a free Commonwealth herself, had an interest in seeing free commonwealths established in every part of the globe, and that the weight of this country in foreign affairs should never be thrown in the scales of despotism, but always against it. In the financial measures of Huskisson which belong to this year, as also in Canning's declarations of foreign policy, these seductive ideas received a powerful embodiment.

It was thus on a full tide of exhilarating expectation that the ship of popular science was launched by Dr. Birkbeck and his friends. They held that good times were coming, and that a sound philosophy of the State was about to enable the country to make use of its opportunity. They were impressed, as indeed every spectator of the industrial revolution could hardly fail to be, by the numerous evidences of the mechanical genius of the working population. They were aware of the great inventions which had revolutionised industry and of the part which simple operatives, working for a daily wage, had taken in these extraordinary and lucrative developments of applied science. Let trade be free, let scientific education be shared among the masses, let British craftsmen be left complete liberty to go where they liked and to organise themselves how they would, and there were no limits to the commercial possibilities of the nation. Britain would manufacture for the whole world. South America would be one vast market for her goods, and as one by one the nations on the Continent of Europe shook off the shackles of political servitude, they too would come under the beneficent influence of our happy island. Such were the dreams, such the impelling motives of the leading men who assisted at the birth of the London Mechanics' Institute.

If it be charged against Dr. Birkbeck and his associates that they were insular in their outlook, their deficiency was not peculiar to themselves. The whole nation was insular. The greatest literary figure in the continent of Europe at this time was unquestionably Goethe, whose *Wilhelm Meister* Thomas Carlyle, then young and entirely obscure, was engaged in translating. But how few people knew German! Even in the universities, where one would think that German should have been widely known among the professors and lecturers, it was hardly more

familiar than Arabic is now. The British people had very little use for foreigners. They had beaten the French, and despised them for the instability of their politics. They saw in Germany a weak, helpless, incoherent mass of states, in Austria an active tyranny, in Italy a geographical expression, in Russia a waste of barbarism. They were not interested in these places, though they were sometimes amused by them. At bottom, their faith was that foreigners were created to amuse Englishmen by their eccentricities.

We are talking of an age long before sport had become cosmopolitan. Now football is played everywhere, in France, in Germany, in Turkey, in Serbia, in Spain. The cult of cricket is spreading among the Indians, and strange to say German and American ladies appear to find it both fashionable and lucrative to swim our disagreeable English Channel. All this would have seemed very strange to the men of 1824. Their sports were English through and through, the Derby, Newmarket, the prize-fight. Perhaps of all sports, the prize-fight was most popular. In those days the spectators got value for their money. There was some duration in a fight when George III was alive. The contest between Spring and Langan for the Championship in your foundation-year demanded seventy-seven rounds and lasted two hours and twenty-nine minutes. Imagine the scene. Thirty thousand spectators on the Worcester racecourse wound up to a pitch of maddening excitement for two hours and twenty-nine minutes while the boxing championship of the only country in the world which mattered was in the balance. Such were the established, the old-fashioned amusements of the people: but there were some significant indications of the adventurous experimenting temper, in search of new risks to life and limb, which we flatter ourselves to be characteristic of our race. The year of which we are now speaking was marked by two balloon accidents, each attended by loss of life; and over one of the victims of "the dangerous and useless practice of aerostation" as the wiseacres then described it, we pause for a moment, for he was a worthy forerunner of the gallant airmen of the Great War. Windham Sadler, professional balloonist and the keeper of a large bathing establishment at Liverpool had made thirty ascents before his last fatal flight at Bolton on September 29th, 1824. His father who was also an aeronaut had attempted to cross St. George's Channel and just failed, but Windham achieved the passage on June 22nd, 1827, from Dublin to Holyhead in five hours and twenty-five minutes in a steady westerly current. "I enjoyed," he wrote in mid-channel, "at a glance the opposite shores of Ireland and Wales and the entire circumference of Man." And being made up of intrepidity he was not content with this great achievement but kept on flying till he met

his end against a Lancashire factory chimney. The navigation of the air was one of the minor passions of the age. The news of a balloon aloft would empty the House of Commons and fill any place of amusement in the country.

The establishment of a new inexpensive institution for part-time adult education in London at the present day upon the scale planned by Dr. Birkbeck and his friends would be of undoubted value, but it would create a comparatively small impression on the public mind. It was otherwise in the London of 1824 when Battersea could be described "as a village in Surrey on the banks of the Thames about four miles from London, long noted for its asparagus," Chelsea, as "a village two miles from London famous for its buns for upwards of a century." The great wilderness of the East End was beginning, but it had not spread very far. Upon a city of such dimensions the introduction of an institution so novel in character and purpose and so consonant with the spirit of the times as the Birkbeck necessarily made a strong impression. In the minds of those who thought that the main object of popular education was to keep little boys from stealing orchards it aroused some alarm. But sensible people saw in it a gallant attempt to bring the light of scientific knowledge to the new population which the use of scientific machinery had brought into being in the London area. Under the fostering impulse of Dr. Birkbeck, mechanic institutes sprang up everywhere like mushrooms in the autumn night. That was a great enterprise, but if we would fully understand its significance, we must regard it not merely as the outcome of the thirst of intelligent workers for more knowledge, though it was that primarily, but as part of that large and generous movement of social compunction, of which the first Poor Law Report, published in this year, may be regarded as one manifestation, and the foundation of the *Westminster Review* as another. We know that the plan has succeeded. In the present prosperity of the Birkbeck College, in its enlarged numbers, its widened studies, its enhanced efficiency, its recognition as a School of the University of London, we have a measure of the wisdom of the Founder's design and an earnest of its continuing usefulness to thousands of men and women, in whom the springs of self-improvement have not been injured by the diurnal tasks of adult life.

Throughout its history this Institution has provided part-time evening education to adult students engaged in their several avocations by day. Yet the Birkbeck College now is very different from the Institution of the Foundation year. That was an organisation for teaching science to London mechanics who were inspired by a disinterested passion for knowledge. Now we have a flourishing school of the University affording an elaborate preparation for the

examinations which lead up to the London University degree, and where are the mechanics? Much, no doubt, has been gained by the transformation—a great increase of students, in the first place, and more efficient, more regular teaching. But the by-products have been yet more valuable. It was just after the first great influx of examination students, as I gather from Mr. Delisle Burns' excellent history of Birkbeck College, that a chance remark, thrown out by a lecturer in chemistry here, induced Mr. Gilchrist Thomas to undertake the researches which led to the discovery of the method for dephosphorising by the Bessemer process now associated with his name. You are familiar with the far-reaching consequences of this remarkable invention, how, for instance, it enabled the iron ores of Germany to be used to commercial advantage, and how upon it the immense industrial structure of the Ruhr Valley has been raised. A chance remark of a lecturer at the Birkbeck was the source of this immense economic revolution on the continent of Europe. Well, now you have your grim, your formidable examinations. Let us hope that they will not kill the discovering spirit which is the soul of all institutions devoted to the higher learning. Examinations are, I am afraid, inevitable, but they must be carefully watched lest, like the great tracts of cactus of which we read in Australia, they smother the succulent plants. Let us, then, whether we be educational statesmen, teachers or students, keep an eye on our examination system. Has not the time come when we should consider whether all our examinations, from the School Certificate upwards, have not become too hard? The examination is a useful drudge but a bad master. If we let it alone, it will obey the law of its own being which is to extend its prickly vegetation over all the unoccupied surfaces of the youthful mind.

I would say, then, to the students of the Birkbeck that there may be some use even now in recalling those London mechanics of the Foundation year, who came to this Institution with no examination to pass and no degrees to gain, but paid their guineas for nothing less valuable than scientific truth.

H. A. L. FISHER.

PROGRESS AND PROBLEMS IN MIDDLE EUROPE.

IT is just eight years since disaster overtook the Hapsburg polity; and the workable though haphazard administrative and economic system of centuries was destroyed in a few weeks. Many of the hopes then entertained have vanished and others are destined to follow them into limbo. If there be few to-day who would maintain that the end of Austria-Hungary was really such an occasion for rejoicing as was made of it in 1918, there are fewer still who would wish to see it reconstructed. Throughout the Monarchy's former territories, however, there are hundreds of thousands who look back upon the period, October, 1918, to October, 1919, as the year of lost opportunities.

It is usual to regard the *debâcle* of Austria-Hungary as the natural dissolution of a heterogeneous mass into its constituent parts. In point of fact, the complicated intermingling of races in Middle Europe never from the beginning allowed of so simple a solution. The domination of the victorious nations by war psychology and the secret commitments by means of which their Governments had secured alliances for themselves and purchased the disaffection of enemy subjects, removed the settlement further than was inevitable from the ideal of "self-determination." To those who blame the Allies for the unsatisfactory treaties concluded with Austria and Hungary, the reply is often made that the "nationalities" themselves broke up the old State and that we had merely to record existing facts. That is partly true, but not sufficiently so to relieve us of responsibility. It was largely our propaganda and extravagant promises which sapped the allegiance of the races of the Monarchy, whose ambitions would otherwise in many cases have been limited to autonomy within the existing State. Even after the collapse, it remained within our power to set bounds—particularly in the economic sphere—to the demands which we had stimulated. After the Treaties (so hastily evolved in an atmosphere of hatred and unreason) had been signed, the mechanical insistence of a part of our Press on their sacrosanct character—an insistence based on the exploded theory of the sole war guilt of the Central Powers—proved a bar to re-adjustment, but it is now being allowed to go by the board. We must in the same measure accept blame for what was evil as we claim credit for what was good in the 1919 settlements. As part of the good may be reckoned the complete disappearance—except in Hungary—of the out-of-date feudalism of the Monarchy. The impossible Hapsburg conception of the State as a family property, to be administered for the sole advantage of the Dynasty, can fortunately never return. The German-Austrians

find in this fact little less cause for rejoicing than any other of their former fellow-subjects, for all alike were looked upon as pawns in the Hapsburg family game. Austrians—even those who are far from holding the republican form of government to be a panacea—often say to me, "With all our misfortunes, we are at least free from the bonds of the Hapsburg State concept."

The next eight years will have to be a period of patchwork reparation of the faults of the post-war settlement, the outstanding feature of which was the re-shuffling of nationalities. Out of one Hapsburg Monarchy arose half-a-dozen Austria-Hungaries. The Minorities Problem of the vanished State became the Minorities Problems of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Roumania, Yugo-slavia and Italy. Each of these States proved to have learnt little from the failures and to have forgotten none of the faulty methods of the old State forms. In each country—Yugo-slavia was the least guilty, except in regard to the determined efforts made to obliterate the racial characteristics of her Macedonian-Bulgar subjects—the dominant race sought to impose its characteristics on its alien subjects by methods of far greater severity than Austria had ever used, and in some cases exceeding even those of the Magyars. Though the number of persons under alien rule has probably decreased as a result of the changes, there has been increased suffering on the part of individuals, aggravated by the fact that the reversal of pre-war conditions has so often meant the placing of the more advanced under the more backward races.

So few persons of alien race were left subject to modern Austria and Hungary that we can treat their minorities as non-existent. Vienna, of course, remains international. Slav, Teuton and Magyar are inextricably intermingled, as the shopkeepers' signboards in any street prove. Despite the natural predominance of Teutonic culture, there is no racial feeling among the citizens. The rather soporific pacifism and toleration which are part of the atmosphere of Vienna exercise a soothing influence on the political passions of all who dwell within her walls.

The Austrian minority under the Italians in South Tyrol, however, probably suffers more than any other created by the Peace Treaties. To contrast the treatment it receives with that of the Italians formerly under Austria is impossible, because the oppression of the Fascists cannot be paralleled in modern history. Italy had her price for joining the Allies, and part of it was the partition of the historic and intensely patriotic mountain principality of Tyrol, that she might stride across a purely German population to the crest of the Brenner. The Italians were entitled to a rectification of their frontier at Austria's expense, but the territory racially theirs stopped far south of Bozen. History shows—notably in the

inspiring story of Andreas Hofer, their national hero—that the Tyrolese can be more loyal to Austria than she herself demands. To-day little is heard in Vienna of the sufferings of the Tyrolese under the Fascisti—Mussolini is an awkward neighbour for little Austria. Nevertheless, the conviction of the whole population that they will one day rejoin their brothers north of the Brenner is undimmed. *Fascismo* is entitled to the entire credit for the present régime of oppression and for the bitterness which it has created. I visited South Tyrol in 1920, before the advent of the *Fascisti*; the population, though naturally resenting the annexation, appreciated Italy's tolerance and liberality towards her unwilling subjects. I have been there since the *Fascisti* got to work, and can testify to the thoroughness with which they have provided the Tyrolese with martyrs, transforming a comparatively contented minority into terrorised but bitter foes of Italy. Despite the attempts made to eradicate their native tongue and national character (and even their German names), the Tyrolese remain as intensely Teutonic as they were under Austria. The carving-up of Tyrol was certainly morally indefensible; there are many strategists who hold that it was useless from a military standpoint. The ingenious efforts which have been made to show that it will prove advantageous to the inhabitants economically will not bear critical examination. Two of the chief products of the area are fruit and wine; little mountainous Austria lacks both. The gentle sunlit slopes of the Brenner produce wonderful fruit and excellent wine which, welcome as they would be in Austria, are yet unable to compete successfully in Italy's richly supplied fruit and wine markets.

The general attitude towards the South Tyrol question is that of "least said, soonest mended." Yet it is so closely bound up with the larger question of Austro-German union that it will have to be faced some day. Obviously we have no very strong feeling about the *Anschluss*. French opposition will tend to disappear as Franco-German reconciliation progresses. Many Frenchmen already feel that their country should welcome the strengthening of Catholic influence against Prussia which would result from the union. Italy's opposition serves at the moment to diminish that of France. Italy is the one Great Power implacably hostile to the *Anschluss*, largely, one may suppose, on account of her guilty conscience in the matter of South Tyrol. Were its inhabitants to be restored to the comparatively satisfactory position which was theirs immediately after the annexation, Italy would have little to fear from Germany as a neighbour. Meanwhile, both Austria and Germany are quietly preparing for eventual union. Very wisely, "large talking" and demonstrations which cause Austria to be accused of extorting concessions by "*Anschluss* blackmail," which

concern France and enrage Signor Mussolini, are checked. The assimilation of the whole administrative systems of the two States in a way to which no one can object progresses so quietly as to deceive casual observers into thinking the movement dead.

Proper government, not liberation, is all that the South Tyrolese ask. The restoration of their country to Austria is recognised to be quite outside the range of practical politics at the moment. It would not in any case do much to ameliorate the latter's economic situation. The truth of the epigram "If Austria did not exist, it would have been necessary to invent her," has been abundantly proved; having destroyed the Austria to which it refers, we have found ourselves obliged to cast about for a substitute. This will be one of the principal tasks of the coming World Economic Conference. Austria-Hungary, however incongruous racially, did constitute a definite economic unit. On her dissolution began the senseless duplication of plant under the protection of tariff walls which continues to-day. Austria suffers most, partly because she is not a predominantly agricultural country like Hungary, and partly because as "ex-enemy" she had to satisfy all demands of her former partners who stood at the Peace Conferences on the "Allied ticket." Her manufactures, her banks and her vital *entrepôt* trade have been and are suffering gravely as a result. Instead of trying to rectify these mistakes, the Allies left their friends in possession of the spoil and took the Burgenland from Hungary, dividing it between her and Austria in such a way as to ruin the economic life of that territory and provide a fruitful source of strife between the two old partners. People sometimes talk of "the miracle of Austria," and indeed, the outcome of her plucky struggle against heavy odds seems miraculous, but it is hard on a country to have to produce an annual miracle in order to exist.

"We may yet become prosperous," Austrian optimists sometimes say, "if we can expand our agriculture." Yet such expansion can only be achieved at the expense of Hungary, whose function it was to feed present-day Austria. Meanwhile, Hungary builds textile mills, leaving those of Czecho-Slovakia idle, the Czechs erect tariff walls against Austrian specialities and Hungarian agricultural products, and Hungary tries to develop a heavy industry while Austrian machines rust: the waste of energy and wealth results incidentally in less money being available for British goods. So far, nothing serious has been done to arrest this wanton destruction of wealth and of complementary specialist functions in the former economic unit of the Danube basin.

Like the other liberated "nationalities," the Czechs immediately utilised their release from the polyglot Monarchy to create a new

polyglot State. They brought in the protesting Germans of Bohemia and Moravia, and included the Slovaks, a kindred but a distinct race with a language of its own, on terms to which they strenuously objected. Ever since, the Slovaks have striven unceasingly for the autonomy which they claim to have been guaranteed them by the Czech leaders in the so-called "Treaty of Pittsburg." The primitive Ruthenians of Carpathian Russia were gathered in by the Czechs, and the new State came immediately into armed conflict with the equally land-hungry Poles over the industrial area round Teschen. Czecho-Slovakia secured a favourable economic position at the cost of creating many internal racial and political problems; only to-day, after eight years of German and Slovak hostility, do these show signs of being resolved. Forcible efforts to "Czechise" place-names and to impose the Czech language on the non-Czech elements by the schools policy followed, and in other ways have met with no more success than usually attends attempts at denationalisation. To encourage Czech pride in the native language is one thing; to attempt to oust a "world tongue" like German by a difficult Slav tongue that few foreigners will ever learn is another, and one not calculated to serve the inhabitants in their intercourse with the outside world. The frequent utilisation of the timely measures of land reform—so desirable in themselves—in furtherance of racial policy has done a good deal to nullify the social and economic benefits which they should have conferred.

Fortunately the new Czech Cabinet has in it the germs of national consolidation, although too much has been made of the aspect of racial reconciliation. In its essence, the Cabinet is a combination of Agrarians and Clericals who happen to be of Czech, German and Slovak nationality. Its objectives are a high protective agrarian tariff, the abolition of the State lien on Church lands in Slovakia, and the conclusion of a concordat with Rome. The two German members of the Cabinet have made a modification of Czech nationalism a condition of their remaining, the Slovaks declare that they will resign if their demands for autonomy remain unsatisfied, and both German Nationalists and German Social-Democrats have joined the Opposition. Dr. Benes remains Foreign Minister only by virtue of President Masaryk's insistence; he has had to leave his party, the Czech National Socialists, who oppose the Government. The future is thus none too simple. The necessity of striving for consolidation, however, was brought home to the Czechs by the warning of France's intention to abandon her system of anti-German alliances implied by Locarno and Thoiry; the Germans also realised that the Reich's interest in supporting them in their quarrel with the Czechs had diminished. The healthy democracy

of Czecho-Slovakia gave her cause to look with suspicion on countries governed by dictatorial methods, such as Hungary and Italy, despite the fact that the influence of the latter tends to replace that of France in the Balkans.

Hungary, though left a self-supporting country by the Peace Treaties, has witnessed troublous times. The release of her oppressed and discontented alien subjects was inevitable, but her boundaries were drawn up in 1919 with every possible disadvantage to her. She has passed through an unstable republican period, the horrors of the Red Terror, the Roumanian invasion, and worst of all, the White Terror of the Fascist reactionaries. The influence of the latter, who escaped all punishment, counts for much even to-day. Alone of the Succession States, Hungary has made no progress towards democracy, and has done nothing to throw off the shackles of feudalism. Her people have neither a free Press nor the right of free speech; republican propaganda is a criminal offence, though there is no reigning monarch. The misery of the peasantry stimulates an increasing land hunger which the oligarchy makes no attempt to satisfy, despite the universal example of neighbouring States. Nobody knows for whom Admiral Horthy is Regent. In addition to the legitimate heir, Otto, who is now fourteen and still in exile at Lequeitio, where he is being brought up as Hungary's future ruler, the Hapsburg Archdukes Joseph and Albrecht, who are both resident in Hungary, have their supporters as candidates for the Throne. The Regent will never be forgiven by the great Legitimist families for having fired on the late Kaiser Karl; Count Bethlen is hated by them on similar grounds, and the Archduke Joseph will never be pardoned his adherence to the Revolutionary National Assembly. The Franc Forgery affair last spring, in which high officials, noble families and Princes of the Church were involved, revealed something of the political corruption, feudalism and "romanticism" run wild, under which the people suffer and over which Hungarian propaganda throws a discreet veil by simultaneously and inexplicably blaming the Treaty of Trianon and offering an attractive field for the investment of foreign capital.

The present intentions of Count Bethlen, that astute Transylvanian, who inherits his political agility from generations of rulers of the outer marches of Hungary, furnishes matter for eager speculation. Quite evidently it is the Prime Minister, and no longer the Regent, who exercises dictatorial powers. Early in November Count Bethlen unexpectedly rushed through the National Assembly a Bill establishing a House of Magnates, regardless of the protests of Legitimists, Radicals and Social-Democrats. The Act confers special privileges on the Hapsburg Archdukes, despite the provisions of the Hapsburg Dethronement Act passed on the demand

of the Allies. Immediately this had been done, Count Bethlen, again with cynical disregard of Opposition protests, decreed the election of a new Parliament without any warning, and has announced that it will have to solve "outstanding constitutional questions." This certainly means that of the Throne.

The returns of the recent Hungarian elections have no significance whatever. The Hungarian peasant, whose miserable condition is little removed from serfdom, was forced to declare openly at the hustings before his feudal lord and the dreaded police whether he was friend or foe of the Government. This prohibition of the secret ballot holds good in 199 out of 245 constituencies. Count Bethlen was thus guaranteed his majority in advance. Not content with this, however, he let loose an "election terror" which even a former President of the National Assembly and a friend of the reactionary Count Andrássy described as the worst Hungary has known. Count Apponyi, a Conservative of the Conservatives, accused Count Bethlen of seeking by revolutionary methods to establish reaction. Opposition election posters were confiscated wholesale, permission to hold meetings was refused, and a number of candidates were forced by the "terror" to withdraw. In the 199 "open ballot" constituencies, not one Social Democratic or Democratic Opposition candidate was returned. In the 45 secret ballot constituencies these parties were in a majority. Thus, so far as the will of the country was ascertained it rejected Count Bethlen's Parliamentary dictatorship in favour of democracy, though owing to the "managed" elections, the representatives of democracy will be swamped in Parliament by Count Bethlen's meaningless majority. The interesting point is what Count Bethlen intends to do with the majority he is obtaining by these methods.

Two persons may be considered as candidates for the post of "elected King" which Count Bethlen appears to have decided to create: the Archduke Joseph and the young Archduke Albrecht. The latter is the favourite of the Hungarian Fascists and White Terrorists, who seem recently to have come to some agreement with Count Bethlen. Rumour has recently hinted that the latter approves of the plan for a "personal union" of Hungary and Roumania through the marriage of Albrecht to the Princess Ileana of Roumania. The idea appears less fantastic on reflection than it does at first sight. The King of Roumania is seriously ill. His death would precipitate a crisis in the country, since Prince Carol, whose exile was really a political matter and the consequence of his intrigues with the Roumanian Opposition, might well attempt to return; he has many adherents in the army. This would spell disaster for the all-powerful M. Bratianu, the leader of the "Liberal Party" (which is really a Bratianu family affair com-

PALMERSTON: A PORTRAIT.

OUT of innumerable threads, each instinct with the individual quality and character of a human life, is woven the multi-coloured tapestry of History. Here where is depicted an age of great men and women the colours are rich and glowing; there in some Dark Age in the world's life-story only a single vivid thread stands out from the sombre background. One and all, gay and dull threads alike, Clio inexorably weaves upon her loom. The historian will seek to observe and record the whole pattern; but each of these lives, the unravelling of a single thread, is subject for the biographer's art. Between historian and biographer there exists an indissoluble bond. Each is indispensable to the other; neither can succeed without the other's aid. The historian supplies the background to the biographer's portrait while the biographer gives the historian the key to a man's character and thereby to his actions. When the biographer's subject is a great statesman the co-operation between biographer and historian of necessity becomes still closer. As one who had himself won distinction as a biographer said: "You cannot show what such a man was except in relation to what he did; but the essential thing is at the same time to bring out the relation between what he did and what he was." Unfortunately, nowhere has this been proved more difficult of achievement than in political biography. Only too often the personality, and even the renown, of a statesman is buried beneath a biographical monument, as heavy though not as enduring as brass, erected to his memory by a dull, uncomprehending piety.

Few men have suffered more in this respect, and no statesman of the nineteenth century has been more generally neglected by biographers, than Henry John Temple, third Viscount Palmerston. His official biography in five volumes from the pens of Lord Dalming, better known to history as Sir Henry Bulwer, and the Hon. Evelyn Ashley, entombed Palmerston's debonair temperament beneath a mass of documentation valuable only to the specialist. The Marquis of Lorne subsequently made a gallant, though not wholly successful, attempt to resuscitate the real Palmerston, while in review-articles attempts were made from time to time to estimate his statesmanship and, though less frequently, to portray the man. Now sixty years after Palmerston's death a master in historical portraiture attempts a full-length study in which his subject stands out against a background of the great events in which he played his part.* In Palmerston that brilliant colourist, Mr. Guedalla, has found a subject after his own heart on which he can lavishly expend the rich resources of his palette. Although his method is impressionistic, Mr. Guedalla has not hesitated to prepare himself for his

* *Palmerston*. By Philip Guedalla. Benn. 25s. net.

task by a long course of painstaking study in public and family archives. As he himself writes:

"I have always felt that there is a Muse, no less than a method, of history; and using (though, I hope, concealing) the full apparatus of research and documents, I have done my best to paint his portrait, to catch something of the movement of his world, and to bring back the dead without sacrifice either of accuracy or vividness."

That there will be as many opinions of the degree of success achieved by Mr. Guedalla as there are readers of his book, cannot be doubted. His studied neglect to give chapter and verse for many of his statements will arouse the ire of professional historians; his highly individualistic style with its insistence upon the repetition of phrases and bizarre juxtapositions will incense the purists, and even weary his own admirers. Unhappily for his own reputation as a writer, and for the popularity of that "Muse" he so frequently extols, Mr. Guedalla has never appreciated the truth of Cicero's maxim *Actum ne agas*. Such criticism, however, only goes to prove that Mr. Guedalla has painted an arresting, stimulating portrait.

What a subject for a portraitist! What delight in trying to capture and reproduce on a modern canvas the fast dimming light of that "last candle of the Eighteenth Century"! Something of his own delight in the fascinating pursuit has overflowed into Mr. Guedalla's pages and given to them a naïve excitement, akin to that of a child in playing hide and seek. Nor could one wish for a better playmate in the romping game than that perennial child "Pam," of whom, in his seventy-fourth year, on learning that he was staying at Compiègne with Napoleon III, a lady could write to his fellow-guest, Clarendon, that she was glad "it was not one of those riotous parties when ladies defend fortresses and mounds, and gentlemen pull them by the feet to make them lay down their arms, for your young companion P. would probably have joined in that fun too." Six years later an observer at Brocket was amazed one autumn day to see "a Prime Minister of eighty cross the drive without his hat, deliberately climb a railing twice, and go into the house again." The indomitable youth was "gravely testing his strength" against the coming Parliamentary session. His boyishness was only one among Palmerston's many lovable characteristics. His good looks, high spirits, camaraderie, and almost imperturbable good humour, endeared him to the multitude no less than to his immediate circle of friends. An aristocrat to his finger-tips, he was never happier than when riding to hounds, shooting his coverts at Broadlands, or dancing at Almack's. Yet in a class-conscious age no man was freer from class-consciousness; and he loathed snobs in no matter what walk of life he encountered them. Once "a porter

prising political posts, banks, oil concerns and estates), and his present place-holder, General Avarescu. Roumania is further in a state of constant anxiety concerning Bessarabia, and is well aware of the Hungarian plan to seize Transylvania the moment Russia marches against Bessarabia. I have seen how, on official maps, Soviet Russia makes no claim to any of the Baltic territory she has lost, but shows Bessarabia as still part of Russia marked "In Roumanian Occupation." On Hungary's side, suppose that by uniting her warlike people with the Roumanians, she could, without striking a blow, secure 17,000,000 new subjects—mainly in that backward stage of development which she approves in subject peoples—and her lost Transylvanian territory, in which are situated many large estates formerly belonging to Count Bethlen and other notables! The project is tempting. It is naturally receiving the discreet support of Fascist Italy, who sympathises with both Roumanian and Hungarian absolutism. Amongst the many obstacles which may hinder its realisation may be counted the probable hostility of many Hungarian *boyars*, fearful of Magyar domination, and the opposition of Czecho-Slovakia, Austria and Yugo-slavia, to whom the birth of so formidable an eastern military power under Italian Fascist patronage could not but be unwelcome. But the rulers of Hungary are determined that their country shall re-enter the ranks of Great Powers, and the way of conquest is not an easy one to tread at the moment. What wonder if they should have recalled the old Hapsburg principle, *Tu, Austria felix, nubes*, and made it their own? As alternatives to the Roumanian solution, that of a personal union with Poland and quite lately even with Italy has also been considered.

Poland is the Succession State presenting the most urgent internal problems, Yugo-slavia's difficulties being mainly those between her and Italy, which have recently become acute. Space does not admit of any attempt here to deal with the dangerous situation in Albania. Like Hungary, Poland is blessed with a dictatorship. Like Czecho-Slovakia, she showed such zeal for accumulating land in 1918-1919 that, instead of being a homogeneous State, she has to struggle with endless minority and frontier problems. She seems, however, not to be content with the opposition of the Ruthenians, the White Russians, the Jews, and above all, of the Germans of the Corridor and Silesia. When I was last in Warsaw, prominent Poles told me their dreams of an annexation of Lithuania and Memel. "Then," I was told, "instead of the German pincers of Prussia and East Prussia closing on the Corridor, you will see the Polish pincers of Lithuania and the Corridor closing for ever on East Prussia." Nowadays one hears of Polish suggestions that if Poland is allowed to take Lithuania, she might be willing to return the Corridor to

Germany. The treaty which Lithuania has just concluded with Soviet Russia is a reply to the implied threat. Wise Polish politicians realise that apart from the Minority Problems, and those of her internal economy and finance, the welding together of the three very distinct Polish types which developed under Prussia, Austria, and Russia furnishes a task for a generation. Unfortunately the people are politically so unschooled that wise voices are rarely heard. The State is ruled by a military dictator (who, incidentally, was responsible for the seizure of Vilna, from which the existing Polish-Lithuanian dispute springs) who now dreams of a monarchy. Poland stands on the brink of elections which M. Pilsudski intends to conduct on something approaching Hungarian lines. The country cannot hope for consolidation or development until she has the good-will of one of her great neighbours, Germany and Russia. As long as Great Britain and Soviet Russia are at enmity as they are to-day, it is in the interests of our policy that Poland should come to an agreement with Germany in the matter of the Corridor and Upper Silesia (where local elections have once again shown the folly of the existing frontier) and turn her face towards the West.

G. E. R. GEDYE.

(Late Central European correspondent of *The Times*.)

ordered his cigar to be put out in a waiting-room, discovered who the unknown smoker was, apologised, and was rewarded by: 'I took you for an honest man, but I find you are only a damned snob.' " In that retort can be glimpsed the real Palmerston. Moreover, sportsman that he was, Palmerston's sympathies were ever with the under-dog. His son-in-law, Shaftesbury, wrote of his tenure of the Home Office:

"I have never known any Home Secretary equal to Palmerston for readiness to undertake every good work of kindness, humanity, and social good, especially to the child and the working-class. No fear of wealth, capital, or election-terrors; prepared at all times to run a-tilt if he could do good by it. Has already done more than ten of his predecessors."

In almost everything he was an exact antithesis to Albert the Good, in whose company he can rarely have felt at ease.

"Those eager readings from Hallam's *Constitutional History of England*, that passion for geology, and those lonely outpourings on the Castle organ by evening light, were strange indeed for him to contemplate. It was so long since Palmerston had improved himself; he was not given to mournful improvisation in the setting sun; and it may be doubted whether he had ever felt the fascination of a fossil."

The temperamental antagonism between the two men, between the *Schwärmerei* of the German and the easy, half-cynical nonchalance of the Englishman, was destined to leave its traces upon the political history of their time; and it changed Palmerston's relations with his Queen from charming cordiality to barely veiled enmity. "For," writes Mr. Guedalla with the intuition that is the keenest weapon in his armoury, "there was little in Palmerston of those paler virtues which now compelled her admiration; and he remained a slightly distasteful reminder of her vanished past before the conquering advent of her husband."

The most famous outcome of the enmity between Queen and statesman was Palmerston's dismissal from the Foreign Secretaryship in December, 1851. Louis Napoleon's successful *coup d'état* on December 2nd of that year met with Palmerston's unqualified approval. Acting in a manner which a distinguished modern historian has styled as "at once both indiscreet and undemocratic," Palmerston in the face of quite definite instructions to maintain a policy of strict neutrality proceeded to communicate his satisfaction to Walewski, the French Ambassador in London. Whatever his motives may have been—and even so unfriendly a critic as Stockmar ascribed his action to a far-sighted appreciation of the value of Louis Napoleon's friendship in the possible event of a war with Russia—his action resulted in his political degradation. So complete did his downfall appear to his contemporaries that the shrewd

Disraeli was led to exclaim: "There *was* a Palmerston." Historians have hitherto been divided in attributing his dismissal to his own faults of judgment and too confident reliance upon his ability to outride any storm, and to the machinations of the Court. Relying upon the unpublished correspondence of Lady Palmerston to which he has had access at Broadlands, Mr. Guedalla clears up the mystery and reveals that the truth, as always, lies between two extremes. There was a Court plot against Palmerston. Palmerston was in no small degree to blame for his own downfall. As Mr. Guedalla tells it, the story has all the breathless excitement of a first-rate drama. A successful *coup d'état* is brought off in Paris by the nephew of the great Napoleon. On the morrow the French Ambassador calls upon the Foreign Secretary in Downing Street to learn his views on the new régime. As the Foreign Secretary's wife subsequently wrote to a friend, the Ambassador was told

"that as it appeared a rupture was imminent between the Parliament and President it was much better that the President should have succeeded. That it was better for the interests of France, as it would conduce more to a settled Government, and that as it was better for France, it must also be so for the rest of Europe."

The Ambassador hastened to report Palmerston's words to Paris and, seeing that he was Walewski, it may be assumed that they did not lose force in the telling. Then, hearing rumours that the Orleanist exiles at Claremont were packing up, Palmerston sits down to write to his "genteelly Orleanist" ambassador in Paris, Lord Normanby. In passing on the rumours to him, Palmerston, with a characteristic outspokenness, observes that Louis Napoleon "was quite right . . . to knock them down first," proceeds to reprove Normanby for his Orleanist friends, and with more wit than tact pens "a highly irreverent description of the violated constitution as 'the day-before-yesterday tomfoolery, which the scatter-brained heads of Marrast and Tocqueville invented for the torment and perplexity of the French nation.'" Next there followed a Cabinet at which it was resolved, "in accordance with a note from Osborne, that strict neutrality should be maintained in Paris." Again the Foreign Secretary admonishes Normanby for his Orleanist sympathies. But that by now thoroughly incensed diplomat had a speedy and unexpected revenge. On calling on the French Foreign Minister to intimate his Government's decision to maintain strict neutrality, Normanby was dumbfounded to learn that Palmerston had already approved the new régime. The Ambassador's not unjustifiable wrath overflowed in an appeal to the Prime Minister, Russell, against Palmerston. Let Mr. Guedalla's lively pen complete the tale:

"But a still loftier appeal remained. For he was a Phipps; and Colonel Phipps was Albert's secretary. So Lady Normanby com-

posed a letter full of her husband's woes and sent it to his brother at Osborne. Another followed with a careful exposition of Palmerston's misdeeds, while Normanby himself plied the Prime Minister. Having prepared the ground by these discreet communications, he formally complained of Palmerston's official acts. The train was fired; Russell demanded explanations; soft hands were clapped at Osborne and restrained from livelier intervention by Stockmar, 'certain that if Palmerston requires another thrust, his colleagues themselves will give it.' Palmerston explained the *coup d'etat*, explained the President, explained the Chamber, explained anything except his own proceedings. He sat up until half-past four to write it, and John Russell hardly improved its reception at Osborne by an avoidable delay of three days in transmission. Recalled to the point, Palmerston contended that his talk with Walewski had been unofficial and in no sense binding on the Government. But Russell had his case; he had always argued that the ground for dismissal must be some clear departure from the Cabinet's policy, and Palmerston's remark was plainly at variance with their system of neutrality in Paris. Armed with his reasons, he consulted no one, but dipped his pen at Woburn Abbey and informed his colleague that 'no other course is left . . . than to submit the correspondence to the Queen, and to ask Her Majesty to appoint a successor to you in the Foreign Office,' adding a trifle mirthlessly that if Palmerston would care to go to Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant, a British peerage was at his disposal. So Lord John made his *coup d'etat* as well."

Palmerston was out. And while London streets were ringing to cries of:

Small Lord John has been and gone
And turned adrift Lord Palmerston,
Amongst the lot the only don
Who didn't take care of number one;
Out spoke Home Secretary Gray,
I wish old Palmy was away.
Aye, turn him out they all did say,
For he's the people's darling.

Lady Palmerston at Broadlands was indicting the conspirators in a series of angry letters in which she made no secret of her opinion that

"it is clearly an intrigue of Normanby Phipps and the Prince worked up by the deep disappointment of the Orleans overthrow. . . ." "No doubt the Queen and Prince wanted to get Palmerston out and Granville in because they thought he would be pliable and subservient and would let Albert manage the Foreign Office which is what he had always wanted. . . ." "There never was such a *querelle d'Allemand*. . . . If one looks for the real reason, there is nothing strikes one so forcibly as a Foreign Conspiracy. We know that Austria has long been working very hard against Palmerston because she thinks him to be a warm supporter of Constitutional Governments. Then all the little Princes of Germany follow Austria, and then there is the family of Orleans at Clermont dreadfully annoyed at the President's success, and at

their intrigue with the Burgraves and Parliamentary party, with whom they are in close alliance, having so failed—for they were prepared to go off to Paris as soon as the President was put into Vincennes. Think then what their disappointment must have been when the President's *Coup d'Etat* cut in just before theirs—and that all their friends were put into Vincennes instead of the President. To these elements of conspiracy add Normanby who has behaved ill as possible, and who is constantly in correspondence with Charles Phipps, his brother, who is Secretary to Prince Albert, and I think you will guess how all this has arisen, but pray don't repeat these latter hints as coming from me. . . ."

And she concluded one letter with this inimitable touch:

"I am still vexed and provoked at the whole thing but I take it much more calmly. It is so lucky for an effervescing woman to have such a calm and placid husband which no events can irritate, or make him lose his temper."

In thus dwelling at length upon this curious episode in Victorian politics, regard has been had not only to its intrinsic importance but also to its value in attempting an estimation of Palmerston's conduct of foreign affairs. As a statesman Palmerston stands or falls by the judgment delivered upon his foreign policy. Though for nineteen successive years, as Secretary at War (the title aptly describes his relations with the other branches of the War Office) he sat at the Horse Guards controlling the financial administration of the Army, Palmerston left little mark upon that particular one "of those labyrinths which are the glory of British administration." Nor, twenty-five years later, was his brief administration of the Home Office any more noteworthy, unless it were for the celebrated rebuke administered in Cromwellian tones to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, in consequence of which Palmerston found himself reproached with having "treated Heaven as a foreign power." It was quite otherwise with his long reign at the Foreign Office. On the organisation of the diplomatic service and on the foreign policy of England alike, Palmerston left an impress which the passage of Time has not yet entirely effaced. When in 1830 he first became Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs the diplomatic service was in a very chaotic and undisciplined state; but on his dismissal in 1851 he left behind him a service second to none in Europe. Master of a penmanship so faultless that it "lived on in Mr. Gladstone's memory as one of the two perfect things that he had known," Palmerston was continually at war with careless caligraphy. Dispatches were even returned to their far-distant authors to be copied out in blacker ink. Nevertheless, "letters still continued to slope backwards 'like the raking masts of an American schooner,' or stood in horrid rows 'which can only be compared to Iron Railings leaning out of the perpendicular.'" Slackness among the

clerks was dealt with in a manner quite peculiarly Palmerstonian.

"When high-spirited administrators dazzled the pretty dress-makers across the street by manipulating mirrors from an upper window, a bland Secretary of State enquired, 'Who are these unmannerly youths who have been casting reflections on young ladies opposite?' And an impudent subordinate, who had sent up a draft in an enormous parody of his favourite handwriting, was once rewarded by the imperturbable comment that 'the writer of this paper would write an excellent hand if he wrote a little larger.'"

Nor was Palmerston himself quite so impeccable as with his industry, beautiful handwriting, faultless French, good Italian and knowledge of German, he seemed to be. In the eyes of a faithful critic his failings were, "never caring for an engagement if it did not suit him, keeping everybody waiting for hours on his pleasure or caprice," and drawing upon himself the cordial dislike of foreign diplomats. This last, indeed, is capable of being interpreted as an indirect tribute to his abilities. "Four years of Palmerston," writes Mr. Guedalla, "had left Talleyrand respectful and M. de Metternich puzzled and angry." These things, however, are but the *minutiae* of a public man's life. Yet, as Plutarch knew, it is not "always in the most distinguished achievements that men's virtues or vices may be best discerned; but very often an action of small note, a short saying, or a jest shall distinguish a person's real character more than the greatest sieges or the most important battles."

Of "great sieges" and "important battles" in the diplomatic sense, Palmerston had enough and to spare. "His first diplomatic duels were fought with Talleyrand and Metternich, his last with Mr. Lincoln and Prince Bismarck." With those recurrent nightmares, the International Questions, which from time to time trouble the sleep of the European chancelleries, Palmerston struggled manfully for well-nigh forty years; and if he did not cause the spectres wholly to subside, he at least faced them more resolutely than the majority of his Continental confrères. One spectre—the Eastern Question—haunted him from very early in his political life and, by a curious irony, was destined to be the cause of his attaining the summit of his ambitions when during the Crimean War he succeeded Aberdeen as Prime Minister. On this as on most other questions his opinions were inspired by that sound common sense which was perhaps his most outstanding characteristic. As early as 1838 he was writing of the "Sick Man" of Europe:

"I am inclined to suspect that those who say that the Turkish Empire is rapidly going from bad to worse ought rather to say that the other countries of Europe are year by year becoming better acquainted with the manifest and manifold defects of the organisation of Turkey."

A year later the same subject provoked him to remark:

"Half the wrong conclusions at which mankind arrive are reached by the abuse of metaphors, and by mistaking general resemblance, or imaginary similarity for real identity. Thus people compare an ancient monarchy with an old building, an old tree, or an old man, and because the building, tree, or man must from the nature of things crumble, or decay, or die, they imagine that the same thing holds good with a community. . . . All that we hear every day of the week about the decay of the Turkish Empire, and its being a dead body or a sapless trunk, and so forth, is pure and unadulterated nonsense."

Though the Ottoman Empire is no more, and Constantinople has been superseded by Angora, a thriving Turkish Republic witnesses to-day to the essential wisdom of Palmerston's reflection. Sound commonsense was indeed the corner-stone on which he built his policies. If at times he seemed no better than a mere opportunist, without any basic principles on which to found a policy, the fault must be laid at the doors of his political mentors. Neither his guardian Malmesbury, nor Canning, to whose teachings he owed so much, were believers in the rigid application of preconceived ideas in the realm of foreign politics. Canning indeed taught him that "for Europe I shall be desirous *now* and *then* to read *England*," but it was Palmerston who went on to formulate the opinion:

"There are two great parties in Europe; one which endeavours to bear sway by the force of public opinion; another which endeavours to bear sway by the force of physical control;"

and, having formulated it, to act upon it in the cause of Constitutionalism throughout his life. But a further reason for Palmerston's distrust of general principles remains. A child of the eighteenth century, reared in statecraft by that Malmesbury who "derived from the splendid anarchy of Europe before the Revolution, when diplomacy had as few fixed principles as a minuet and nations changed allies with the easy grace of dancers setting to partners," Palmerston could not do otherwise than distrust doctrinaires like Metternich.

"Always unfriendly to general ideas," writes Mr. Guedalla, "Englishmen nurtured in the eighteenth century regarded them with exceptional, if always well-bred scepticism. The Holy Alliance was a generalisation incarnate; M. de Metternich was a succession of principles; and Palmerston, apt pupil of the eighteenth century, viewed them with a cool and sceptical eye, emerging with an inclination to murmur *Les nations n'ont pas de cousins* and an instinctive sense that M. de Metternich was wrong. That feeling led him far from the trim walks of the existing European order into the winding paths of freedom; and perhaps, when he challenged despotism and seems to admiring eyes to lead in the nineteenth century with a cheerful flourish, he was reaching backwards into the eighteenth."

IAN F. D. MORROW.

THE PURITY OF ENGLISH RIVERS.

PUBLIC opinion has been sadly and strangely blind to the importance of saving the rivers of England from contamination. It has remained silent while one river after another has been poisoned until not only has the fish life in the river itself wholly disappeared, but the vegetable life within the beds and even on the banks of the rivers has been nearly destroyed. Yet the contamination of the rivers affects not only the beauty and the salubrity of the countryside in many parts of England, and the recreation of thousands of peaceful citizens, no fewer than 120,000 members of the National Federation of Anglers alone, who enjoy or would like to enjoy the gentle sport of angling, but the supplies of wholesome water and of the food stuffs to which the fish used to make, and might still make, so large a contribution. It is only within the last few months that the necessity of cleansing the rivers which are already polluted, and of guarding other rivers against pollution, has begun to be seriously considered in the Press.

The protagonist in the battle for the purification of English rivers may be said to have been not unnaturally Ruskin. In many passages of his numerous writings he makes eloquent and emotional reference to the growing defilement of rivers. It will be enough to quote two of these passages, one taken from *The Crown of Wild Olive*, the other from *Fors Clavigera*. In the former he says :

"Twenty years ago there was no lovelier piece of lowland scenery in South England, nor any more pathetic in the world, by its expression of sweet human character and life, than that immediately bordering on the sources of the Wandle, and including the low moors of Addington, and the villages of Beddington and Carshalton, with all their pools and streams. No clearer or diviner waters ever sang with constant lips of the hand which 'giveth rain from heaven'; no pastures ever lightened in spring-time with more passionate blossoming; no sweeter homes ever hallowed the heart of the passer-by with their pride of peaceful gladness—fain-hidden, yet full-confessed. The place remains (1870) nearly unchanged in its larger features; but with deliberate mind I say that I have never seen anything so ghastly in its inner tragic meaning—not in Pisan Maremma—not by Campagna tomb—not by the sand-isles of the Torcellan shore—as the slow stealing of aspects of reckless, indolent, animal neglect over the delicate sweetness of that English scene; nor is any blasphemy or impiety, any frantic saying, or godless thought, more appalling to me, using the best power of judgment I have to discern its sense and scope, than the insolent defiling of those springs by the human herds that drink of them. Just where the welling of stainless water, trembling and pure, like a body of light, enters the pool at Carshalton, cutting itself a radiant channel down to the gravel, through warp of feathery weeds, all waving, which it traverses

with its deep threads of clearness, like the chalcedony in moss-agate, starred here and there with the white grenouillette; just in the very rush and murmur of the first spreading currents, the human wretches of the place cast their street and house foulness; heaps of dust and slime, and broken shreds of old metal, and rags of putrid clothes; which, having neither energy to cart away, nor decency enough to dig into the ground, they thus shed into the stream, to diffuse what venom of it will float and melt, far away in all places where God meant those waters to bring joy and health."*

In the other he says :

"The same morning I had to water my horses at the little village of Clapham, between Kirby and Settle. There is another exquisite rocky brook there; and an old bridge over it. I went down to the brookside to see the bridge; and found myself instantly of course stopped by a dunghill—and that of the vilest human sort; while, just on the other side of the road—not twenty yards off—were the new schools, with their orthodox Gothic belfry—all spick and span—and the children playing fashionably at hoop, round them, in a narrow paved yard—like debtor children in the Fleet, in imitation of the manners and customs of the West End. High over all, the Squire's house, resplendent on the hill-side, within sound alike of belfry and brook.

"I got on here to Bolton Bridge, the same day; and walked down to the Abbey in the evening, to look again at Turner's subject of the Wharfe shore. If there is one spot in England, where human creatures pass or live, which one would expect to find in spite of their foul existence, still clean—it is Bolton Park. But to my final and utter amazement, I had not taken two steps by the waterside at the loveliest bend of the river below the stepping-stones, before I found myself again among broken crockery, cinders, cockle-shells, and tinker's refuse; a large old gridiron forming the principal point of effect and interest among the pebbles. The filth must be regularly carried past the Abbey, and across the Park, to the place."†

Since these passages were published many writers have borne testimony to the pollution of rivers as an ever-increasing evil. Perhaps, as one who lives on the hill over-shadowing the Wear, I may be allowed to quote two or three sentences, which I quoted once before in a letter addressed to *The Times*, from the *Victoria History of the County of Durham*. "The Wear, which is the chief river whose whole course is entirely in Durham, rises in Hillhope Law, within a few miles of the sources of the Tees and Tyne. The trout of its upper waters are small and not very plentiful until it reaches Stanhope. From this point the Wear was designed by nature for a first-class trout stream; it has deep, shady pools and swift, gravelly streams, and flows through a fertile country that should afford an ample supply of fish food, and from contemporary

* Introduction, p. 1.

† Vol. V, Letter 52.

accounts appears formerly to have been an excellent river for angling. But now this is all changed, and this beautiful river has become the common sewer of the district it drains."*

No evidence, however, can be needed after the publication of the Report on the work done during the year 1925 by the Standing Committee on River Pollution under the auspices of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries. The first chapter of that Report deals with a number of rivers which had been carefully inspected in the year by the Standing Committee or other bodies in their behalf. They divide the rivers into three classes, viz., (1) those which are "sufficiently pure to support a considerable stock of fish"; (2) those which are "polluted, but nevertheless still contain a certain number of fish"; (3) those which are "grossly polluted and contain few, if any, fish."† I may be allowed to cite, out of very many, a few of their comments upon particular rivers. A Sub-Committee of the Standing Committee found the Tyne to be "devoid of dissolved oxygen for a distance of several miles, including the area of Newcastle and Gateshead"; they "forwarded to the Standing Committee a special request to give this matter their grave consideration." "The local authorities in the Trent Watershed came to the conclusion that certain parts of the river Trent and its chief tributaries were so polluted with sewage and other oxygen-consuming materials as to be unfit for the existence of stream-life." The Dove, "with its tributaries the rivers Churnet and Manifold," has been "adversely influenced by certain local pollutions," especially by "the effluents from the various dye works in the neighbourhood of Leek"; it has been further affected by "the Hockley Brook which drains Uttoxeter and is grossly polluted by waste liquors from milk factories." The Erne, which was "examined on several dates in 1925," was found to be "polluted by effluents from paper mills and other works." About the Lune the Standing Committee report that "considerable anxiety is felt at the present time with regard to the condition" of its "upper estuary, where, during the past few years, the river has received an effluent from a large fabric factory."

The Royal Commission on Sewage Disposal which held an inquiry extending over sixteen years, and issued no fewer than ten different reports, the last in 1915, classified manufacturing wastes, which endangered in greater or less degree the purity of rivers, under two heads, each of these heads being sub-divided into sections. To quote their own words:

"For the purpose of suggesting standards for the different trade wastes, we found it convenient to classify the wastes as follows:

"(A) Those for which efficient purification is practicable.

* Vol II, p. 416.

† P. 4.

"(B) Those for which efficient purification is not in the present state of knowledge practicable.

"In Class (A) we include waste liquors resulting from: (i) Coal washing, tin mining, lead and zinc mining, china clay works, stone quarrying, stone polishing, wood pulp paper works. In all these cases adequate reduction of solids in suspension may be regarded as efficient purification. (ii) Brewing, malting, distilling, tin plating, galvanising, wire drawing, shale oil distillation, woollscouring, tanning, leather dressing, fellmongering, dairying. In these cases dissolved impurities should also be removed.

"In Class (B) we include waste liquors resulting from: (i) Bleaching, waste bleaching, paper works (except where paper is made from wood-pulp only), cotton dyeing, cotton printing, woollen dyeing, woollen piece and yarn scouring with dye liquor. (ii) Sulphite cellulose manufacture, gas and coke production.

"Although no practical means are known for rendering completely harmless the liquids included in this class, nearly all of them can be and are considerably improved by clarification.

"We have placed sulphite cellulose liquor and gas liquor in a separate sub-division, because we are not aware of any method of so treating them that the effluents could properly be discharged direct into streams."

The two main causes then of contamination in rivers at the present time are the disposal of sewage and the influx of by-products from industrial works. But neither of these causes, when it occurs, is irremediable; they can both be neutralised by scientific treatment, or, if the poisonous effect of some two or three by-products, such as sulphite cellulose liquor and gas liquor, is not yet scientifically preventable, it becomes a question whether manufacturers should not be restrained by law from letting them flow into the rivers. There is a natural limit to the injury which any citizen or body of citizens may lawfully do in his or their own interest to the public welfare. To take one instance only: the washings from tarred roads have often proved themselves injurious to fisheries; but, if it is possible, as it is, to use a harmless bituminous product, instead of tar, on the roads, why should not the law insist that such a product and no other be used?

It is the fact that sewage is to-day a much less serious danger to the rivers than the by-products of industry. There can be little doubt that the Reports of the Royal Commission on Sewage Disposal have made a certain impression upon the public mind; for the draining of sewage into the rivers is so malodorous in its consequence and so prejudicial to health, that local authorities have been gradually driven to dispose of it otherwise than by allowing it to defile running waters. It is far more difficult to contend against the poison of industrial by-products, partly because, when such poisoning begins in a particular industry, it may not attract

much attention, partly too because the industry itself, if it does public harm on one side may do public good on the other, but most of all because local authorities shrink from taking action, especially legal action, against their neighbours who are often persons of high standing and commanding influence. Still it is clear that science is not incapable of coping with the evil of poisonous by-products flowing into the rivers. A special correspondent of *The Times*, whose article appeared so recently as on October 4th, 1926, said, "It would be possible to understand the national indifference to the threatened loss of one of the greatest assets people can have—pure water—if it passed the wit of man to devise a remedy. Such, however, is far from being the case."

The law, indeed, in relation to purity of rivers is not so impotent as it is commonly supposed to be. If it were possible to employ collectively all the powers which have been conferred by various Acts of Parliament upon various public bodies all over the country, a reform in the condition of the rivers would speedily be effected. But because the Acts are various, the public bodies charged with the administration of the Acts are various, and the societies which have been formed for the purpose of insisting that effect should be given to the laws are various, reform has long been, and still is, delayed. It must be added that some Acts of Parliament are made subject to so many exceptions or limitations as to be practically ineffectual. Thus the 8th Section of the Salmon and Freshwater Fisheries Act, 1923, prescribes that "no person shall cause or knowingly permit to flow, or put or knowingly permit to be put, into any waters containing fish, or into any tributaries thereof, any liquor or solid matter to such an extent as to cause the waters to be poisonous or injurious to fish or the spawning grounds, spawn or food of fish"; but immediately afterwards it affords immunity to persons who continue in connection with the same premises, i.e., the premises in which pollution occurs, to use a method which was in use "prior to the passing of this Act" and to persons who may "acquire a legal right" in cases where they "would have acquired it if the Act had not passed." The fact is that the position to-day may be summarily described, as it is by the special correspondent of *The Times*: "At present there is no control and everything is chaos. The Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, local authorities, river boards, navigation and fishery boards all have a finger in the pie and work largely against one another's interests. Some of them work against their own interests. For instance, the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries on its agricultural side is giving every encouragement to the growth and manufacture of beet sugar in this country. The process of manufacture requires a great volume of water, and the resulting effluent has been found to be very harm-

ful. On its fishery side, the same Ministry is concerned with preventing pollution." It is fortunate, however, that the Royal Commission on Sewage Disposal and the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries are practically agreed upon the principal measure, which it is necessary to take, if the rivers of England are to be saved from general contamination. Thus, in 1901, they say: "The general protection of our rivers is a matter of such grave concern as to demand the creation of a separate commission or a new department of the Local Government Board which shall be a supreme Rivers Authority dealing with matters relating to rivers and their purification, and which, when an appeal is made to them, will have power to take action in cases where the local authorities fail to do so." They repeat this opinion in their third report which was published in 1903, where, in reference to such differences as might arise between local authorities and manufacturers, they say: "The balance of opinion we found to be strong in favour of the view, that for the settlement of these questions it is necessary to constitute a Central Board possessing adequate technical knowledge," and again: "It should be the duty of Rivers Boards to inspect public water supplies, and to report to the Central Authority any cases of pollution of such supplies which they may detect," and "the Central Authority shall be empowered after due inquiry to order the purveyors of the water to adopt such means as in the opinion of the Central Authority are reasonable and necessary for removing or diminishing the danger."

Similarly the Standing Committee on Rivers Pollution in their Report to the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries put forward, as the first measure essential to the cleansing of the rivers, "the creation, as recommended by the Royal Commission on Sewage Disposal, of some sort of Central Authority to hold the scales between the various interests concerned, and to be charged with the preservation of one of our greatest national assets—pure water."

In these circumstances there has lately been formed a Pure Rivers Society, which held its first general meeting in London on Tuesday, October 5th.

This Society sets before itself a variety of objects, e.g., to organise in every watershed branches which would enter into friendly negotiations with manufacturers "for the ceasing of pollutions," and, whenever need were, would take steps to enforce the existing provisions of law against pollutions, to report to the local authorities and, in certain circumstances, Central Authority, cases of pollution, whether actually effected or only threatened, to watch and to promote or oppose legislation affecting the purity of rivers; and to provide that the laws when passed should not be obstructed or ignored, but carried into practical effect. But the first of all the

Society's objects is to set up a Central and Advisory Body which should "band together all the anti-pollution forces."

Such an authority would naturally be empowered and expected to prevent the contamination of English rivers. It would be invested with the legal right of keeping the rivers free, as far as possible, from poisonous agents. Nobody would be permitted to discharge the effluents of his industry into a river, unless the Central Authority were satisfied that the industry was rendering an essential service to the community, and that it could not continue that service without the infusion of its by-products into the river. There would be heavy penalties attaching to a violation of the rules imposed by the Central Authority.

It is, perhaps, too early to prescribe the action of the Central Authority before the Central Authority itself has come into being. Experience will soon show how the authority can most effectively discharge the functions assigned to it. But when once the purity of English rivers has been recognised as so grave a national concern that a citizen who offends against it renders himself liable to punishment, rural England will not only win back a great part of its ancient amenity, but the health of the people will no longer be endangered by the poisoning of the waters, the rivers will again abound in fish, and even the salmon will again be seen leaping at the weir, or, to use the Northern phrase, the stakes, in the highest reaches of the rivers which were once, and may again become, delightful features of the country; and England itself will regain the happy, joyous and picturesque aspects which made it the pride of all the nations in the days of long ago.

J. E. C. WELLDON.

INDUSTRIAL PEACE: THE MACHINE AND THE SPIRIT.

THE air is full just now of talk of Industrial Peace. Commercial magnates plead for a domestic Locarno; eminent Labour leaders, echoing the appeal, roar gently as sucking doves; Pulpit, Platform and Press (with a few strident exceptions) take up the angels' chant, and in impressive chorus invoke goodwill among men. This common emphasis on the need of finding "a better way" in industry unquestionably reflects the mood of public opinion. The desire for "Peace in our Time" is as widespread as it is profound. The General Strike and the Coal War, which combined to make 1926 one of the blackest years in our industrial annals, have burned their lessons into the popular mind.

How long this mood will last it is impossible to say. If the settlement in the coal-mining industry, ragged and unsatisfactory though it is, is followed by a revival in trade, there is cause to fear lest the nation should forget the lessons which now so vividly impress it. Past experience, at any rate, points in this direction. Times of good trade, as a rule, have seen industrial strife at its maximum. The effects of this strife have contributed to the subsequent slump, men have talked about the necessity of finding a path out of "the industrial jungle," and various projects have been mooted for establishing better relations between employers and employed. But as business has revived and the mood that produced them has evaporated, most of these projects have vanished into thin air and we have slipped back into the old vicious circle. It is imperative, therefore, that the opportunity which the moment provides should not be frittered away, and that while men's minds are held by the dream of "Peace in our Time," practical steps should be taken to place our industrial relations upon a better footing. The international sphere provides an instructive parallel, for just as, after the Coal War, there is a general disposition to consider favourably schemes of industrial peace, so after the Great War of 1914-18 there went up the fervent cry of "Never Again." By a stroke of inspired foresight, which has turned the whole current of international politics in a new direction, that decisive moment was seized to bring the League of Nations into being.

The moral in the industrial sphere is plain. Vague talk about "goodwill" is not enough. The "warm mist of charity" in which the question of industrial relations is now enveloped must be pierced by clear thinking, and the moment used to translate these aspirations into concrete terms. There is no antithesis, as is sometimes suggested, between "the machinery" and "the spirit."

Both are essential if a way is to be found out of our industrial chaos. Without the spirit of goodwill, no machinery will avail to secure "Peace in our Time"; but without machinery, adequate to the purpose, "goodwill" will lack the means of effective expression. The two things are not opposed to one another: they are complementary; and neither, without the other, is going to solve our problem.

Here the League of Nations supplies a valuable analogy. The League is a piece of "machinery," and the degree to which it fulfils the purposes for which it is created depends on the "spirit" in which it is used. But the mere fact that this "machinery" exists has provided a core round which the "spirit" can grow. What is more, had the "machinery" not been in existence, "goodwill," however earnest and determined, would have been unable to accomplish many of the tasks which stand to its credit during the past few years. If this conclusion is sound, we have to ask ourselves what sort of "machinery" is necessary to serve the purposes we have in view. The Industrial Peace Petition, launched a few months ago in Huddersfield, represents a practical effort to answer this question and, at the very least, supplies a basis for discussion. This Petition is addressed to the Prime Minister. Recalling his own repeated declarations as to the need of industrial peace, it invites him "to take steps to see that legislation is introduced into Parliament at the earliest possible moment" with the following objects:

1. To secure that before any strike or lock-out is declared, the dispute shall be submitted to the investigation of an independent tribunal, which shall have power to compel the production of witnesses and all relevant evidence, and which shall make its report within a reasonable time; further, that after this report has been published, it shall be illegal for either a strike or a lock-out to be declared until a secret ballot has been taken of the members of the organisations of the parties to the dispute upon the recommendations of the said tribunal.

2. To secure that in all industries where Joint Industrial Councils do not exist, and which are sufficiently organised for the purpose, steps shall be taken to promote their formation; to provide that any decision of a Joint Industrial Council, adopted by a majority vote of each side, shall have statutory effect over the whole industry unless disallowed by Parliament within a definite period; and, further, to establish means by which, without the disclosure of facts relating to individual undertakings, adequate information as to the economic position of the industry as a whole shall be at the disposal of each Council.

3. To establish a National Industrial Council, consisting of

representatives chosen by employers and workers in equal numbers, together with due representation of the technical and clerical staffs.

4. To impose on the Board of Trade the duty of collecting information as to the operations of Trusts and Combines and of investigating complaints, with statutory powers to compel information, and to establish a Tribunal to which the Board may refer cases for investigation, report and if necessary, prosecution; combinations to enhance prices unreasonably, or to refuse to sell to or to supply persons who will not deal exclusively with a trust, to be made illegal.

This Petition has been organised by the Huddersfield Liberal Association and, with the exception of the first clause, which embodies a recommendation made in a memorandum issued shortly after the General Strike by the Young Liberal Federations of Yorkshire and Lancashire and Cheshire, the proposals which it contains are identical with the chief points in the official Liberal Industrial Policy. It is, however, no mere party "stunt," and, as is attested by the large number of signatures obtained from persons who either belong to one of the other two parties or have no political attachment, the appeal which it makes is general. In a few cases, signature has been refused because the Petition has been brought forward by "the Liberals," but for the most part, it has been studied on its merits and the support it has received from all classes goes very strongly to show that, without respect of party, public opinion is ready for a practical move forward along the lines which it indicates.

Before discussing the proposals in the Petition, a few words regarding the means by which it is being organised may not be out of place. It was publicly launched during the latter part of last summer at an open-air meeting in one of the main squares in the town. Smaller meetings were held for those who were likely to be engaged in the work of canvassing, and an explanatory leaflet was issued. It was the intention of its promoters to secure, so far as was possible, that every house in the town should be visited, and though, of course, this is a formidable undertaking, a house-to-house canvass has already taken place in certain districts. Persons approached are not asked to sign the Petition straightway. A copy of the text is left at the house, with a request that it shall be read carefully and an intimation that in a few days' time a visitor, who will be ready to answer any inquiries, will call and invite actual signature. By this means it has been ensured that signatures are not given lightly or inadvisedly, but represent a considered opinion. Many of the questions put to the canvassers have been most illuminating, and have served to reveal what points in the Petition provoke the most difficulty.

Coming now to the proposals themselves, we may refer back to the League analogy. Article 12 of the Covenant lays down that "The members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award of the arbitrators or the report by the Council." This is an almost precise parallel to clause one of the Petition. Unlike those who drew up the Protocol, framers of the Covenant did not seek to rule out war entirely; and therein they were probably wise. What they did do was to provide that before war was allowed to take place all the resources of conciliation should be exhausted, and that there should be an interval for reflection and delay, during which some impartial authority might report on the matter in dispute and "world opinion" might be afforded an opportunity to crystallise. This is exactly what the promoters of the Huddersfield Petition are endeavouring to ensure in the region of industrial affairs. They recognise that, for reasons as obvious as they are well founded, the wage-earner is not prepared to surrender the "right to strike," and that this is enough to rule "compulsory arbitration" out of the field of practical politics. But what, for want of a better phrase, may be called "compulsory reference" is quite another matter, and though the extremists may not like it, the canvass has shown that among the mass of workers the idea meets with general approval.

The plan outlined in the Petition would invalidate neither "the right to strike" nor "the right to lock-out"; but it would secure that these "rights" were exercised only in the last resort. It insists (1) that in every industrial dispute public opinion, which is frequently the decisive factor, shall be provided with an adequate basis of knowledge on which to form its judgment; (2) that there shall be a "waiting-period," which will give a chance for passions to cool on both sides and for reason to assert itself; and (3) that the rank and file, on whom the brunt of a stoppage must fall, shall be properly consulted before "hostilities" take place, and shall have all the evidence in front of them when they are called upon to make their decision. It may confidently be claimed that, in nine cases out of ten, the combined effect of these provisions would suffice to avert a stoppage.

As has been said, the principle embodied in this clause has met with general acceptance. But hesitation has been expressed on two points of detail. In the first place, it has been asked "Who is going to appoint the 'independent tribunal'?" and, secondly, "How is the 'secret ballot' going to be arranged?" Rightly or wrongly, the wage-earners are profoundly suspicious of Government-

appointed committees. As they bluntly put it, they have "had some." But as a rule this objection has disappeared when it has been explained that the tribunal might very well be chosen by a panel elected specially for the purpose by the National Industrial Council referred to in clause three. A tribunal so appointed, and electing its own chairman, would command general confidence, whereas a Court of Government referees would be suspect from the outset. This goes to show how vital is the connection between the various clauses in the Petition. The same point has been emphasised by discussion of the "secret ballot." The Government, if rumour is to be credited, have rejected this proposal mainly on the ground that, in actual working, it would prove impossible to frame the questions on which the ballot should be taken. If, however, as the Petition suggests, those voting were asked to say whether or no they wished to accept the recommendations of the tribunal, this difficulty would disappear. As regards machinery, it may be suggested that the most satisfactory method of organising the ballot would be to leave it to the Joint Industrial Council concerned, or, in default of that, to invite the National Industrial Council to superintend it. This would dispose of the bugbear of "Government intervention."

It is not necessary to say very much about the second and third clauses in the Petition, inasmuch as the proposals which they contain have been before the public for a considerable time and, in the main, have been embodied in a Bill which has actually passed its second reading in the House of Commons. Two or three points may, however, be noted. In the first place, it may be observed how well and truly the promoters of the Petition have laid their foundations, recognising that to establish any peace in industry that is worth the name it is needful not merely to set up machinery for the settlement of disputes, but to deal with the causes from which disputes spring. Here, again, the analogy of the League of Nations is helpful. If the League is going to prove a real bulwark against war, it will not be so much by reason of the machinery it has created for dealing with disputes when they arise, as in virtue of its success in fostering "the round table habit" among the nations. What is true internationally is true, once more, industrially. Here, also, the "round table habit" has to take root and grow if there is to be enduring peace. What we call "Whitleyism" was based on this conviction, and the remarkable success achieved, even under existing limitations, by such Joint Industrial Councils as that in the Printing and Allied Trades shows how sound the conviction was.

Speaking generally, however, "Whitleyism" has not fulfilled the hopes that were built on it. There are two reasons for this.

Firstly, the Joint Industrial (or "Whitley") Councils do not possess the power to make their decisions effective and so, in several cases, have tended to degenerate into mere debating societies; and secondly, they are not equipped with the knowledge of the facts of the industry which is essential to the growth of true confidence. The proposals in the Petition are designed to remedy both these defects, the seriousness of which has been shown by experience. So far from inviting more "Government interference," as has sometimes been objected, they would (if carried into effect) give to industry extensive powers of "self-government" which it lacks at present and, by securing that adequate information was available, would go far to remove that suspicion which rots confidence at the roots. Here is an obvious instance in which it lies with the legislature to promote industrial peace by establishing "machinery" through which "goodwill" may function.

The demand that the main facts showing the economic condition of each industry—costs of production, proceeds and profits—shall be available for inspection by the Joint Industrial Council has been a good deal misunderstood. This is probably due, to a very large extent, to the use of the phrase "publicity of accounts." It may be emphasised, therefore, that in the proposal embodied in the Petition there is no suggestion that *individual firms* shall be compelled to expose their finances to the public gaze. The precise contrary is stated in the Petition itself, which confines the demand for "publicity" to "the economic position of the industry as a whole." Industrially, as well as internationally, "secret diplomacy" must give way to frankness if genuine co-operation is to be secured.

As regards the National Industrial Council, referred to in clause three, this also is "machinery"—but machinery for which many of the leaders of industry on both sides have asked, and machinery which is essential to the successful working of that suggested in the other parts of the Petition. The nucleus of such an institution was called together in 1919, and it was the first—and unanimous—recommendation of the Provisional Joint Committee which was then appointed "that there should be established some form of permanent National Industrial Council." The objects of such a body, it was stated, should be "to supplement and co-ordinate the existing sectional machinery by bringing together the knowledge and experience of all sections and focussing them upon the problems that affect industrial relations as a whole"; to act as "the consultative authority to the Government upon industrial relations"; to issue, when it thought fit, "statements on industrial questions or disputes for the guidance of public opinion"; and to consider "legislative proposals affecting industrial relations."

Nothing, unfortunately, was done to give effect to this recommendation. The "permanent Industrial National Council" remains one of the unrealised dreams of the post-war reconstruction period. Repeated suggestions have, however, been made that the project should be revived, and a proposal that such a body should be established was one of the features of Mr. Frank Murrell's Bill, already mentioned.

As emphasising, once again, the international analogy, I may perhaps be allowed to quote the following passage from my own pamphlet, *The Social Gospel of Liberalism*: "One sees the Council evolving on the model of the League of Nations Assembly, remitting the detailed work to standing committees, drawing on the information supplied by its own research department, acting as the regular channel of communication between Government and industry, developing a corporate consciousness in which the sectional jealousies which once made progress so difficult would be dissolved, creating a new atmosphere in which problems which have hitherto baffled us would find their solution."

"With a National Industrial Council in being, Parliament would be relieved of an immense amount of work which, in the nature of things, it is not fitted to discharge. Industrial legislation would be hammered out by the men and women who really know industry. Industrial interests, on either side, would no longer be tempted to seek representation at Westminster, since the Industrial Council would offer them a more appropriate sphere, and we should thus be relieved of a growing danger to the Parliamentary system. The coping-stone would be set on the edifice of Joint Councils which Liberalism seeks to build. Industrial self-government would become a working reality."

One last word as regards the final clause in the Petition. On the one hand it will not be denied that the increasing "trustification" of industry is at least a contributory cause of that social unrest which, vague and impalpable though it may be, does so much to vitiate industrial relations. The process may be inevitable; rightly controlled it may prove to the community's advantage; but, uncontrolled and working in the dark, it unquestionably creates suspicion that great "capitalist" interests are uniting to exploit the public, and plays into the hands of the fomenters of class-warfare. On the other hand, it cannot be disputed that, if the problem is to be tackled, the institution of some machinery of regulation will be necessary. Here, self-evidently, the "spirit," unless equipped with appropriate weapons, must prove ineffectual. The machinery proposed in the Petition consists of (a) provision for greater publicity as to the operations of trusts and combines—a condition which in many cases would in itself be enough to prevent exploita-

tion; and (b) penal action in cases where it is proved that combination is being employed "to enhance prices unreasonably."

Admittedly the trust is more an international than a domestic problem, and in this aspect the League of Nations provides the only hope of dealing with it effectually. At the same time, if industrial relations are to be placed on a better footing, it is necessary to reassure the consumer that within the limits of domestic legislation everything possible is being done to prevent these great combinations holding him to ransom. For this reason, the last clause in the Petition may be regarded as by no means the least essential part of it.

The document, as this analysis has shown, is no hotch-potch of haphazard proposals, but a considered and a consistent whole. Each clause, in larger or smaller degree, depends upon the rest, and none can be neglected without prejudice to the remainder. That it provides the framework of "Peace in Our Time" is the modest hope of those who have put it forward. Those who criticise it may, at the very least, be asked to say what they propose as an alternative.

ELLIOTT DODDS.

PROTESTANTISM ANCIENT AND MODERN.

WHEN did the modern world begin and who was the first modern man? These are questions more easily asked than answered. There are many who appear to regard themselves as representatives of the modern spirit and the modern age as beginning somewhere about the time when they themselves arrived at years of discretion. But from the historical point of view we have to go a little farther back than that. Shall it be then to the Great War, or to Darwin's *Origin of Species*, or to the Industrial Revolution, or to the French Revolution, or to the year 1689, or to the Protestant Reformation, or to the fall of Constantinople, or to the Great Charter, or still farther back to Augustine? Professor Harnack has called Augustine the "first modern man." And as compared with such representatives of Latin Christianity as Tertullian, Aquinas, Loyola, and Liguori he has some claim to be so regarded; for, if the most characteristic feature of modern thought is a fuller conception of the meaning and value of personality, one side of Augustine's teaching may be regarded as essentially modern. But, taking this as the test, ought we not to place the date much earlier?

Chronologically a good case can be made out for calling Abraham the first modern man. If our recent information is correct, the span of time which separates us from Abraham is short as compared with the milleniums which separated him from "the man (or was it woman?) of Galilee," and almost negligible as compared with the ages which intervened between him and the more elusive "primitive" man. So too, if time is reckoned not by years but by moral achievement, Abraham is much more modern than many to-day. According to the words of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel, Abraham rejoiced to see the day of the Son of Man and he saw it and was glad. But some of the most "modern" have not seen it. They belong to the ancient world. They are living in pre-Abrahamic times. A grand figure like that of Abraham, coming up to us from what some would regard as the mists of antiquity, makes most of us look like reversions to more primitive types. And Abraham was one of the earliest of the Protestants. He broke away from the traditions of his family, preferring truth to custom and a religion based upon personal experience to one accepted on the testimony of others. The immediacy of the communion of the soul with God; the moral as opposed to the physical and mystical conception of that relationship; the idea of a covenant, depending on the one hand on the grace of God and on the other upon the free act of man's will; and the primacy given to faith;—are all good

Protestant doctrines and they were constituent elements in the religion of Abraham.

But coming again to the Christian era, one of the earlier Protestants was Athanasius. In some respects the religion of Athanasius, and therefore also his Protestantism, falls short of that of Abraham as described in the New Testament, and still more of the Apostolic ideal. But there was no more commanding personality in the fourth century, and no better illustration of one prominent aspect of Protestantism: its insistence on the right of the individual Christian in reliance on the Word of God to prove all things and hold fast that which is good. If ever we should be in danger of being overawed by the authority of episcopacy or the prestige of an Established church, or the imposing organisation of a church that calls itself Catholic or by the argument of numbers, there can be few better tonics than to go back in thought to the first Council of Nicæa and the events of the succeeding years. It was the young deacon Athanasius, who in that assembly of more than three hundred bishops saved the situation for Catholic Christianity. And for the next fifty years, during which he was five times exiled for his fidelity to what he regarded as the Word of God, Athanasius showed the same Nonconformist and uncompromising attitude not only to the State but to the vast majority of the bishops of Christendom. Augustine as the "prophet of personality" and Athanasius as the vindicator of the right of individual judgment were in the true Abrahamic and Apostolic succession, and heralds of the more specifically modern period. They both contributed something towards the emancipation of the human spirit from defective Greek and Roman views of religion. But they did not go far enough. In important respects they remained themselves under the influence of the ideas against which they protested.

Throughout the Middle Ages, both in the monasteries and outside, there were many Protestants of the Athanasian and Augustinian types, who maintained the right of judging the meaning of Scripture for themselves and of exploring the mysteries of personality Divine and human. These men were in the true sense of the phrase the guardians of Apostolic tradition and witnesses to the presence of God's Holy Spirit in the midst of His people. Upon them rather than upon the hierarchy, as such, came the *charisma veritatis*, which from the days of Irenæus men sought to confine within narrower channels. Sometimes they were in conflict, sometimes in harmony, with official opinions and generally received customs; but they were the inheritors of "the blessing of Abraham in Christ Jesus." If there were space for it here, a long list of these witnesses to the Protestant and truly modernist view might be drawn up. It would contain the names of some of the

most notable men in all the centuries. But it could not be made complete; for most of them are unknown to fame, men and women "of whom the world was not worthy." They were in advance of the age in which they lived, because their life was hid with Christ in God. They might, or might not be in the episcopal succession, but they belonged to that other succession of which Clement of Alexandria spoke—the Christian Gnostics, who through faith had attained to knowledge of spiritual things. And it is along this line that Christianity has descended upon the modern world. Living within the ecclesiastical system, or cast out by it, these men of faith recognised an authority greater than that of popes and prelates. At no time during the Middle Ages was the power of the papacy quite absolute, even apart from the restraints of the civil authorities; and it never could be, as long as the Word of the Gospel sounded in the ears of any. Claudius of Turin in the ninth century; Berengarius, Cunibert, and Damiani in the eleventh century; Waldo and his friends in the twelfth; Roger Bacon, Dante, and Marsiglio about a hundred years later; Wycliff and William of Occam in the fourteenth century; Savonarola, Raymond de Sabunde, Hus and Jerome of Prague, John of Goch and John of Wessel in the fifteenth century, are only a few of those who, like Athanasius in the fourth century, brought official ecclesiastical opinion to the tribunal of the Word of God and found it condemned. Such men, attacking the papacy from various points of view, were heralds of the storm, which would one day shake the world and bring in the present era. They show very clearly that there were other elements of life in the Mediæval Church than those which received official sanction. The continuity of the Church as a spiritual organism was not secured by the papacy, but by the Word of God, which the Apostle Peter said, "liveth and abideth for ever, the Word which by the Gospel is preached unto you." Under the influence of that Word the spirit of man awoke to the consciousness of a new manhood in Jesus Christ and a kinship with all the redeemed in heaven and on earth. A truer conception of human personality with its necessary implications of individuality and sociality, helped forward by the victories of Athanasius and Augustine in the realm of theology, began to dawn upon the minds of men. In this work of enlightenment the Protestant Reformers of the sixteenth and following centuries took a leading part. They too became conscious that the Word of God was living and active, piercing even to the dividing of soul and spirit, the only agent which could reveal the mystery of personality human and Divine, and raise men to the dignity of the sons of God. A new era was introduced into Europe by the publication of Luther's *Freedom of the Christian Man* and Tyndale's *Obedience of the Christian Man*.

One of the most famous descriptions of Protestantism is contained in Chillingworth's phrase, "the Bible, the Bible only the religion of Protestants." It is admirable as indicating a radical divergence from Rome. It also justly emphasises the positive witness of Protestantism to the authority and sufficiency of the revelation once committed to the saints. "By the religion of Protestants" said Chillingworth "I do not understand the doctrine of Luther, or Calvin, or Melancthon, nor the Confession of Augusta or Geneva nor the Catechism of Heidelberg, nor the Articles of the Church of England—no, nor the harmony of Protestant Confessions: but that wherein they all agree—that is the Bible." The Bible is more than all the creeds and confessions of Christendom. It is an authentic guide for this life and contains all things necessary for salvation. This was and remains the faith of all Protestant Churches. Chillingworth himself was prepared to narrow down the issue still farther. He maintained that every one of the four Gospels contained every essential and necessary part of the Gospel, and so was rightly called a "Gospel." If we had only one of the Gospels we should not want anything necessary to salvation. And this, we may admit, is so far true in that each of the four very clearly leads up to the Apostolic Gospel of the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, the only Gospel of the Apostolic Age. Particularising still further, Chillingworth said, "By the Gospel of Christ I mean, not the whole history of Christ, but all that makes up the covenant between God and man."

By his clear insight into the meaning of the Gospel as the principle and instrument of Redemption Chillingworth answered in advance most of the difficulties raised by modern Biblical criticism, so far as they are difficulties to Christian faith. And in this respect he was much truer to the spirit of the earlier Reformers than were the scholastics of Protestantism. For Luther, Tyndale, and Calvin had taken the same principle to guide them in their valuation of Scripture, Luther and Tyndale in particular with a boldness which has shocked many since. It is as a witness to the Gospel that the Bible has gained and retained its place of absolute pre-eminence among Protestants. They remember that it was the discovery of the Gospel in the Old Testament that enabled the early Christians to accept the Jewish Scriptures as part of their Bible, and it was through the Gospel that they got their New Testament also. The creation of the Bible is bound up with the history of the Gospel. The religion of the Bible is the religion of Protestants because it is the religion of the Gospel. Dogmas and Creeds, churches and ministries, are all subordinate to the Gospel. The Church itself was created through the Gospel: the Gospel was

not created by the Church. The ultimate court of appeal for Protestants is the Word of the Gospel, that word by which the new creation lives.

One of the great lessons of history is that God makes use of imperfect institutions as well as of imperfect men to fulfil His purposes. The Mediæval Church was an institution not only composed of men of like passions with ourselves, but one organised on the lines of Imperial Rome, and inheriting much of its spirit and many of its ideas. It was a joint product of the Gospel and ancient Rome. And ancient Rome in polity, religion, and morals, stood for something essentially different from the teaching and spirit of Jesus. The crowning miracle of the Mediæval Age is that the Gospel survived, not simply in spite of the frailty of man (that is a perpetual miracle), but also in spite of the fact that the vessel that received it had been fashioned by craftsmen, who had learned their art in a very different school from that of the Gospel.

The earnestness with which the Latin Church threw itself into the task of accommodation to existing habits of thought has done more than anything else, except manifest infidelity to the Gospel of Christ, to give to Protestantism its mission in the modern world. That mission is to present the Gospel to the world unadulterated and in a language understood by modern men and women. The doing of this involves the same kind of risks as those taken by the Roman Church, but it is a task which Protestants cannot shirk. An infallible Church can never confess itself in error. It stereotypes for all time the forms of thought it has borrowed from effete civilisations and systems which the world has left behind. Fortunately Protestant Churches are not infallible. They do not attach finality to any creed or type of organisation or form of worship, but only to the Apostolic Gospel and the faith once committed to the saints. There is one Lord, one faith, one baptism by the one Spirit into the one Body of Christ. These abide: all else may change. Nothing that is visible is an object of faith. "Nothing that is visible" said Ignatius of Antioch, "is eternal." Protestants are not pledged to regard, and do not regard, one particular form of organisation as essential to the being or to the well-being of a Church. They do not find such uniformity in the New Testament; still less do they find it there enjoined as an Apostolic ordinance for every Church and for all time. A hierarchical and imperialistic, not to say sacerdotal, organisation, however, seems to them least in harmony, not only with the modern spirit but also with the principles of Jesus, who taught His disciples to call no man father on the earth, nor exercise lordship over one another, and on the only two recorded occasions on which He used the word "Church" showed

that confession of His name and confession of faults one to another constituted the two bonds of the new society He founded.

The need for the Protestant re-affirmation of the non-Apostolic character of the papacy and many of its works may not be as clamant in these days as it once was. We are not living in the seventeenth century, but in the twentieth. The battle of religious toleration has been won, and we shrink from even the appearance of attacking religious convictions which we ourselves cannot share. "Let both grow together until the harvest." At any rate it is the positive side of our mission which attracts us most to-day. Protestantism is for us what etymologically it implies. It is witness-bearing, "protestation" rather than "protest," or "protest" in the old Shakespearean sense—"Youths who protest their first of manhood." To witness by word and deed to the rights and responsibilities for the new manhood in Christ Jesus is our mission in the modern world.

Protestantism has been intimately connected with the growth of political freedom during the last four hundred years. Sometimes it has not been true to its essentially spiritual character. Lord Acton, one of the greatest of English Roman Catholic historians, thought that Protestants when they persecuted did so on purely speculative grounds, under the influence of scripture and in the supposed interests of the Protestant party, whereas the Roman Catholics had persecuted on practical grounds and under the influence of two ideas, the criminality of apostacy, and the impotence of the State. And he also thought that as the motives of persecution were different, Protestants could not have learnt persecution from the Catholics, as though a child in letting off firearms were not imitating his father, because his motives were not quite the same! It was not easy for the Protestant world to shake itself free from the opinions of most enlightened pagans such as Plato, especially when they had been consecrated by more than a thousand years of Catholic practice. Nevertheless they have nearly done so. And before that process of emancipation was anything like complete the historian Hume could say of one Protestant country, "the precious spark of liberty was kindled and preserved by the Puritans alone, and it was to that sect that the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution."

But political and social freedom is less important than the inner freedom of the soul, and it is here that the testimony of Protestantism has been of the greatest value. The general tendency of the ecclesiastical system of the Middle Ages was not favourable to the higher interests of personality and the growth of strong Christian character at least in the average man. After the Lateran Council of 1215 A.D. which made auricular confession to a priest compul-

sory, real Christian conduct became increasingly difficult. Religion cannot be forced. Whenever direction passes into control, Christianity is impossible in theory and precarious in practice. And according to such Protestant authorities as Hermann and Loofs this is still the state of things in the Roman Church. "What the Church of Rome" said Professor Hermann "in its official capacity calls morality is the death of the moral sense." And Professor Loofs has expressed his opinion that where moral independence exists in the Roman Communion it has arisen not through the Church's teaching but in spite of it. It is on this account especially that Romanism appears to Protestants not only non-Apostolic but non-modern—a reversion to the view of the ancient world.

If anywhere under the old régime the interests of personality were safeguarded and the development of moral character promoted, it ought to have been in the monasteries, the training places of those who were "the religious." But from the point of view of growth in Christian manhood those institutions stand condemned by the testimony of such notable saints as Bernard of Clairvaux and Thomas-à-Kempis. They both knew monasticism from the inside. They both promoted it. They were separated from one another by about three hundred years. And they are equally explicit as to the failure of monasticism from this point of view. In writing to the Abbot of Fountains Abbey Saint Bernard speaks of the monk who makes any advance in the religious life above a point already reached as "the rarest bird on earth." Practically all stopped growing. And the testimony of Thomas-à-Kempis to the state of things in his day is even more pathetic. Now the wonder is not if the monk grows just a little, but if he retains any of his first zeal. We may well hope that in other times and places the monasteries were from this point of view more successful. But no institution which sincerely attempts to accomplish the purposes of Christ will be wholly forsaken by Him. From the house of bondage itself God called Martin Luther to lead His people a little nearer to the land of promise.

It has also been the mission of Protestantism to bear witness to the true nature of the Christian society, and to give the most impressive evidence of Christian unity. Paradoxical as this may appear to some, to others it will seem almost a truism, for to them the whole emphasis of the New Testament is on the spiritual rather than on the institutional unity of the Christian society. The kinship of the kingdom, the brotherhood of the redeemed in Christ, has assumed a deeper meaning in Protestantism than it ever had in official Catholicism. It has been regarded as made possible through personal contact with Christ, not by natural ties or ecclesias-

tical ordinances. It is those who have received the witness of the Holy Spirit in their hearts crying Abba, Father, a cry which seldom becomes articulate in mediæval literature, who recognise others as children of the Kingdom and sons of the Father in heaven. Mere acquiescence in the creeds and ordinances and sentiments of an external society, mere *fides implicita*, is, I understand, still considered enough to constitute membership in the Church of Rome, but that kind of fellowship is very different from the brotherhood of the Kingdom as revealed in the New Testament. Serviceable as it often and powerful as it undoubtedly is, there is nothing necessarily Christian about it. The Church against which the gates of hell shall not prevail is held together by very different bonds. It is through the personal faith of its members each apprehending Christ and each apprehended by Him that the Church is constituted and holds together. It is just because Protestantism lays more stress than Romanism upon personal faith that its brotherhood is more Apostolic and significant. It represents the deepest and truest type of social life. "There is no community possible," said Thomas Carlyle, "among men who believe only on hearsay."

Men who can understand only the unity of a visible institution, organised like any other earthly institution and exerting its influence in the same kind of way, are naturally inclined to make much of the divisions of Protestantism. "Unhappy" divisions there may have been; unhappy incidents in connection with them there certainly have been. These seem to be the invariable accompaniments of progress, not only in religion but in every movement which has added anything to the sum-total of human happiness. But for the most part, even when the separations were not compulsory, they were not ratified by the anathemas which the contending bishops flung at one another in the "Undivided Church." On the contrary, divisions on conscientious grounds are never wholly to be regretted: and the cause of true Christian unity has gained immeasurably from the real differences of Protestant thought and life.

It would not be a work of truth or of love, but of well-meaning though mischievous obscurantism, if one were to ignore the radical differences of thought which separate Protestants from Romanists. Those differences go very deep. The ideas of God, Law, Grace, Faith, Justification, Church and Sacraments are not the same in the two forms of religion. Rome, for example, still prefers to work with the ancient idea of substance rather than with the modern idea of personality. This means among other things that the Divine Fatherhood is differently conceived. It means that the idea of grace is different. It explains the reason also why Protestants are not interested in the Roman doctrine of the Mass. Erected it may be in large measure as a bulwark against Mani-

chæan heresy, the Mass has handed down to modern times the Manichæan idea of God as substance and obscured the Christian idea of God as personality. It is the crowning illustration of the conqueror wearing the spoils of the conquered. For the Protestant the Divine Shekinah rests not on a material altar, but where the Apostle Peter found it, on Christian men and women transfigured by the indwelling Spirit of Christ. Personality can be revealed only by personality. A good Roman Catholic like Malebranche saw that matter was inadequate to express completely the personality of Jesus, though it could "imitate the different forms which His adorable body assumes." But "the adorable body" is not what Protestants understand by the Real Presence. The Protestant emphasis on personality is not only a more spiritual conception but one more in harmony with modern thinking, for modern science no less than modern idealism has discarded the old views of substance; and if it has not yet given a verdict in favour of the permanence of personality, it at least leaves the way open for such a belief.

It has also a notable point of contact with the Individualism, which especially since the Great War has been rapidly gaining favour—the individualism, which endeavours to judge all social and political institutions by their tendency to promote the development of personality in the average man. But this valuable type of individualistic theory does not express the whole of the Protestant idea. The "Kingdom of God" is more than the individual, more than the State, and than Humanity itself. For the last fifty years it has been the most popular of all New Testament phrases. But we have not always grasped its meaning. It is in some danger now of becoming a mere slogan. But to Jesus it was always a "Mystery," which none could see but those who were born from above.

H. H. SCULLARD.

SIDNEY HILLMAN: THE NEW FORCE IN AMERICAN LABOUR.

IF I were asked to say, off-hand, who is the most interesting man in New York, I should not cite Judge Gary, nor Otto Kahn, nor even Governor Al Smith, but Sidney Hillman. I had half an hour's talk with him, and it was worth a three thousand miles' journey. This young man—he is still under forty—has created an organisation which has not only revolutionised conditions in a major industry, but stands as a working demonstration of industrial democracy in action. We have talked of "workers' control" in Great Britain; the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America exercises it. It has welded technicians, shop chairmen, and rank and file into a homogeneous body, conscious of solidarity, and rendering service so efficient that, in effect, they run the factories. To-day the Union not only owns banks and libraries, newspapers and educational institutions; it manages, for the industry, unemployment insurance and the entire Labour Exchange system, and the employers come to it for statistics of markets, prices and conditions all over the world. Step by step through efficiency in function the Amalgamated advances to the position in which, in the clothing industry, the capitalist could be painlessly superseded. And the method and idea have a validity far beyond the limits of one industry. The Clothing Workers under Sidney Hillman have tried and proved it; the model stands for others to comprehend and imitate.

Sixteen years ago the Amalgamated did not exist. Sixteen years ago Sidney Hillman, son of poor Lithuanian immigrants, was a working cutter in Hart, Schaffner and Marx's great clothing establishment; one of the many boys and girls who have to thank Jane Addams and Hull House for an education that opened to them visions wider than the industrial misery of Chicago. Workers in the men's clothing trade at that time were among the weakest, and most sweated in the United States. Mainly immigrants, they belonged to every nationality; to-day forty languages are spoken at Amalgamated Conferences. The industry was, and is, largely seasonal, and was then operated in the main on a contract system. Wages were so low that, despite the protracted hours in the shops, men and women regularly had to take work home with them. In 1910 a strike, spontaneous and yet general, broke out in Chicago. The Garment Workers' Union frowned on it; it spread however under the goad of suffering. It was defeated, but out of defeat came the assurance of ultimate victory, for it threw up a leader and a policy, the policy of industrial organisation. Hart, Schaffner and Marx, the biggest house in the Chicago trade, entered into an

agreement with their workers, of whom Sidney Hillman was the spokesman, which, modified and developed in subsequent years, has as the result of steady pressure from the Amalgamated been extended throughout the industry, and forms the basis of the measure of self-government its workers now possess. An Arbitration Committee of three (one member appointed by the firm, another by the workers, and a third by these two) was set up to consider and adjust grievances. In 1912 this Arbitration Board was supplemented by a Trade Board of eleven (five from each side, with an impartial chairman) which meets weekly and makes rulings, subject to appeal to the Arbitration Board. These rulings have gradually developed into something like a code of industrial law. Sidney Hillman stated in his evidence before the Federal Industrial Relations Commission, "This Trade Board was created so that it was really a new method of adjusting complaints. It introduces what I call the new principle in organisation that, if the workers are to be disciplined for any violation of the agreement, they themselves partly should be judges."

Even more actually was involved in it than this. Here, in germ, can be discerned the idea which under Sidney Hillman's direction and inspiration has governed the policy of the Amalgamated and made it what it is—the idea that the workers have a responsibility for and to industry. "The industrial form of organisation," as he was to put it later, "carries responsibility, responsibility to the men and women in the industry and responsibility to the industry itself." Since the workers are to prepare themselves to run production, they are concerned in their own interest and in that of the community that it should be efficient. Sabotage is ruled out as stupid and self-destructive. "Work is not something one has to undergo as a punishment, but something to be proud of. . . . Labour's mission in life is to build."

The Chicago strike of 1910 created the Amalgamated. Bitter resentment had been excited by what the workers felt, during and after this struggle and the later struggles there and in New York, as their betrayal by the officers of the Garment Workers' Union, and by the American Federation of Labour of which the Union was a member. The upshot was that in 1914 a new Union, then and now outside the Federation, was formed under the title of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, on an industrial, not craft, basis. A decade of intensive work followed. In 1919 the arbitration machinery set up for Hart, Schaffner and Marx was extended throughout the clothing industry; unionisation (introduced there in 1913) gradually followed. In 1924 the 44-hour week was won for clothing workers. All the time the consolidation of the Union, and the permeation of its membership by a characteristic and

tender. Determination is there, sympathy also; not a beautiful face, but a highly significant one. The wide-apart eyes hold you; the voice, soft and resonant, and still oddly foreign, holds you; what he says holds you, even more firmly.

He gave me half an hour. During its course he was called five times to the telephone. It mattered surprisingly little. His attention, given for the moment fully to each interruptor, returned fully to me. I felt a mind capable of carrying on two or three processes, two or three trains of thought, without letting go of anything essential, with no confusion, lost motion, or fuss. There were no papers on his table, no parade of importance of any kind; he has no "manner." The interruption over, he returned exactly to the point where he left off; never asked "Where was I?" He knows where he is, and where he is gone. The first interruption was about a strike. "We are going to have a strike in B," he mentioned: "that," with a shrug of the shoulders, "can't be helped. We have got to hold on to what we have. We are not for strikes or against; or for arbitration or against. We are trying it out. . . ." Then, into the telephone: "You should have avoided that; I would have held them for a couple of days. No, listen. The strike is on now, so there is no use fussing about that. X will be down to-night; meantime you should see Y. . . . Yes." Back to me. "We are in a materialist period which has got to be gone through. Here, two million workers own automobiles." He smiled. "In New York Tammany is a democratic institution. . . . We are against Capitalism, not against capitalists. . . . As for revolution, we have no particular way of getting it." (Had he not said, on his return from Russia, "I spent hours with Lenin. I can tell you that we did not discuss revolution in the United States, or even revolution in Russia. We did not discuss any theories. I did not care what they thought would happen in Russia twenty years from now.") "Our point is, the workers perform an economic function. Unless we do that function well there will be waste, loss of productive power, a weakened apparatus for us. The method has to be learned. We have to learn management as well as ownership. That is where labour banking comes in. The motive is service, not profit. There, power and responsibility are being assumed together. At the same time, the democratic method, which must penetrate our industrial life as well as our political, is being tried out. It is one sign of labour's new constructive sharing in the life of the community. We have got to find a way for the introduction of democracy into industry whereby experiments with popular conduct of industry will be so gradual that mistakes can be corrected without social injury."

A great platform speaker, he tells conventions not what they

would like to hear, but what he thinks. No clearer exposition of Amalgamated policy need be asked for than that given in the speech he made to the 1922 Convention, in which he set out a plan of constructive help for Russia:

"When our organisation gets down and accounts for itself to our own members and the labour movement of the world, the real question after all will be, 'Have we helped the constructive forces that are making for a better future, or are we just in a fine group of sentimentalists?' . . . Unless you have the courage and the sense to put people in charge of the organisation who will have the courage and the sense to take charge of the organisation, the organisation is going to pay the penalty. There is no patent medicine, right, left or centre, or any other kind. It takes men and women to build an organisation, and not abstract theories. It takes warm hearts to maintain ideals, and not phraseology. . . . Conditions will arise, dictated by life, and not by the theories of a few dreamers, and it is much more important to have a proper policy than a great deal of noise. Policies, if sound, have a habit of accumulating more and more strength as they go along. . . . I know that we may be misunderstood even by our friends, but I will tell you that the world will never make a step forward unless there is a group of people who are willing to stand the brunt and who, when their effort is successful, will not even be given the credit for what they did. A number of things that are taken to-day for granted, when they were initiated, were denounced and criticised by both friends and enemies, and often it is hard to see the difference between friend and enemy. . . . We men and women in the clothing industry have said to ourselves, 'We want to find out what is right, what is our duty, where our responsibility lies, and then go ahead and let the future justify our undertakings.' . . . If it had not been for a few people we would to-day be living in the jungle. It was due to the rebellious spirit of a few that we made progress. There are some people who are great rebels, although they do not indulge in high phraseology. They stand for and do the things that carry the human race a step forward, and they are greater than those who have all kinds of prescriptions and know how to lead us overnight to the ultimate goal."

In the general picture presented to-day by the American labour world, there is much despite its prosperity that is profoundly depressing. Against the darkness of a movement subdued in mind and method to what it works in, the light of the Amalgamated shines all the brighter. It represents the Socialist leaven in the capitalist lump. Hillman is no visionary; but he has vision. To any one who wants to understand the forces moving beneath the surface, therefore, I would say, "Watch Sidney Hillman."

MARY AGNES HAMILTON.

definite outlook, went on. There were strikes and fights inside and out, but in 1925 Sidney Hillman, general president continuously since the formation of the Amalgamated, could say, "More than imagination, nothing short of actual experience will do to visualise the striking difference of the status in life of the clothing worker of ten years ago, of 1914, and of to-day, 1924. Then, a worker, a little feared, hardly understood, and never respected, without power to defend his rights and responsibility for whatever rights he had acquired, a worker without a voice in the management of industry, capable of guerilla warfare, and helpless to make anything of incidentally wrested victory, a worker and nothing else. To-day, a citizen of industry, respected, self-possessing, responsible to himself and to the industry, a citizen of the industry, with a clear view of possibilities and limitations, and with a keen, alert mind, and an organisation to match, for whatever opportunity may arise to harness possibilities." In 1915 the Amalgamated had some 50,000 members working on a 52-hour week, or longer. The men earned on an average fifteen, the women ten, dollars a week: but 40 per cent. of the men earned under thirteen dollars, and 49 per cent. of the women less than ten. Ten years later, the Amalgamated had 150,000 members, and the organisation "embraces the workers in the industry more closely than any other industry of equal importance in the United States and Canada." On a 44-hour week the men earn on an average forty-eight, the women thirty-four, dollars a week. By general admission, moreover, the true labour cost to the employers of these wages is less than that of the old, so greatly has efficiency increased.

The strength of the Amalgamated, however, is not adequately measured by such figures. Nor can one gauge it by looking at the soaring pile of their New York Labour Bank, a massive, marble-lined building on Union Square, with a capital behind it and the other two banks in Chicago and Philadelphia of over five million dollars; or by counting the newspapers, the educational and other institutions which the union manages. It is to be found, rather, in interrogating and understanding the features which distinguish this Union and its leaders from the other Unions in the United States. To quote from *The Clothing Workers of Chicago*:

"Other Trade Unions in this country have been content to use their power negatively and obstructively. They have used it to place narrow restrictions upon management, but have not desired to share also in management's responsibilities. The Amalgamated on the other hand has been keenly alive to the welfare and development of the clothing industry. It has, indeed, identified its own permanent interests with those of the industry, and is concerned to see it grow into ever greater efficiency and prosperity. Because of this constructive policy, dictated by its long-range outlook, the

Amalgamated has been aggressively instrumental in setting up jointly with the clothing manufacturers a constitutional form of government for the industry. This government, culminating in the 'impartial machinery,' has been promoted by the union who are willing to have it curb their own freedom of action, if necessary, in the interest of the industry. The union has voluntarily relinquished the right of direct action or of using its economic strength without stint or limit for gaining present advantages that might injure the larger and more enduring interests of the industry as a whole."

Organised on an industrial basis, the Amalgamated includes all workers irrespective of colour or grade. One of its most remarkable achievements is the solidarity it has created between technical and manual workers. It has enlisted first-rate experts in its service, and that without creating a hierarchy separated from the rank and file. Moreover, it has maintained an active sense of community between itself and the labour movement as a whole, internationally as well as nationally. Alone among American labour organisations the Amalgamated came to the aid of famine-stricken Russia, giving over 60,000 dollars in one year. Last winter every worker gave an hour's work a day to the United Mine Workers' Fund. Hillman could say, at the Chicago Convention in 1922:

"I believe that the greatest contribution our organisation has made is its liberal attitude towards the labour movement as a whole. . . . It is my firm judgment that when we start taking a selfish attitude, when we assume the attitude that most labour organisations do, that outside of our own little corner we are not concerned, we and we alone will be the first to pay the penalty for that attitude. I plead with you to understand that the responsibility of the labour movement is to aid along lines that will be constructive and helpful; that we are a movement of those who have been oppressed, and who have still a great distance to go before we get what we are entitled to get, and that it is our obligation to help those who are still suffering under the iron heel of oppression."

Sidney Hillman would be the first to insist that in all this he has had wonderful "helpers and servers." Those same helpers and servers know, however, that the constructive vision, the "long-range outlook," have been in the main his contribution; that, and the combination of courage and patience that may be read in his face and speaks through his resolute personality. A definite impression but not an aggressive one is made at once by this small, strongly-built, bright-eyed young man. The racial type, marked in the early photographs, has been subdued by that of individual character. What you notice is the modelling of the wide, high brow, with its curious depressions above the large, luminous, slightly slanting eyes; the jaw, powerful but not heavy; and the mouth, with full lower and finely curved upper lip, at once strong and

LIFE IN THREE VOLUMES.

THE span of our all-too-short life on earth has been compared to a tale that is told, or to a book that is written. Page after page is turned, and sometimes we find monotony, and sometimes the record of a word or an event that colours all the rest of the story. No two lives are alike, and little can be done in the way of prediction, but the analogy is a good one, and may be expanded with advantage, and if we look at life as a whole, we shall find it is not bound in one volume but in three. These may respectively be entitled, "Preparation," "Work," and "After Work."

Let us consider these volumes separately. Take up the first and turn the pages slowly, and you will find that it is concerned with the most interesting thing in the world, Immaturity. Children are always with us, the human beings that fill and that govern the earth are always being made anew, and therefore there is always hope. Here is mainly the province of the woman. The man deals with the world as it is and tries to make the best of it in every department, but the woman deals chiefly with the world as it will be, as it ought to be. Her thoughts are ever with the children, with the future rather than with the present, with that portion of history that is as yet out of sight, lying in the blue distance. Here is active scope for every one of her beautiful powers; here is the need for protective care, unwearied love and wise guidance, as we follow in miniature the age-long process of Progressive Creation that is summarised in every human life. Read the headings of the first few chapters: "Infancy," "Early Childhood," "Full Childhood," "School-days"; even these themes are enough to occupy the most active mind and heart, as the little being on our knee runs through its experiences so swiftly we can hardly keep up with them, and as the latent soul is gradually seen disentangling itself from the all-powerful body. We start in life as an animal with no wants but the physical, either clamouring for their gratification or lying in full-fed self-centred ease; but very early in life the higher needs begin to appear, and it is a beautiful event when the baby turns from its food to listen to music, or to smile at its mother. As for dealings with Childhood and School, they represent perhaps the most attractive occupations all life has to offer, when the riotous instincts are beginning to be brought under the unifying control of the Will, or Ego, and the most precious thing in the world, Character, is being formed. There are in Great Britain alone fully fourteen million children under fourteen years of age, and the care of them, whether we are mothers, teachers, nurses, or friends, forms the *métier* of many thousands among us.

Now turn to the latter half of the first volume and read more

chapter-headings. We have "Adolescence," "College," or "Training," or "Tentative Work." These are more difficult subjects to deal with. "Adolescence" represents the top of the school, where you may become a prefect, or a captain of some game, and at any rate bear some responsibility for the conduct of your juniors. By "College" let us mean every sort of education that comes after eighteen. University learning is the lot of the few, but one department or another might be the lot of all. Art and Music have for long called to us; the professions of Medicine, Nursing and Dispensing are now, as far as women are concerned, about fifty years old, and other departments of useful knowledge are comparatively new. We have Domestic Economy, Commercial Training, Gardening and Agriculture, Stock-keeping of all kinds, and other classes of work too numerous to mention here. The great point to remember is that work now begins to be voluntary. School is compulsory, but we now stand on the threshold of independence, and only volunteers are called for. To force a boy or a girl into one of the noblest professions in the world, such as Educational or Literary work, is about as foolish as forcing them into a career of Art; in each case there must be those obscure but powerful predisposing desires and instincts—something beyond what can be taught—which make the whole difference between success and failure.

The last chapter is concerned with the first attempts at self-forgetting work. You teach, but it is more really for your own benefit than for that of your pupils, and you try little experiments and watch anxiously as to whether they succeed. You get your first pictures or your first articles approved by the verdict of public criticism, and if you are "on the land" you begin to find your steady foot-hold of judgment and to control the labour of others. So on, with every department of work. In the careers which exclusively belong to men, such as the Ministry, the Army, the Navy, and the Service of the State in general, this stage tends to be longer than it is in the life of a woman; but in any case the first volume does not close until we are twenty-seven or twenty-eight. It is a great thing and a good thing to be allowed to grow up slowly. A wise Providence has so ordered our years that there is time to live through each stage perfectly, and to omit and to hurry is only to spoil; give the sunflower time to expand to the full its large rayed disk, give the peach time to bask in the sunshine on the wall and so add the last touches of exquisite colour and fragrance to its texture.

Before putting this volume back on the shelf, let me speak one word to the parents—do not sacrifice youth to the care of old age or infirmity; it may look very beautiful, but in the long run it is not right. This period is devoted to the making of the tool, the sharpening of the scythe, the filing of the saw, the trying the instrument at

a few strokes of labour, and then perhaps sending it back to the workshop; all and everything is for the benefit of the single immature mind, and for nothing else. We want noble men and women, each one as perfect as training can make them, and no considerations must stand in the way. With men this mistake is seldom or never made, for to turn a man out into the world at five and twenty with no profession would be absurd, but with girls, alas, it is done over and over again. There are some cases when this position is suitable. On the side of the girl, she must honestly feel herself not fitted for more systematic work, but must prefer to use her keen perceptive powers in "filling up chinks." If attendance on the patient involves a good deal of reading aloud, and that of a type of book which requires some thought, a liberal education may be arrived at, along with a beautiful protective tenderness that forms one of the highest types of character possible. But in three cases out of four of these home ministrations there is some element that mars the best results and produces disappointment, restlessness, and even bitterness of spirit.

It is not that I am against self-sacrifice. Indeed not; the exercise of it from the earliest birth of the conscience is a necessity, and constitutes a large part of the sharpening of the tool of which we have already spoken. Let the girl give up her own friends and her clubs, to find an hour's amusement for her little brothers and sisters; let her take gentle and unnoticed control over them at meals, and be sharp to see the wants of her parents; let the quick eye and ready hand take up the cup or the needle or the pen, with a cheerful "Let me do that for you, Mother!" Let there be the dozen tiny sacrifices of an all-pervading altruism, but most earnestly do I pray that the total career should not be injured, and these absolutely invaluable years be offered up to the service of prolonged infirmity. The fresh young life is by far the better thing of the two, and we, the older generation, whether we are men or women, are the natural protectors of its needs and claims, even as the mother is of those of the very young child. That is the close of Volume I.

As we open the second Volume, we find ourselves in an entirely different atmosphere. Here are choice, energy, independence. Do you work for your own benefit? No, a thousand times, No! The rule now is, "Put *self* in the cupboard and turn the key." Think only of others, let altruism come out as the perfect flower of life, and hold to it steadily as the end toward which all else is but the means. You cannot work too hard or too self-forgetfully so long as you work wisely, making your stock of strength, both physical and mental, hold out in freshness and originality to the end of the allotted time. And when is that time to come? When is the Call-off to sound in our ears? It is to be thirty-three years and four months

after you start. Can you see any reason for this exact sum? Multiply it by three, and what have you? You have a century. Yes, taking into account the usual duration of a life, the number thirty-three comes out right. A man, his son and his grandson ought to fill out a hundred years of work, whether they be statesmen or blacksmiths. This reckoning appears to me to have a most unexpected corroboration in the length of our Lord's life. Count carefully from Bethlehem to Calvary, and you will find it is three and thirty years and four months.

We are dealing chiefly with the work of women, and what shall we say of it? For one thing it is free. Consider competing claims and choose. Now come in the strong and urgent claims of the blind father or the paralysed mother; your eyes are opened to the needs of the world, and you may weigh them and make deliberate choice of self-immolation. Why not? Soldiers do it, Missionaries do it, and why should not you? Or it may be Marriage lies before you, and there is no doubt whatever but that this is the least lonely, the most satisfying, the happiest portion life has to offer. Accept it with thanksgiving to Heaven, but do not let the sense of altruistic work diminish; to be a really good Wife and Mother is a sphere that draws out our resources to the utmost, and raises them to their highest intensity, so that not a fibre of our being is allowed to be idle. It is the most "all-round" work of the many professions, and lest it become "the double selfishness" we sometimes see, or the trebled or quadrupled selfishness, there must ever be a little window close beside the hearth stone, so that even as we sit there we may look out on those who walk in the rain and cold and mud, and may help them. No life is rounded and perfect that does not take up its share of the overwhelming sorrow of others.

But as statistics tell us there are to-day "very nearly two million more women than men, and those chiefly in the educated classes, more or less,"—and that speaks for the British Isles alone—it is time we dealt with the professions. By the beginning of this volume we have thoroughly made our choice. Do I like people ill, or well? Do I like them of the more educated sort, or the manual labourers? Do I like them grown-up, or in one of the periods of immaturity? Am I fitted to go to the Colonies or to India, or had I better stay at home? You have turned over these questions, and suppose you have answered them all by choosing the latter alternative given you in each question, then you will most likely find yourself in charge of an Elementary School in a provincial town in England. Perhaps it is mixed, perhaps it is girls only; any way, there lies the work straight before you, and you are to train not only the memory and the intellect, but far more subtle things as well, the taste, the affections, the sense of honour, the conscience, the power of expres-

sion, and to build up that fidelity to a trust which we call character. And suppose you have chosen the first alternative, you may find yourself doctor, head-nurse, or matron of some kind of hospital or convalescent home in Cape Town, Melbourne, or on "The Hills"; every item of the day's work is different, but the aim is ever the same in its self-forgetting beneficence.

What are holidays?—means to an end, times to be taken joyfully and with as free a heart and mind as it is possible to secure, times as frequent and as long as can rightly be enjoyed. Body, mind, heart, and soul should each have their best refreshment. If you live in a crowd, take a bath of sweet solitude, cycling or by the sea. If you live in a mental desert, attend one of those Vacation Study Conferences that kind hearts with more leisure than you possess have organised so charmingly on almost every subject under the sun. Wisely chosen, so that you meet with kindred spirits, such a Conference is more refreshing than idleness. St. Francis used to speak of his body as "my poor brother, the ass," and certainly that ass must be the first thing to be consulted. Is your occupation sedentary? Take plenty of exercise; only do not begin too suddenly, or the ass rebels. Does your vocation keep you mentally at a high tension? Make sand-castles with the children, lie on a beach and throw little stones into the sea, and let your mind sink into its sheath and become about as intelligent as a cabbage. Are your nights broken and shortened as in Nursing? Take illimitable sleep, and read interesting books in between. I need hardly detail further. Work that part of your being that your vocation leaves out, and rest the part that is apt to work too hard. Be extremely kind to the ass, but remember you have a heart and soul too, and perhaps artistic tastes as well, and to give these a spell of happy exertion proves more of a rest than trying for a vacuity. I think a Rest-cure must be rather an exhausting experience. Only plan it out wisely, and then any real holiday, bad weather or good, will send you back to your life-work with youth renewed and brimming over with cheerful energy. "Work while it is called To-day"; the world needs such work sorely, so give it the very best you have, and never be content with anything slack-twisted or reluctant or second-best.

We cannot delay longer in describing the central theme of life. Put the second volume back on the shelf and take down the third. What have we here? Thousands of Essays are written on the subject of the other two, but this one seems almost an unknown region. You open the cover and find the first page blank, and there you sit with your elbows on your desk and look at it, and you wonder if all the rest will be blank also. No, indeed, no; the book is full of most interesting things, and you will soon find them; this painful blank is only the sudden stopping of the continuous roar of the

workshop, only the result of the effort of the climber who, when he reaches the level place, must have two minutes in which to pant and sit down before he is asked to admire the wide view. We admit now that the past years kept us at a high tension, and when the bow-string is slipped from the bow there is a sense of loss and nothingness. This must be endured for a little time, only a little time. Turn the page as soon as you can, and don't waste these precious months.

But there are a few preliminary considerations. In the first place, how old are you now? To add together the twenty-seven years of Volume I and the thirty-three years of Volume II is no severe strain on your arithmetic and, even supposing (through illness or some other cause) your course in life has become pushed on a little late—why, what is sixty-three? It is the right age for a Bishop on the bench, for a Judge in the court, and indeed it seems to be the right age for everybody who has reached the top-step. It involves the maturity of judgment and the generosity of a wide experience. They say your body is at its best at twenty-one (which is not true), your mental ability at forty-two, and your total character at sixty-three. Why then may I not stay on in my chosen place and work? No, my friend, you may not. Not that obvious work. The world is in the hands of the young, and all these strenuous positions must be left to them. Wait, wait, wait. Do not public singers leave the stage by the advice of reason only, and before their voices show the least deterioration? So must you, only the prospect is better for you by far, for you have new work before you. Till seventy-five people only play at Old Age, and perhaps you have many years of vigour beyond that, so turn your pages one by one and look. The first bit of counsel is, "When you leave, *leave*." Don't hang round and interfere with your successor on any account! She may be very courteous, but you are a weight on her life all the same. Turn right away, and ungrudgingly and cheerfully give yourself to another kind of work.

And what is that work? Jowett of Balliol said that Old Age was designed by a kind Providence to be the happiest period of life, and that he very decidedly found it true. So I believe it may be, and is, *i.e.*, in the professional life we are considering, for I cannot deal with domestic life at this stage; that has been happier in the early stages, and perhaps less so as time takes away the objects of our affections. One can hardly tell. "Happiness," said Aristotle (or he said something rather like it), "consists in the full rational activity of the soul, according to virtue." This third volume has not in it a hint of idleness, but is full to the brim of the activities of the soul. Let us look at a few of the details.

For one thing you need now only do what you enjoy, what you are really fitted for. In every useful career there are distasteful and wearying parts, but you gladly put up with the rough bark of the apple-tree for the sake of the lovely apples. Perhaps you hate

keeping accounts, perhaps you hate housekeeping; you must attend to these matters and pretend you are deeply interested in them, but when they have shrunk to the dimensions of a cottage, the relief is immense. Turn now, and give your heart full and undivided to the parts of the work you so dearly loved, by sympathy, by writing, by every means at your command. Another great make-weight in the scale of happiness is that you may leave off setting other people to rights. It is absurd to think you can go through a world so imperfect as ours, and not try to combat evil as well as do good. You must weed your garden as well as plant your roses and potatoes; you must subdue the fever before you can give the tonic. Even the Good Shepherd Himself carries not only the long and beneficent crook, but the short and sturdy club studded with nails with which to beat back the wolves. Vice, error, disease, slackness, indifference, these are our foes according to the sphere in which our work lies, besides the ever-present dark twilight of ignorance which is the aider and abettor of them all. It is not only stupid but cowardly not to take our part in the fight, and brave the slashing blows and the probable wounds. He who smiles on everything forgets the Moral Law, and his is not mercy but indulgence, harmful, a lowering of the standard of Right. But now, in this third book we may leave the fulminating and the banging blows to the next generation, and may take the side of hope. Leave the fighting line, retire behind it, and leave all your store of ammunition to younger warriors. Rest them in your tent, encourage them to persevere, lend them your best weapons, cheer them on to meet new enemies, and yet all the while look with larger, more sympathetic eyes on the whole battlefield. "Don't listen to the voice of the hours or the months," said Emerson, "listen to the years and the centuries." The longer view is invariably the more encouraging, and the gentle wisdom of this experience can always be mingled with our cry of "Forward!" Oh, what an infinite blessing it is to have fault-finding and reproof behind us for ever! Midsummer has its thunderstorms, and it is the mild, persistent and exquisite sunshine of September and October that is the best in the whole year.

Another point to be remarked is the flowering of that late chrysanthemum of our garden, gratitude. The full summer suns have shone on the grey-green leaves and brought no response, but now with shortened days and a dew so heavy that it looks like hoar-frost, out they come into splendid bloom. During the strenuous work-time we have given everything, time, health, inventiveness, patience, every power we possess, and have received but little in return. If the recipients, whether scholars or patients or savages, are nicely brought up they will say "Thank you" for the various trifles that appeal to them, but not one of them is grateful for the total. They have not eyes to see that you have given your whole self, given till you have no more left to give. But now, when all is over and you

are doing the things easy and pleasant to you, now, when you don't deserve gratitude, it turns up in unexpected ways, and sometimes overwhelms you like a flood. Affection, too, real downright affection—I am always supposing you have behaved decently through the long spell of the second volume—springs up here and there, and has a sweet influence not quite like anything else, and the horizon widens and softens till it melts into the blue of the sky. The prevailing evil of old age is the contraction of sympathy. Failing sight and stiff knees are nothing, but the range of interest ever narrowing till it comes down finally to yourself, and the questions of the day are, "What shall I eat, what shall I drink, and wherewithal shall I be clothed?" This is hateful to see, this is a matter for tears. Surely to the servants of Christ this need never be so; surely when the work drops from the fingers and the hands at last lie passive on the lap, the mental outlook may be more uninterrupted, more impersonal, more gently protective of all who are weak or sad or in want, more after the pattern of our Master. Thus it can be, thus it shall be. Think of the leaves of the autumn, gold and red. I have never heard a botanist say that this colouring was of any use. It is only for beauty, like the clouds of sunset, beauty without any ulterior motive or design, but it is the very crown and glory of the year. Go into a beech-forest and see the high caverns of pure gold overhead; stand there and let the sense of deep contentment sink into your heart, the motionless breathing repose as of work done, the sure knowledge that the buds are formed for next year and that the succession will be carried on. More beautiful for some three weeks than in all the five or six months of previous life, crowned with the sunshine of perfect gold, with a sweet forgetfulness of self, and yet willing at a touch to leave all and sink to rest.

Such is real Old Age, such is the very last chapter in the long book, such is senescence without senility, such is the perfect confidence with which the soul is trusted to its wise and loving Creator. Take that stage when it comes, and meanwhile you have before you some fifteen years of work that cannot be undertaken earlier in life, because it is the result of experience. The leaf buds of every tree and bush without exception are not the making of the spring, they are the making of the previous autumn while the sun is yet warm; the mature leaves work hard to lay up stores of beautiful material for them to use, and in like manner when the winter of life draws near you may die without knowing what work you have accomplished, but the splendour of the next spring in some young lives is due to you and to you only.

Such are the Three Volumes of our life, and, like illustrative diagrams on the pages, we may see the pictures of ourselves in the work of the leaves on the trees. The first stage is necessarily given to the building up of its own structure, out of the vital material laid

by for it by the previous generation. This is our education, not the intellectual part only but the ethical and spiritual as well, and it is not all easy. There are late frosts and cutting east winds that may mar the transparent young leaves, and so has youth its failures and disappointments as well as the rush forward of exultant energy that is apt to attract exclusive attention. In the midsummer months and onward each leaf is no longer centred on its own expansion, but in complete self-forgetfulness it labours through the burden and heat of the day to catch material to build up the strong wood of the communal life. This material is abundant in the sweet ocean of the air, but incessant individual work is needed to be carried on in the minute laboratory of the cells of the green leaf. It must stand in the light of the sun, the far-distant sun, and open every part of its being to those life-giving rays that have traversed the inconceivable abysses of space for the very purpose of giving help and power and joy; these conditions being fulfilled, the leaf can collect the material out of the air, and transmute it into running sap and solid wood. Into beauty too as well as strength, for colour, fragrance, flavour, all the many lovely gifts of flowers and fruit, all are the results of the patient work of the leaf. The trunk, branches and twigs of the great tree to which we are firmly attached, may well represent our country, our special sphere of work, or our immediate family, and to build these things aright we must give our all. They are worth our labour, abundantly worth it, for these will live after we are dead.

And this work is not for long. As the autumn nights grow cold the activity slackens though the heart does not lose its sympathy, and it is a content and a joy beyond words to feel the sap to which we have contributed our little share rising continuously and firmly, forming and providing for the new buds which are under our charge. Every day has a silent beauty of its own, as the crown becomes more purely golden, until "the Big Bell tolls" and the call comes. Like the leaves we leave help and hope behind us, and sink quietly to the bosom of our patient mother earth. No parable written in Nature is, however, perfect, and unlike the leaf we have acquired something over which the death of the body has no power. The ultimate object of the progressive creation that has worked so slowly and so consistently on our earth is to make souls, real souls, children of our Father in Heaven, and surely in the archives of our Creator and Redeemer there is laid up a Fourth Volume for each individual heart among us. Here on earth we each have our turn, only one and very short too, but of inestimable value as fitting us for some wider, less hindered and more glorious sphere of activity.

Looked at thus, are not our Three Volumes the best possible preparation? And is not our life on earth a well-ordered and beautiful thing?

CONSTANCE L. MAYNARD.

ADDINGTON: THE ROMANCE OF A SURREY VILLAGE.

ADDINGTON is a small village some three miles south-east of Croydon. I have known it for many years, but of late it assumes to me a pathetic touch. Ever-increasing London presses on it more and more; it must soon, you would think, be flattened out and obliterated whilst the monster presses on beyond to new conquests. At present it hangs suspended between the ogre's jaws. Several chances have preserved it; no railway touches it, for it lies in a hollow between the lines; so far even the ubiquitous motor-bus has left it alone though this again creeps ever nearer. You must foot it, or use your car to get to the place. I assume that you agree to walk, then your best plan will be to descend Gravel Hill which runs down as the western boundary to what is still called the Archbishop's Palace till you come to a footpath on the right; this takes you up a moderate ascent; in turn you go down the slope and on the left you get a view of Addington church with its square flint tower covered with red-tiled roof. In summer it is well-nigh hidden among the masses of trees. Nestling under the tower the houses begin and stretch along a little way. It makes a pretty picture. There are many such in England. This is noteworthy for its memories and associations as well as for its pretty rustic air so remarkable on the very borders of London. If you care to explore the surrounding country you will find points of interest. A path leads you from Addington Post Office up hill and down dale till you come in about four miles to the Salt Box at Cudham; this tract of land is of almost primitive rusticity; hardly in any part of England shall you find a more sequestered district, but then again you reflect it cannot long remain so. Take no thought of the urban destinies of to-morrow, but enjoy to-day as far as you can. Turning round you get glimpses of the huge Georgian structure still called the Palace, for it was the country house of the Archbishops of Canterbury for about a century. There are not many houses in Addington village, but these are of a quite superior description explained by the fact that the place was largely rebuilt by Archbishop Sumner. From one point of view he did it almost too well, for the cots have been seized upon by people who are evidently not labourers at all and have been converted into something like country seats by envious cits.

A great part of the interest of Addington lies in its history; in fact you cannot understand the place at all or solve the curious riddles it presents to the mind unless you know something of that history and of a mysterious dish known as "Maupygernon" which

had its origin in this way. The village is a manor of antiquity since it is mentioned in *Domesday Book*, in which valuable record it is stated that the wood yields pannage for twenty hogs, also that its then value as it had been in Edward the Confessor's time was one hundred shillings (it was ever a conservative place!). Now, William the Conqueror had a favourite cook, Tezelin to wit, to whom he gifted this manor as a reward for much leal service done in the kitchen. The manor passed through many hands but it was ever held *per sergeantiam coquinam*. The Lord must prepare by himself or deputy a dish called "del girunt" or "geroun" or, if seyn be added (and seyn was the Anglo-Saxon for fat), the product was called Maupygernon, and he who held the manor needs must present himself to the King on coronation day and serve three messes of the dish—one for the King, one for the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the third for whomsoever the King willed. Thus we see the final end of those porkers of which *Domesday Book* makes so careful mention! The mess was to be prepared in the King's kitchen in *olla lutea* or claypipkin, and so for centuries it was presented.

It is also to be noted that Addington once possessed a windmill, all vestiges of which had vanished centuries ago. You reasonably conjecture, however, that there was ground the flour used in the composition of the dish, and as a coronation could never be an event of frequent recurrence the mill usefully served the daily needs of the village, but we lack details of the composition of Maupygernon. By a seventeenth-century misreading of the Anglo-French "del girunt" or "geroun" it was supposed to be a pottage of coarse meal, a viand which does not touch the imagination. Aleph Leigh, the owner of the manor in James the First's time, asserted his right to dish it up; but the claim was not adjudicated on. The British Solomon had taken his fill and more of porridge in the North; this was too like it to tempt his newly acquired taste for luxurious feasting. At the restoration of his grandson there was a coronation feast on St. George's Day, 1661. Thomas Leigh duly appeared at the King's table, as ordered thereto by the Court of Claims, and presented "the mess of pottage called 'delegrount' to the King (for under this name it had long masqueraded). His Majesty accepted service but he did not taste of it." We know that it was wittily said of Charles the Second that he never said a foolish thing and never did a wise one. Perhaps that was the exception that proved the rule. But as we are in doubt as to the exact composition of the dish we cannot decide the point. As for my Lord of Canterbury, he muttered something charitably presumed to be a Latin grace, but there is nothing to show he had in fact tasted thereof. The Leighs held the manor for

a long time, and on each successive coronation the head of the family appeared at the King's table. His claim was duly allowed whilst he himself received the honour of knighthood.

The Leighs have long vanished from the possession of those pleasant lands. You must go to the church if you wish to search for other records of their history. There you will find brasses in memory of John Leigh and Isabel his wife, dated 1509 and 1544 respectively, and there are numerous stately monuments of the sixteenth century to members of the family. There is a monument of a knight in complete armour and his lady in the dress of the period, also the effigies of a numerous family of children. But what about the composition of the dish? Lysons the London historian mournfully records that he cannot find any ancient receipt for making this mess. We do, however, get one hint of a rather shadowy kind. A family called Bardolf possessed the manor for a period and research has discovered a dish called by this name. It was a pottage compounded of almond milk, brawn of capons, chicken parboiled and chopped, sugar and spice and in fact all that was nice. This, indeed, would be a compound worthy of the great name of Maupygernon, but it would seem that at the coronation festival the plain pottage of coarse meal was made to do service through the centuries. Hill Burton, the historian, in his account of Queen Anne's reign relates that the ceremony was duly performed at the coronation of that lady, whilst there can be little doubt that the rite was observed at each coronation.

In the prosaic eighteenth century, about 1770 in fact, the manor was acquired by Barlow Trecothick, a worthy and successful London citizen. He gave as much as £38,500 for it, a very considerable sum of money at that time. Perhaps he was induced thereto by the fame of Maupygernon, always a mysterious dish and something not to be had at Guildhall banquets. He built the huge somewhat heavy Georgian pile which still exists to-day. He obtained the highest civic honours, was in succession Alderman, Lord Mayor of London, and Member of Parliament. In the fullness of time he also died and was buried at Addington, where in the church there is a monument to his memory raised by his second wife, Anne Trecothick, in 1786. His first wife, be it noted, had been called Grizzell, and to her he had raised a considerable structure with the usual laudatory inscription. It was surmounted by a small urn which excited perhaps the emulation of his widow since her memorial to him took the form of an urn of the most portentous size. Indeed, as one used to talk of the great tun of Heidelberg, so one might commemorate the great urn of Addington which quite blocks up the windows to the east of the little church. I wish I knew more about Barlow Trecothick. He has left substantial evi-

dence of his presence at Addington, first and chiefly in the huge house he built, which quite eclipsed the modest hall that had done excellently well for the Leighs and those who came before and after them. He also rebuilt the outer walls of the church; moreover he repaved the sacred edifice, but you do not get much information from the inscription on the tombs of his first wife and of himself. Perhaps he did not compose the first epitaph which is quite in the usual form of such productions. It tells how the lady "to an elegant form and mind united a retiring and religious disposition"; how she died at Addington on July 31st, 1749, when forty-one years of age, and that her afflicted husband erected this monument to her memory. Nor do the words on his own tomb add much to our information. They set forth the dignities to which he attained, they go on to tell that he was much esteemed by the merchants for his integrity and knowledge of commerce, that he was truly beloved by his fellow citizens who chose him as their representative in Parliament, and sincerely lamented by his friends and relations who looked up to and admired his virtues. It were unreasonable to expect more from a mortuary epistle. I cannot find any portrait of him, nor can I discover his name in any biographical dictionary. He seems the very ideal of the industrious apprentice. A man you doubt not very esteemed in the city of London, and a great figure in little Addington, whither he often repaired in a heavily gilt coach drawn by a more than sufficient number of horses; and that is all there is to be said about him.

In the early years of the last century there was another change. The Archbishops of Canterbury had used Croydon as their country seat till they found it too near ever-growing London. So the Palace there was sold by permission of Parliament, and in 1807 this manor of Addington was acquired in its stead with the spacious mansion already referred to. They made it still larger; Archbishop Howley in 1830 constructed a chapel, a library and other rooms. In the chapel are some noteworthy frescoes made by a daughter of Archbishop Benson, and with all the splendours of the various rooms these are the things that would to-day most attract attention. The Archbishops usually spent the latter half of each year at Addington and when they died they were buried in the church. To five of them a monument with brief notices of each was erected by the present Archbishop of Canterbury. It stands to-day in the churchyard. Archbishop Benson lived there, but Archbishop Temple, his successor, thought the place too huge and cumbersome. The authorities agreed, so Addington was disposed of in 1897, and the Archbishops returned after centuries to a comparatively modest Palace at Canterbury. Here again we must return for a little to our dish. In George the Fourth's reign the

Archbishop in possession was Charles Manners-Sutton, the very ideal of a courtly prelate, and on the coronation he claimed as Lord of the Manor to serve his sovereign with this mysterious and almost sacred pottage. His claim was allowed, and if he partook of it himself, as he was entitled to do, there is no record of what he thought of it. At the last two coronations the owner of the manor, being so advised by his lawyers (*ex abundanti cautela*, surely!), offered service of the dish. In each case the reply was that the King while not foregoing his rights in the matter, which seems again an example of extreme caution, would dispense with the service in fact at his coronation banquet. As every lawyer knows, Manors came to an end on January 1st, 1926, but the services called Grand Sergeanty and Petty Sergeanty, which were services of greater and lesser importance rendered to the King himself, were preserved. This was of the latter kind, and one need not discuss what would happen if the owners of the land in future ceased to make the offer.

One thing the possessor would always regret leaving, and that is the spacious grounds which surround the mansion. There are heights and hollows on which grow oaks and beeches, cedars, the silver birch and the red pine. There is a noble rhododendron walk or drive as it is variously called, scarcely to be equalled elsewhere. Certain parts are now set aside for the erection of suitable houses. But the bulk remains attached to the so-called Palace and its fate must depend on the fate of that great mansion. It seems eminently fitted for a college or collegiate establishment of some sort, but apparently it is hard to find a suitable tenant or purchaser. Single families do not occupy such places nowadays, the servant problem, the financial problem, the question of modern tastes and requirements have all to be considered; at least there is no immediate danger of the destruction of this noble domain. One part is fortunately preserved in perpetuity for the public benefit. The ground to the north consists of a group of gentle declivities called the Addington Hills, covered with heather and dotted with trees. The Corporation of Croydon bought them some years ago for the public benefit, so that they cannot be built on and must remain a breathing space open to all London for ever. Thus in its own quiet way this little village has abundant points of interest both to the historian and to the antiquary, and if you wish a day's rest from the feverish throb of London you cannot do better than spend it there.

FRANCIS WATT.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE HINDU-MUSLIM RIOTS.

FOR over two years now the dominating fact in Indian political life has been the increasing hostility between the Hindu and Mahomedan communities. Every day brings news of fresh riots in almost every part of India. The hostility between the two communities seems rather to grow in vigour than to abate, and the riots everywhere show evidence of careful planning and efficient organisation. As a result, the problem of Hindu-Muslim relations has come prominently before the public in England and almost everyone who claims some knowledge of India has attempted to explain the facts and to find a solution.

It is undoubted that the hostility between the Hindus and the Mahomedans has increased considerably of late. Not only have there been sporadic riots, but the attitude of the two communities to each other has undergone a fundamental change. To-day there is not only a sense of political rivalry but a noticeable distrust of motives, a willingness on the part of the Hindus to believe that every Mussulman is working secretly for the establishment of Muslim power in India, and a growing conviction on the part of the Mahomedans that the Hindus want to expel them from India. Ten years ago these fears hardly existed. In spite of competitive communal claims, there was no antipathy between Hindus and Mussulmans. What are the causes that have led to this change? What is it that has transformed the placid waters of Hindu-Muslim unity into a seething cauldron of communal passion? There has been so much loose thinking on this question that the first necessity, if the problem is to be solved, is to understand its character.

The Hindu-Muslim question is not wholly religious: nor is it wholly political. It is essentially communal in the sense that the deciding factor is not political or religious, but the relations of the Mahomedans as a community to the Hindus is another. The religious part of the problem which has been emphasised a great deal by superficial observers can be proved to be of little importance. Dogmas and beliefs do not come into the trouble at all. As is well known the two chief religious questions on which disputes arise between the Hindus and the Mahomedans relate to cow-killing and processions with music before mosques. The cow, it is true, is a sacred animal for the Hindus and its slaughter is prohibited for them. But so far as I know there is no injunction in Hindu religion that the slaughter of cows by other people should be prevented. In Southern India, where the Hindus are still extremely orthodox and where the Mahomedan population is insignificant in number, the slaughter of cows goes on without

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obstruction from the Hindus. In the extremely orthodox State of Travancore where the majority of the population is Hindu the killing of cows goes on in public and it has not been known that the Hindus in the State have taken any objection to it. As for music before the mosques, even while the Moghul Emperors were ruling in Delhi, there were only five mosques before which custom prohibited processions with music. It was never claimed that the prohibition of music, even before these mosques, was based on religious principles. In fact when the Sultan of Morocco, as the Commander of the Faithful, arrived in the mosque at Paris, he was greeted with music from Mahomedan bands. It must be clear, from these instances, that religion plays but little part in these two controversies, which have provided the communities on both sides with grounds for inflaming popular opinion.

Neither is it true to say that the riots are wholly political—though politics loom more largely in the mental background than religion. The organised political parties and their leaders are only too anxious to avoid trouble, and they all acknowledge the necessity for Hindu-Muslim unity. The essential point is that though *the cause* of trouble is political and may be traced—as we shall show—to purely political considerations, the present widespread hostility and bloodshed would not have resulted but for the organisation of society into “communities” based on religion. That is why the trouble may more correctly be called communal, than political or religious.

The Mahomedans are not racially different from the Hindus except in the North-West Frontier province. The vast majority of the 70,000,000 Muslims in India are converts from among the Hindu population. Even the Persian, Arab and Mongol immigrants, had, like the Moghuls, married the women of the country and become entirely Indian. It is not therefore any difference in racial psychology, or antagonism due to colour, that causes the hostility between the two communities. Nor is it true to say that the Muslims were the “ruling classes” in India when the British Empire was founded and that present troubles are due to their fear that this position of advantage is slipping away from them. In the Punjab where the Hindu-Mahomedan hostility is most intense the Mahomedans were under the rule of the Sikhs for quite a hundred years before the establishment of British rule. In the whole of Western and Central India sovereignty had passed early in the eighteenth century from the Mahomedan Moghuls to the Mahratta Hindus. In the South, the Mahomedans were in fact never the rulers. So the theory that the underlying cause of the fight between Hindus and Mahomedans is the rivalry between a

ruling class and a subject population now claiming equality, has absolutely no basis in history.

The real difficulty in India lies in the fact that the Hindus and Mahomedans are organised into exclusive communities, having not merely different places of worship, but different civil laws, social customs and institutions. Socially the two communities, even where they are friendly, do not mingle. As a result instead of viewing the interests as a whole, each community is inclined to look after its own interests. The essence of the organisation of a community is that not only does each individual feel a social relationship with the rest, but each person individually and the community as a whole, feel themselves to be separate from other communities. As a result of this consciousness, they develop a communal sense of morality and of social obligation. The abduction of a Hindu woman by a Mahomedan is considered a lesser crime by the Mahomedan than the abduction of a Mahomedan woman by a Hindu. The Hindus feel exactly in the same manner. This matter was most forcibly brought to me once when I was the editor of the Nationalist daily *The Swarajya of Madras*. One day a deputation of Mahomedans came to see me in my office, on what they considered to be a very serious affair threatening the good relations between the communities. A local theatre was acting in the vernacular a play in which the heroine, a Mahomedan woman, fell in love with a Hindu Prince. This the Mahomedan gentlemen who came to see me considered to be an insult offered to their religion. They wanted me to insert a protest against this play being acted as it was against Hindu-Muslim unity. I asked them if they would feel it an insult to the Hindus if the heroine were a Hindu woman and the hero a Mahomedan. To them that seemed to be entirely different. What I desire to illustrate by this incident is the sense of group morality which is the essential characteristic of a community as against a society. And it is this feature of Indian life aggravated by two important factors dealt with below, that forms the background for the communal struggles now going on in India.

The Hindus in India have the belief that India is specially their country. This is true in the sense that the other religions and communities are later introductions, while traditionally and from a purely historical point of view, the Hindu community belongs entirely to India. From this point of view it is easy to slip into the error that India and Hindus are practically synonymous terms, and that the Mahomedans racially and from the point of view of religion are outsiders. Few Hindus consciously hold this view; but their thoughts and writings show clearly that it is a habit of mind with them. Naturally this is resented by the Mahom-

medans who see in it evidence of the desire of the Hindus to expel them from India as the Moors were expelled from Spain. They fear that if this attitude of mind persists among the Hindus it would mean that at some time or other an effort will be made to treat them as an alien community, which by historical accidents has been placed in India, to complicate her problems and to weaken her position.

The Mahomedans on the other hand are swayed by the Pan-Islamic sentiment which makes them feel more akin to Islamic communities abroad than to their Hindu compatriots. This Pan-Islamic sentiment has a twofold aspect. It manifests itself in an active political sympathy towards Islamic nations outside India, and secondly it encourages the fiction of an Islamic cultural solidarity, as against the rest of the world. Both aspects have such a direct and definite bearing on the Hindu-Mahomedan troubles that some discussion of them is necessary to understand the problem in India. The political sympathy of Mahomedans for Islamic peoples is natural and legitimate, and to that extent it is shared even by the Hindus. But this sentimental sympathy treads on dangerous ground when the problem of the frontier is concerned. The frontier between Afghanistan and India is occupied by a number of warlike Pathan tribes whose traditional method of living is by raiding Indian territory. The problem is further complicated by the fact that the policy of Afghanistan is directed towards the assimilation of these tribes into the Afghan State. In fact, in spite of the veil that is cast over this delicate subject it is clear enough to all that there is a live Indo-Afghan problem which may at any time pass from the stage of diplomatic controversy into the realm of war. The sympathy of a section of Mahomedans for Afghanistan is open and avowed, and as both the frontier province and the Punjab which is the strategic door to India have a predominance of Muslim population, this attitude is considered by the Hindus to contain the germs of an unpatriotic desire to establish Afghan supremacy in India. This suspicion on the part of the Hindus is perhaps not justified, but the point is that it exists.

The cultural aspect of the Pan-Islamic point of view has equally distressing results. Though the vast majority of Indian Muslims are descendants of converted Hindus, their cultural attitude is peculiarly foreign. Thus the Indian Muslims take more pride in the educational achievements of the Muslim University of Cordova in Spain, than in those of Nalanda. Every Mahomedan, even if his family embraced Islam during the last generation, feels that he is the inheritor of the culture of the Saracens and of the Spanish Moors, and is an alien to the inheritance of India. This more than anything else creates what may be called a mental

alienation between the Hindus and the Mussulmans and helps to crystallise them into two communities.

The Hindus on the other hand look upon the Mahomedans as foreigners, even when they know them to be converts, and explain this attitude by declaring that by becoming a Muslim a Hindu has ceased to be an Indian. In taking up this attitude they find support in statements such as the one that Mr. Mahommed Ali made at a public meeting at Coconada where he had gone to preside over the National Congress, that he is first a Mahomedan and then an Indian. There may be a sense in which this is true, because ultimately the allegiance to one's religious beliefs may be superior to other allegiances. But in India, "first a Mahomedan then an Indian," means the interests of the Mahomedan community first and that of India afterwards, and it was in this sense—though Mr. Mahommed Ali probably meant only the first—that his statement was interpreted all over India.

It is this kind of organisation into separate communities with differing ideals and allegiances that constitutes the Hindu-Muslim problem in India. The weakness of this system has been much accentuated from a political point of view by the representative system of government that has been introduced into India. That system has had two direct results. By creating communal electorates it emphasised the differences and made representation merely a delegation of group, as opposed to national, interests. Secondly by introducing the democratic principle, which is essentially a competitive bid for political authority by organised groups, the Muslims and Hindus were brought face to face in a struggle for power.

No one can deny that any scheme of self-government for India must contain ample and adequate guarantees for the Muslims and other minorities. That principle is recognised by every Hindu politician. But the principle of representation by communal electorates differs from this in two things. It means primarily that those who are elected from the communal electorates are elected to represent the interests of the community and not of the country as a whole. When Lord Morley introduced this system he had no idea of introducing responsible government. The government of India was a benign, autocratic government and as such wanted to hear and decide the point of view of different communities. A representation of a communal point of view is not only unobjectionable but desirable when made to a power which stands above and beyond communal ideas. But it is entirely hostile to the fundamental principles of responsible government. It is this fact that is often forgotten. When elected legislatures have to shoulder the responsibilities of deciding on the general principles of administration, what is required is representation of the people of India and not of communities. The present system works exactly in the

opposite way. In the Punjab and in Madras it has put into power ministers depending for their existence on representatives elected on a communal basis. Naturally, therefore, even if the ministers are prepared to take a non-communal attitude, merely safeguarding the interests of those by whom they are elected, such a policy would not find support among those who are sent to the legislatures as representatives of communal interests. Moreover, this system does not give a chance to liberal-minded people on either side. If a Mahomedan leader is opposed to communal representation, there is no likelihood of his being elected by his co-religionists and he is not permitted to stand for the general constituency. Representation by communal electorates, while it might have been useful at a time when the government took decisions independent of the legislatures and wanted the interests of the communities represented to them, is absolutely inapplicable to any system of responsible government. We must find other methods for safeguarding the rights of the Mahomedans. No reasonable man would object to the Muslims being given any kind of guarantee which would not make political growth impossible in India. But representation by separate electorates must certainly go.

The introduction of democratic principles affects the Hindu-Mahomedan problem in another manner. Democracy, in its political applications, means the exercise of sovereign power by the people organised in political institutions. It is essentially competitive. In other countries the competition is between parties, Liberal or Conservative, Socialist or Tory. But the organisation in India, as we pointed out before, is crystallised into communities, and the competition therefore is not between parties but between communities. The Swarajist party as the successor of the Non-Cooperation movement was the only organisation on a non-communal basis. But during the last session of the Assembly it broke down on a question affecting the Muslims in the frontier province. Thus the competition for power in India being based—at least now—on communities, the spirit of democracy is found travestied everywhere in a desire for communal aggrandisement. The Nationalists in India have recognised this weakness, and Mr. Das's Bengal Pact and the earlier Lucknow Pact were attempts to solve the question by agreement. But so far such attempts have failed and now the Hindus and Muslims are facing each other in an effort to secure a larger share in the "distributive justice," which Aristotle describes as the essence of democracy, that each is entitled to.

This is the inwardness of the *Sanghatan* and *Tanzeen* movements. The Hindus are nominally over 230,000,000 in India, but they are divided and disorganised with less of communal sense than the Mahomedans. Besides, about 50,000,000 of them are considered outcasts. The *Sanghatan* movement attempts to re-

organise the Hindu community into a single whole, so that in the democratic distribution of power it may be entitled to claim its full numerical share. Thus, though a social movement, it is political in motive. The Mahomedans see in it a threat to their importance. Though numerically they are only 70,000,000, they are more united by communal feeling and less divided than the Hindus, which fact gives them a much greater influence than their numbers warrant. They fear that if the Hindus become organised and are able to reclaim the "untouchables" into their fold, the weight of numbers will tell heavily against them and they will in time lose the disproportionate—though in the present circumstances amply justified—influence which they possess now. It is thus that the *Sanghatan*, which is not only a desirable but an essential movement for the Hindus from the social point of view, has come to be considered a menace by the Muslims.

Associated with this is the problem of *Suddhi*, or conversion to Hinduism. Islam is a proselytising religion but Hinduism till recently had refused to take others into its fold. Now since democracy has made numerical strength an all-important consideration one sect of reformed Hindus has begun to convert members of other religions to Hinduism. Certainly Islam, which not only permits but considers conversion a duty, cannot complain if Hindus take a leaf from its book. But strangely enough the proselytising activity of the Hindus is one of the main complaints of Mahomedans.

Thus analysed, it will be seen that the Hindu-Muslim riots are not a sign of Indian weakness but of re-adjustment of communal relations. The communities had so long lived without a definition of the relations on which they would exist as one single political entity. The necessity for that definition has now arisen. It has made both Hindus and Mahomedans examine the basis of their common life and the conditions on which they can live together as neighbours in the same country. Whether music should be played before mosques, and whether cows should be taken in procession for slaughter through streets occupied predominantly by Hindus, whether adequate guarantees for Mahomedans can be provided only by separate electorates, whether Mussulmans alone should have the right of conversion, these are all the different aspects of the same problem of adjustment necessary for healthy common political life. The riots constitute evidence that India is alive and is trying, perhaps in a primitive and barbarous way, to adjust the relations of communities, because it is generally realised now that without a clear definition of the relations on which communities can live together, national life cannot be built up on a healthy basis.

K. M. PANIKKAR.

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

BRITAIN AS CHINESE MARTYR.

ON the evening of January 3rd a squad of British marines stood at the end of the Hankow Bund with a mob of several thousands of Chinese "patriots," Russian Bolsheviks and general hooligans pelting them with stones and other missiles. They stood their ground for four hours. It was as rotten a mob as mobs can be. The British sailors had rifles and ammunition. They fixed bayonets; at one moment they charged back the mob at the point of the bayonet; one Chinaman was killed; one bluejacket fell in the mêlée and was bayoneted through the leg with his own bayonet, which the mob seized for the purpose. For four hours the mob pressed forward, and for four hours some two dozen bluejackets offered themselves as unresisting targets. Not a shot was fired. It became known later that the refusal to shoot was a deliberate decision of policy taken by the British authorities on the spot, wherein their wisdom was soon vindicated. Nothing would have better suited Mr. Chen and Mr. Borodin—who, though they might be at cross purposes with each other, happened to coincide in their method—than if the British sailors had opened fire. The clever pacifism of the British naval and consular authorities, as will be made clear from the narrative that follows, was not only a phenomenon of historic interest, but an effective instrument for saving British nationals from massacre. Perhaps "pacifism" is a word that ought never to be used. Few people would define it alike. Many regard it as the eighth deadly sin, something too horrible to be thought of, much less understood. A better word for the same thing is realism. The object at Hankow was to save defenceless British men, women, and children from massacre at the hands of the mob. If the bluejackets had fired on the mob, the likely result would have been to incite the mob to wholesale massacre. By not firing and, instead, by retiring and evacuating the Concession, they saved the British nationals from all harm, and as will be seen from what is recorded below, defeated Mr. Chen's hostile purpose.

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During December and January Mr. Eugene Chen, the Foreign Secretary in the Cantonese Government, established a personal ascendancy in China, which brought to a sudden head the cumulative discord of many months. What followed is a story which has few redeeming features either for China or for the Powers which are collectively interested in China. Ever since the Tariff Conference broke down in Peking, those Powers have been reserved in their public statements, but in private violently at discord, in

their views about the new nationalist China which had gradually appeared before their eyes, and of which a combination of circumstances made of Mr. Chen the outward and visible sign. The civil war in China was parodied by the discord among the external Powers. For Great Britain the position had been increasingly intolerable even before the Cantonese forces seized the triple town of Hankow, Wuchang and Hanyang, which they re-christened by the composite name Wuhan as the new capital of Southern China. Not only is Hankow the hub of the central Chinese trade, in which Britain is more interested than any other Power; but by a grotesque distortion of reason Great Britain became the butt of the whole nationalist movement in China. Inasmuch as Great Britain had for at least two years been in a minority of one among the Powers in advocating an up-to-date, conciliatory and realist policy towards China, and being outnumbered, submitted under protest to the continued reaction of those Powers, the British dilemma could not be reconciled with human nature even as manifested in high diplomacy. When therefore Mr. Chiang Kai-shek, the Cantonese leader, and his Foreign Secretary, Mr. Eugene Chen, launched a campaign of xenophobia exclusively directed against Great Britain, Sir Austen Chamberlain and the British Cabinet were forced to take action. The "concert" of the Powers in China was a treaty anachronism. For at least twelve months the British Government had appealed to the other Powers to join Great Britain in a conciliatory gesture towards China. They refused.

The British Cabinet therefore decided to take separate diplomatic action. A memorandum was drawn up to record in black and white what British policy wanted to achieve. It contained in form a set of proposals to the Powers which were submitted as the basis for a revision of the Powers' diplomacy towards China. On December 18th the British Chargé d'Affaires circulated the text of the memorandum to representatives in Peking of the Washington Treaty Powers. Owing to garbled versions of the text which soon began to appear in China, the British Foreign Office took the sudden decision on Christmas Day to issue the authentic text to the British Press. Christmas Day was a Saturday. The British daily newspapers would not appear again till the following Tuesday. The Sunday newspapers, owing, it was said, to a failure on their part to agree among themselves to suspend publication and take a holiday on Christmas Day, did appear on the following day, and the British memorandum was therefore published in the newspapers of December 26th, and republished in the dailies of December 28th. The circular Memorandum outlined a policy which, in the British view, should for the future be followed by the Powers. The general motive of such a policy would be to meet, as far as might be, the

reasonable claims of Chinese nationalism, to convince China as a whole that the Powers had no desire to subject the country to foreign domination of any kind, and to remove whatever cause of complaint the Chinese might have on that score.

It was a principle of the British Memorandum that China must be regarded as an entity, and that she must decide for herself which internal power was to become the central Government in China. The circular began by reviewing the unfortunate history of China and of the Powers' relations with China since the Washington Conference of five years ago, and went on to propose that the Powers should revise their general policy towards China by taking full account of the new factor in China—namely, the rapid growth of the Kuomintang and its undoubted appeal to all sections of Chinese thought. "The political disintegration in China has been accompanied by the growth of a powerful Nationalist movement which aimed at gaining for China an equal place among the nations, and any failure to meet this movement would not respond to the real intentions of the Powers towards China." Thus tactfully ran one sentence of the British Memorandum. It went on to propose that the Powers should consider in what way the spirit of the Washington Treaties could be applied to present conditions: "H.M.G. propose that these Governments [the Washington Treaty Powers] shall issue a statement setting forth the essential facts of the situation; declaring their readiness to negotiate on treaty revision and on all other outstanding questions as soon as the Chinese themselves have constituted a Government with authority to negotiate; and stating their intention, pending the establishment of such a Government, to pursue a constructive policy in harmony with the spirit of the Washington Conference, but developed and adapted to meet the altered circumstances of the present time." It was therefore proposed that the surtaxes promised to China at Washington should be immediately made operative throughout China, and that the failure of the Customs Conference of 1925 should be "written off" the diplomatic balance sheet.

The changed conditions in China did indeed necessitate a modification in the Washington Treaties. It was the express purpose of the Washington surtaxes to provide additional revenue—which would amount to some £20,000,000 a year—to the central Government in Peking to help that Government in its work. It was now uncertain which of the rival factions would emerge as the Government of China, and the Peking Government seemed to have become a historical anachronism; but in the British Government's view the additional Customs should be granted in any event. "There is one step of more immediate importance, which, in the opinion of H.M.G., the Powers should agree to take at once.

H.M.G. believe that an endeavour should be made to undo the evil results which have followed from the failure of the Tariff Conference to implement the promises as to tariff increases made by the Powers to China nearly five years ago, and they propose therefore that the Powers should agree to the immediate unconditional grant of the Washington surtaxes." There was no suggestion in the British Memorandum that regional recognition should be given to any faction. It was, on the contrary, regarded as necessary that China should first of all resolve her internal differences and present herself as a unit to the Powers. Otherwise it would be impossible to discuss the emendation of the existing treaties, which were made with China as a whole. It was also made a firm principle in the British proposals that no attempt be made by the Powers to intervene in China. The granting of the additional Customs was urged as a matter of commonsense in view of the fact that the Cantonese authorities had already installed a second line of Customs to collect precisely the difference between the old taxes and the new taxes promised at Washington.

Another section of the Memorandum urged that the treaties as a whole should be revised so as to make them less unilateral and therefore less objectionable to Chinese feeling. "H.M.G. attach the greatest importance to the sanctity of treaties, but they believe that this principle may best be maintained by a sympathetic adjustment of treaty rights to the equitable claims of the Chinese."

Still another section advocated the early revision of some of the extra-territorial judicial arrangements. Certain recommendations of the Commission on Territoriality and other reforms might, it was suggested, "be carried into effect even in present conditions without great delay." The failure of the recent Commission on Extra-Territoriality should, on that argument, be regarded as something irrelevant to the present position. That failure was due to the impossibility at the time of obtaining representative Chinese views on that, or on any, subject. The conditions had now been changed by the rapid growth of Chinese nationalist feeling. It was proposed in effect that the Powers should recognise the improvement that had taken place in the Chinese judicial system, and that the extra-territoriality arrangements be modified accordingly.

In short, the British proposals were that the diplomacy of the Powers in China should be brought up to date, as it had been brought up to date in other parts of Asia and the Middle East since the war.

The point of the British Government's proposals about the "immediate" granting of the Washington surtaxes to China may be explained in this way. When the Peking Customs Conference

adjourned *sine die* in July, the last proposal that had been tabled by the Powers was that the surtaxes should begin to operate in 1929, and that "China" (meaning the Peking Government) should undertake in the meantime to abolish *likin*. The British proposal now was that the Powers should agree in principle that the surtaxes be granted without delay and without condition. One of the obstacles encountered in the summer was that both Washington and Tokio insisted on exacting a promise from Peking that the new taxes should be earmarked for securing some of the unsecured Chinese loans. The British proposals, if adopted, would mean the dropping also of that condition.

Although the British Memorandum read clearly enough, it was promptly misconstrued. Some commentators wrongly assumed that the proposal about the Washington surtaxes would involve the abandonment of the present Customs system. The correct deduction, which has since been confirmed by official quarters in London, is that under the plan contemplated the existing system of Customs Commissioners, who are mainly European officials, would continue to operate for the collection of old Customs dues, and the proceeds, as before, would go to the "custodian" banks at Shanghai. Those banks would continue to deduct what was needed for the service of those Chinese loans which are secured on the Customs, before handing over the surplus to whatever Government might be in authority in China. The new Customs dues, which were promised at Washington and which the British Government proposed to grant at once and unconditionally, would be collected by the existing Commissioners, unless any Chinese authority wished otherwise; but the proceeds, instead of going to the custodian banks at Shanghai, would be administered direct by the regional Chinese authorities. At Canton the surtaxes, being in form "illegal" in the sense that they have not been authorised by the Powers, are collected by the nominees of the Canton authorities, but if they were "legalised," as they would be if the British proposals were adopted, the reasonable expectation would be that the Cantonese authorities would readily accept the services of the European Commissioners, who enjoy general confidence in their work.

Another point about which some misconception arose concerned the attitude which the British Government proposed should be adopted by the Powers towards the various factions in China. Although the British Memorandum postulated a central Government for the ultimate unification of the proposed new agreements with China, it was suggested in effect as an interim measure that the bringing up to date of the extra-territorial and Customs arrangements be authorised by the Powers without reference to the need of a central Government. Diplomatically the burden of

administering the new measures proposed would thus be left vaguely to "China," and it would be for China to decide what, who, and where China was. In practice that administration would probably be undertaken piecemeal by the various factions which in present conditions divide China between them. There seems to be nothing essentially inconsistent or unpractical in that proposed arrangement.

Russian propaganda has made some play with the allegation that the British financial interest in China is a means to British domination in China. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The chief facts in the history of the financial relations between Great Britain and China were recapitulated in a statement issued by the Tientsin British Commission of Information on December 6th. They may be summarised thus. During the last thirty years China has raised some £50,000,000 by means of long term loans on the London market. About £36,000,000 of those loans are still an outstanding debt. The total foreign debt recognised by the central Government in Peking amounts to about £150,000,000. The debt is divided into two categories, one of debt secured on certain specified resources in China, the other of unsecured or inadequately secured debt. The secured loans are again sub-divided into two categories: (1) One of them consisting of fiscal loans, that is, of loans granted to China for debt consolidation, such as those connected with the war indemnity due to Japan after the war of 1894-5, and those contracted in 1912-13 for the reorganisation of Chinese finances after the revolution of 1911: (2) The other consisting of industrial loans granted for the development of state-owned railways and other such productive enterprise. When the 1912 loans were raised, the Chinese Government gave a lien on the Salt Gabelle, because it was thought that the Marine Customs might not suffice in the disorganised state of the country for the service of the total debt.

So far as Great Britain is concerned, the secured loans consist of fiscal loans secured mainly on the Marine Customs and of railway loans secured mainly on the earnings of the railway itself. Mischievous Russian propagandists who, having no constructive work to do and nothing at all to do worth doing, have been spending their time in South China, spreading the doctrine that Great Britain is a financial exploiter of China, and that she impounds the Customs as part of that exploitation. The fact is that the Customs are not monopolised for the service of the debts. Less than half of the receipts go to the debt service. As for "exploitation," the following fact has some bearing on the propaganda alluded to. In the case of the railway loans, the attitude of the foreign lender has varied. The Russian and Japanese in Manchuria, the Germans in

Shantung, the French in Yunnan, all insisted on and obtained the privilege of constructing, owning and operating a railway of their own on Chinese territory, and for their own profit. By contrast the British loans were given to enable the Chinese to construct, own and operate the resultant railways themselves, the British financiers merely asking for a share of control over expenditure pending the payment of the debt. That control moreover was exercised only so far as to ensure that the service and the sinking fund of the debts would be met. For Russians to talk thus and to be listened to in South China bears testimony to the ignorance on which Bolshevik propaganda depends for its success.

The immediate result of the British Government's attempt to improve the relations between China and the Powers caused little surprise in London. Those who misunderstood the purpose of the British Memorandum which was presented to the Powers on December 18th or who were ignorant of the history which preceded it, seemed to expect that London official quarters would be disturbed by the failure of the British proposals to produce harmony either in China or among the Powers interested in China. Such a reading of the situation was innocent of background. It had not been the hope of the British Government to produce harmony. Rather, the Memorandum was due to that Government's despair of harmony among the Powers. For over twelve months the British representatives in Peking had tried to persuade the representatives of the United States, Japan, France, Italy, and Belgium to abandon what may be called the pre-war attitude to China and to recognise that China was a grown-up Nation which ought to be treated on a basis of equality. The representatives of all those powers knew in the summer of 1925 that the British Government was prepared to grant complete Customs autonomy, to abolish the extra-territorial judicial system and to revise the treaties so as to make them less unilateral.

It is one of the baffling features of the Chinese problem that its repercussions are world-wide, and that it produces violently contradictory reactions in America, in Japan and in Europe. Japan, for instance, has maintained a strong bias against the Cantonese section of Kuomintang and a strong desire to use any new customs that might be authorised as a lever for securing some of the unsecured debts; although it was never made clear by Japanese opinion how it was hoped to serve the interests of financial or other security by straining relations with the most vigorous element in China. American opinion was at first actuated by a sort of professional jealousy, for the British Memorandum took by surprise those many private citizens in America who believe that the moral leadership in all good and progressive causes was to be sought at

least three thousand miles away from Europe. France reacted against Great Britain, as is her wont. It was not because she was concerned about Indo-China, for French thought is realist enough to know that Indo-China could not lose by humouring Southern China. It certainly was not because France hoped to build a Franco-Japanese alliance on the ruins of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. One explanation was that French diplomacy is normally averse from giving anything for nothing, and another that the Quai d'Orsay never regards it as necessary to support British diplomacy. The Quai d'Orsay has good historical ground for believing that it can take Great Britain for granted. Whether the British Foreign Minister be a Liberal, as was Sir Edward Grey in 1914, or Labour, as was Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, or Conservative as is Sir Austen Chamberlain, France confidently relies on his support in an emergency. Lord Curzon, who soared above party and took an original view of France, was an exception to the rule, but apart from him every British Foreign Minister of our time has lived up to French expectation. It is nothing therefore to France if she fails Great Britain. She opposed the British proposals in Peking. The Quai d'Orsay sent a polite note to the Foreign Office in London pleading for more time in which to consider so important a matter, and in the meantime inspired the Havas Agency to publish a querulous attack on the British proposals. One of the unofficial complaints of the Quai d'Orsay was that the British proposals had been sprung upon the Powers in Peking without warning, its comment being that such a diplomatic device could hardly be expected to produce harmony among the Powers. The fact was that France had known the proposals twelve months before they were published, and had steadily refused to accept them. It was precisely because Great Britain had failed to obtain agreement on her proposals that she decided to make clear her own position. Circumstances made it impossible for Great Britain any longer to suffer the main losses, moral and economic, resulting from a collective diplomacy of which she disapproved. The British Memorandum was a measure of self-defence.

The immediate results of the British publication had their amusing passages. Tokio, Paris and Rome were silent. The Socialist Foreign Minister of Belgium, M. Vandervelde, precipitately welcomed them for their obviously progressive merits. Finding, however, that Paris had another game to play, M. Vandervelde's colleagues began to explain away his enthusiasm as being the private enthusiasm of a private individual, not necessarily committing the Belgian Government. Washington circles were quietly shocked because Washington clearly ought to have published that sort of Memorandum before London published it. Officially none the less,

the United States Government welcomed the British proposals. While these currents and cross currents were disturbing the face of world diplomacy, Mr. Chen, the Foreign Minister of Mr. Chiang Kai-shek's Government, made his contribution to the prevailing pantomime. He wrote a spirited manifesto to warn the United States against accepting the British proposals. That outburst in its turn caused little surprise. What Canton wanted was to be recognised as the one and only Government of China. The British Government's policy was to recognise as to the Government of China whatever Government might achieve that distinction. When Mr. Chen in the manifesto alluded to complained that the effect of the British proposals would be "that two-thirds of the new revenue would go to our political enemies" and that such new revenue would be "like raw meat to beasts of prey" he innocently betrayed the fact that even in his own estimate Canton represented only one-third of China. For him to claim in the same breath to be recognised as the representative of the whole of China merely illustrated the sort of looseness of outlook in China that confounds those who, like Sir Austen Chamberlain, wish to treat with China on realist lines. It is important to read between the lines of what happened in the first few days of 1927. Mr. Chen's Note to Mr. Kellogg was dated January 1st. It was short, but its remarkable animosity against Great Britain was made intelligible later. What he wrote was this:

"My Government learns that it is the intention of the United States Government to agree with the British proposal regarding immediate enforcement of the so-called surtaxes and the payment of the proceeds to the local authorities at the ports of collection. In spite of the elaborately worded sentiments of the British declaration the real meaning of the proposal is that two-thirds of the new revenue should go to our political enemies, who, when their war-chests are thus replenished, will be able to continue the civil war that bleeds the nation and delays the liberation of China from the present régime of international control known as foreign imperialism. Specifically the British proposal means not only that Marshal Chang Tso-lin shall receive new and substantial revenues, but that every treaty port shall become a fresh object of militarist plunder and an added incentive to the perpetuation of feudalism and civil war in China, while Shanghai, which has been on the eve of passing into Nationalist control without much fighting, must now become the theatre of a bloody struggle involving, it may be, permanent injury to foreign trade, since the millions to be collected there—40 per cent of the surtaxes—are to Sun Chuan-fang and Chang Tsung-chang like raw meat to beasts of prey. If the views and sentiments expressed in the British declaration leave the

Nationalist mind unmoved it is because they cloak a policy that is objectively a menace and a danger to the speedy advancement of the cause of Chinese Nationalism. But those who support that cause are strong enough to meet this danger."

That Note was quickly followed by action of like import. Within two days, on January 3rd, those riotous disturbances took place in Hankow to which reference was made above. The conduct of the British marines who suffered the bricks and insults of the mob without shooting them down called forth the usual indignation from those patriots in this country whose ideal of patriotism is to shoot somebody. Before the end of that same week the clamour for "vigorous action" raised by certain British commentators, including oddly enough some of the chief London morning papers, which are read abroad as typically British, was exposed as ill-informed as well as ill-balanced clamour, and the disillusion came from none other than Mr. Chen himself. Mr. Chen had wanted the British marines to shoot. He could then have brought up his own troops and scored a spectacular victory over the British—who numbered about twenty-four—such as would have enabled him to shout "Down with the British!" louder than before, and thus galvanise the support of the Kuomintang extremists who were necessary for his military advance. Mr. Chen was not wholly haphazard in his conduct. In the first week of January he had three main needs. He wanted money for his military campaign, the support of the Kuomintang mob for his political campaign, and the respect of the Powers for the consolidation of the position he thereby hoped to win as the Lord of China. His calculated provocation in Hankow was designed, as the British authorities on the spot were well aware, to force an easy triumph over the British Concession, and thus to win favour behind him. Being beaten by the pacifist front of the British sailors, he had the sense quickly to change his tactics; for the stopping of business and the closing of the banks were a menace to his first need as mentioned above, and his failure to control his own mob threatened his third object, namely the winning of foreign respect for his authority in China. On January 4th the British naval force was withdrawn, and Mr. Chen gave an undertaking to the city authorities that he would police and protect the Concession. On his suggestion the mob was allowed to overrun the Concession, so that they could disperse through the side streets instead of trying to withdraw backwards against heavy pressure from the rear of the mob. Once inside the Concession, of course, the mob behaved like a mob, the British flag was hauled down, the marines were re-landed, but again withdrew without firing, and for two days chaos reigned. On January 7th Mr. Chen voluntarily came to terms. The bankers and business

men of the Bund refused to do their business, and Mr. Chen was desperately in need of funds. Mr. Chiang Kai-shek could not count on his army unless he paid them punctually. He could not pay them punctually unless Mr. Chen induced the banks to open. The British flag was hoisted again, and on the evening of January 7th Mr. Chen made an agreement with the British Consul-General whereby as a temporary measure designed to reduce the prevailing chaos to order, he agreed to withdraw all Chinese troops and pickets from the Concession, and to accept as the police authority in the Concession a force of Chinese rank and file acting under British officers and assisted by mixed police forces from the former German and Russian Concessions. Mr. Chen undertook as a condition of that agreement that no Chinese mob should be allowed within the Concession, and that no British residents should be interfered with.

In the meantime, Mr. O'Malley, who had acted as *Chargé d'Affaires* in Peking before the arrival of Sir Miles Lampson, had left Peking for Hankow. He arrived at Hankow on January 11th and proceeded to confer with Mr. Chen about the position, to investigate the facts of January 3rd and to prepare a comprehensive report to submit to Sir Miles Lampson. His talks with Mr. Chen were not finished when this paper was written. The view of the British Cabinet on the events was on the following lines. Its general policy had been expressed in the Memorandum of December 18th, which continued to represent its views so far as high policy was concerned. The events of January 3rd were, however, an immediate emergency in which the local authority, in this case the Consul-General and the Naval Commander, properly used their discretion. Mr. O'Malley's exchanges with Mr. Chen were not concerned with the fundamental question of Great Britain's treaty relationship with China. That was a matter for discussion between the British Government and the Chinese Government, if and when there might be a Chinese Government. Mr. O'Malley was concerned only with an investigation into current events and an exploration of Mr. Chen's ideas on the subject. Hankow relapsed into quiet in the second week of January, but the banks and business men continued their boycott. It was not possible for the British Government to force the bankers to open their doors, and although officially it was hoped that they would do so without further delay—it being the British Government's desire to see normality restored as quickly as might be possible—yet privately there was probably no member of the Government who disapproved of the bankers in Hankow for deciding to keep Mr. Chen waiting for his money. Pacific pressure of such a kind could do Mr. Chen no harm in the existing circumstances, and might do him and Mr. Chiang Kai-

shes much good if it taught them the lesson that they could not at one and the same time organise mob feeling against the British Concession and expect that Concession to continue its services to themselves uninterruptedly.

In the second week of January the nerve centre shifted to Shanghai. Would the Hankow experience be repeated in Shanghai? Fortunately the Shanghai Concession is an international Concession; still more fortunately the Chairman of the Council is an American. Through him America has a chance of being in the Chinese picture. There will be no jealousy, professional or otherwise, in British quarters. Although American merchants, being human beings as well as Americans, have not resented the injustice that has been done to British merchants as much as they might have resented it had not they thereby been presented with an opportunity, which they have taken, of capturing British trade, yet in the long run there can be no *tertius gaudens* in this sorry business. At the time of writing there was some fear that the Shanghai slums and the deplorable labour conditions in Shanghai might provide fruitful ground for Mr. Borodin and his Bolshevik agitators.

There is little doubt that Russian mischief has played a part in recent events in China; but those red-spectacled commentators who habitually assume that everything wrong is organised from Moscow have missed the point so far as China is concerned. Mr. Borodin and his Russian mischief-makers have welcomed, and have fanned, the unpopularity of Great Britain in China, but not as part of an anti-capitalist campaign. The situation in China is something that interests Russian foreign policy, not Russia's economic theories. Even if the Russian Government were still Communist in its economics, it would have no inducement to participate in mob violence in Hankow or in Shanghai. Its foreign policy, however, which is in no wise, either of kind or of degree, distinguishable from the Tsarist foreign policy, has seen its opportunity in China. To swell the Kuomintang tide which seeks to oust the British foreigner is a tactic which Mr. Borodin clearly interprets as an opportunity for the Russian foreigner to take his place. Mr. Chen is credited with a keen enough weather eye on Mr. Borodin. They recognise each other as the potential antagonists they essentially are. It happens that at the moment they take in each other's washing with some mutual satisfaction. Mr. Chen welcomes Russian support in mobilising feeling against the foreigner in general: Mr. Borodin welcomes Mr. Chen's clearing of the ground as a necessary preliminary for Russia's contemplated penetration of China. Mr. Chen, however, is not so simple-minded as not to recognise that the whole purpose of the Kuomintang is to

win China for China and not for Russia: and whereas his knowledge of history might naturally lead him to contemplate British commercial and banking collaboration as an asset for a free China, the like knowledge must certainly lead him to expect no such help from an imperialist Russia, whether Tsarist or Bolshevik.

Mr. Borodin's agents were established in the slum parts of Shanghai early in January. The Municipal Council made it known that any mob violence would be withstood by the volunteer force at its disposal. In the second week of January the British Government was engaged in telegraphic exchanges with Washington, Tokio, Paris, Brussels and Rome about the collective policy that would be put into practice in case the Southern Chinese military forces, as distinct from the mob, were to attempt any coup in Shanghai. It was apparently a point of common agreement that the mob, if any, should be left to the Shanghai Council to deal with. As for any military emergency that might arise, the British Government was in a frank dilemma. It was regarded in London as a matter of the first importance that military or naval action with any of the forces operating in the Chinese civil war should be avoided at almost any cost. Such a principle followed clearly from the British Memorandum and was moreover a prompting of elementary commonsense. The danger was hypothetical and was left at that.

An Admiralty statement was issued on January 15th that: "The First Cruiser Squadron has been ordered to stand by in readiness to proceed to China if so required." Such an addition to the already concentrated forces of the Chinese station was a matter of normal routine in the Navy whereby the relevant units proceed to potential storm-centres. The announcement did not imply any new decision of policy on the part of the Government or any quickening of apprehension. Indeed it was understood that the burden of the Government's telegraphic advice to the capitals of the Powers was to urge that no warlike measures be undertaken. The Navy's movements were not connected with any measures of defence that might be decided on by the Shanghai Council, but were dictated by the ordinary principle that the Navy's forces should at any time be ready to meet whatever calls might be made on them by the Government. The fact that in this case the Government did not contemplate making use of the fleet did not affect the routine practice of the Admiralty.

GERMANY AND GENEVA.

At the beginning of the new year the German Secretariat began its work at Geneva. The ceremonial entry of Germany into the League of Nations last September was a ritual and a symbol

whereby was promised the return of Europe to diplomatic normality, so far at any rate as Germany was concerned. Russia continues to be a voluntary outcast, but it may be doubted whether anything Russian could ever be reconciled with any normality anywhere. The Russia genius is of the eccentric type. Germany's entry into the League is the decisive point of Europe's return to normality, at any rate in form. The practical landmark was fixed when Herr Albert Dufour left the German Embassy in London at the beginning of the year and crossed to Geneva to start work as the first German Under-Secretary-General of the League. The day-to-day administrative work carried out by Germans, Frenchmen, Englishmen and the representatives of other European nations concentrated in Geneva is the certain spinning of the future history of Europe. It is a matter for congratulation that that work has started. Insofar as men work together, they disagree, but they disagree on small things, and the atrocity of a European war takes on the increasing aspect of an atrocious fairy tale. It is still more fortunate that Herr Dufour is at the head of the German delegation in their pioneer work. He has won lasting friends in England and will win friends wherever he goes. Diplomats who have that gift have it in their power to save Europe from a repetition of 1914.

His work in London at a historic period in Anglo-German relations has been a remarkable achievement. He was born in England, went to an English school, speaks pure English. The Great War inspired in him a crusading zeal for an Anglo-German understanding, and the Wilhelmstrasse, it is significant to recall, accepted his offer of diplomatic service to that end even before the war was over. After the war he spent seven years as Counsellor of the German Embassy in London. He came over in a stormy sea that parodied his prospect. The social atmosphere in London would have chilled any but an enthusiast, but let it be recorded for the benefit of those who regard war as the hobby of diplomatists, that the ill-disposed folk were not the informed officials of the Foreign Office but that general society which largely constitutes general opinion. Herr Dufour had to face stupendous difficulties. By dint of hard work, a likeable personality, friendly frankness, and far-sighted consistency, he won first respect and confidence, then friendship. He played a great part in contemporary history. Only those who have met him behind the scenes of the appalling diplomatic crises that have been enacted in Western Europe since 1920 can fully appreciate his quality of mind and statesmanship. At Geneva he will again be a pioneer. Difficulties lie in wait for him, but of a less forbidding kind than those of 1920. His knack of making people understand each other will be an invaluable asset for the League of Nations.

BRITISH EMPIRE FOREIGN POLICY.

Foreign opinion appears to be little better off after the British Imperial Conference of 1926 than it was before in its grasp of the historic muddle known as the British Empire. Something in form has been clarified, but the substance appears to be much the same. The foreign publicists who specialise on the British Empire unanimously chronicle the formal equalisation in status of the constituent countries of the Empire, but are at sixes and sevens in their estimate of its practical importance. There is indeed a good deal to puzzle the honest philosopher in the international aspect of the British Empire. Since the 1923 Imperial Conference symptoms of something original in the Empire's development had made their appearance. The main symptoms were the Canadian and Irish appointment of separate Ministers in Washington, and the delicate position created by the Locarno Treaty, as a result of which Great Britain was committed to declare war in given contingencies, but the rest of the Empire was not so committed, even though all parts of the Empire were constitutionally united to a common king. The new constitutional change which mainly attracts international interest is the one whereby Buckingham Palace supplants Downing Street as the pivot of the Empire, and whereby the King ceases to be the collective King of the Empire, and becomes the separate King of each country of the Empire, forming a personal union on the analogy of the pre-war Austria-Hungary. Theoretically the several countries have, if they chose to exercise them, equal and direct relations with all foreign Powers, and if they appoint Ministers to foreign capitals, those Ministers will not be "attached to" the British Ambassador or Minister, but will be parallel to him. To the foreign observer the comparison between the British Empire and the League of Nations is hardly convincing. The British Empire has a common King and a common theoretic allegiance, but has no specified obligation of common defence, points which heavily qualify the comparison. The French mind is wholly unable to grasp what the British Empire can mean.

That paragraph in the report of the Imperial Conference which recommends the passing of an Act of Parliament to bring the King's title up to date caused satisfaction among the foreign diplomatists. There has been some confusion about the British signature to international treaties since the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921. The Irish Free State was then disjoined from "the United Kingdom." Before then the King signed himself in concluding treaties with the heads of foreign states as "His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the Dominions beyond

the Seas, Emperor of India, etc." That description was proclaimed under the Royal Title Act of 1901. Since 1923 the King has maintained that title, as he was bound to, in spite of its anachronism. The preamble of the Locarno Treaty of last year contained that formula. When, however, the Government, as distinct from the King, has concluded an agreement with other Governments since 1923, it has called itself "the Government of Great Britain and Northern Ireland." The abortive draft treaty of the Labour Government with Russia (1924) adopted that formula in the preamble, and in the text referred to "His Majesty's Government" or "the Government of His Britannic Majesty." The King's title is now to be amended by Act of Parliament thus: "George V, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, Ireland, and the Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India." The word "Ireland" is to include both Irelands.

The clarification of Imperial relations as recorded in the Report will have an interesting effect on the machinery of "His Majesty's Government in Great Britain." The Foreign Office in the end welcomed the Report, although it was the Foreign Office that was most loth to face the music of Dominion independence in foreign policy. The paradox is that such independence increases, not diminishes, the importance of the Foreign Office in Imperial affairs. Hitherto the Dominions Office in London has been the channel between the British Government and the Dominion Governments. Now that the Dominions are formally as well as practically independent nations what is the use of the Dominions Office? Exchanges between His Majesty's Government in the Dominions and His Majesty's Government in Great Britain should logically be conducted through the Foreign Office, as are all exchanges with other Governments. The chief use of the Dominions Office has been to send out dispatches and telegrams to the Dominions. Dispatches and telegrams will now probably decrease in quantity, and communication may be effected through Ministers plenipotentiary. Official quarters in London are hardly acclimatised to this probable implication of the Report, and some importance is attached to that sentence of the Report which says that "for some time" London will be "mainly responsible for" foreign policy. When, however, a following sentence in the same section says that no Government of the Empire can commit any other to anything without that other's consent, the point becomes unsubstantial. It would be an intelligent forecast to expect that in the future the Colonial Office will be merged in the Foreign Office.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

January 15th, 1927.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

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HOLISM AND EVOLUTION.*

The ranks of statesmen, thinkers and writers have been reinforced lately by Gen. the Rt. Hon. J. C. Smuts, whose book entitled *Holism and Evolution* is of great interest and real importance. It is the fruit of extensive studies and prolonged reflection; yet as the author himself says in his preface, "it is an introductory sketch," and he expresses the hope that he "may find time in the years to come, to follow up the subject and to show how it affects the higher spiritual interests of mankind."

The main thesis of the work is that the universe, as the writer puts it, is the sphere not merely of "soul-making," but of "whole-making"—hence the term Holism is coined from the Greek *ὅλος*, whole. General Smuts builds upon the newer conceptions of matter as being fluid and not hard-and-fast, active and not inert. He accepts also the newer doctrines of the Atom and the Cell as being highly elaborate structures in which the parts are subordinate to the whole. Then he treats these conceptions as being universally applicable and finds that the motive force in evolution is ceaseless activity in producing and preserving wholes. This immanent end operates throughout all the realms of matter, life and mind, and has its culminating manifestation in personality. Hence this governing principle makes itself manifest over a range that stretches from the atom to the League of Nations. Holism is both expressive and repressive; creative and conservative; it is more fundamental than

* Macmillan, 1926. 18s. net.

either matter, life or mind. "Evolution is nothing but the gradual development and stratification of progressive series of wholes, stretching from inorganic beginnings to the highest levels of spiritual creation." Hence, Holism or whole-making is a *vera causa*, the wholes attained possessing a fuller content as they rise from mere physical units or chemical compounds to the higher planes which culminate in personality and in society. Finally, "there emerge the ideal wholes or holistic ideals, or absolute values, disengaged and set free from human personality, operating as creative factors on their own account in the upbuilding of a spiritual world; such are the ideals of truth, beauty and goodness which lay the foundations of a new order of the universe."

The action of this creative principle is described in a series of chapters in which its application to mechanism, Darwinism, mind, personality and the universe is set forth.

That the book presents a real feature of the universe and of its processes appears indubitable. Certain important questions, however, arise which remain unsolved and call for further examination. These concern the relationship of the different classes and planes of wholes to one another, and in particular the relation of the non-living wholes to the living; of the living wholes to the conscious, and the conscious wholes to the personal. In the last resort these are deeply interfused and the conception of completed wholes hardly accounts for the transitions from the lowest to the highest planes through a series that is not merely successive but intimately continuous. What, further, is the relation of all the provinces of wholes to the whole, and what is the nature of the latter? If the ideals of truth, beauty and goodness emerge finally and "lay the foundations of a new order of the universe," what is their primal source and spring; by what is their quality determined, and what is the guarantee of their stability as foundations and of their prevalence in a new order? Perhaps it may ultimately appear that the tendency of evolution to produce and maintain wholes stands for the abstract framework of the old theological declaration that "God is Love," when this statement is taken as not merely the utterance of sentimental religion but as giving to us the means of interpreting alike the process of world-building and the motive and content of the world that is being built. However these questions may be answered, the book deserves not only a hearty welcome but careful study, and the distinguished author is to be congratulated on having devoted his scanty leisure to such high thinking.

Coming down to trifles it may be suggested that in future editions the frequent use of the term "view-points" should be mitigated and that the word Epistemology should be correctly spelt.

J. S. L.

THE BLACK PROBLEM.*

In the last number of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW I ventured to hint in a review of "Slavery or A Sacred Trust" that there were great possibilities in the dark races of Africa. I think that the book before us is one great proof of those possibilities. The writer of the book is the son of a negro editor of a Cape newspaper, who came to England and much impressed many Englishmen with his capacity. The present heir of his abilities presents us here, not only with a picture of the sufferings of his countrymen, but with proofs of their capacity to suggest means of redress. On pp. 18—19 he gives the proposals of the Farmers' Association for correcting the restrictions which hamper their work. The ability of this class evidently so impressed even the Government officials that the Secretary for Native Affairs writes that "any proposals bodies of natives may put forward for co-operation among themselves for their mutual assistance and progress will be sympathetically entertained by this department."

But still more remarkable is Mr. Jabavu's account of his visit to Tuskegee and his careful study of Booker Washington's wonderful work in developing the American negro. Warmly, however, as Mr. Jabavu eulogises this work, he is most careful to notice the different conditions in Africa, and to adapt the American experience to African needs. His special study of his countrymen enables him to give them special hints on moral and industrial questions. At the same time he shows his confidence in them by the remark (p. 73) that "we want a history book written by a pure Zulu native, from the standpoint of Zulus, and based upon information gotten from the Zulus, who remember the stories of their own people from the lips of their predecessors themselves"; and he follows up this remark by a bitter complaint of the unjust way in which Europeans have written the history of the Africans.

The whole book, in its weighing of special needs and comparing methods of action, is exactly what, if written by a white man, would be called "statesmanlike." When we consider the work of Jabavu in Africa, of Booker Washington in America, the able rule of Khama and Moshesh, and the wonderful results of Tuskegee in America, and of Lovedale in Cape Colony, ought we not to admit that the African is capable of a greater share in government than any to which he has yet been admitted? The greatest of our colonial Governors thought so; for during the Indian Mutiny Sir

* *Papers and Addresses on various Native Problems.* By D. D. J. Jabavu, B.A., Lond., Professor of Bantu Languages, S.A. Native College, Fort Hare, Alice, C.P., with a Foreword by Rt. Hon. X. Merriman, M.A., late Prime Minister of Cape Government. The Books Department, Lovedale, Cape Province. Price 2s. 9d.

George Grey sent all his troops from Cape Colony to India, and trusted the protection of the Colony to African Chiefs.

And yet I know that many Englishmen will persist in saying that I am dealing with exceptional men, who cannot be accepted as representatives of their race. Do the people, who say so, ever put to themselves the question, are our average Englishmen Miltons or Shakespeares, Bacons or Lockes, Chathams or Gladstones? And yet, if we hear foreigners depreciating England, we have a right to point to these great men as a proof that we are a nation of possible great men. And if the negro has not yet had the possibility of developing all his powers, surely there may yet be a future of greatness before him. We are right to insist on the responsibilities laid on those who inherit our traditions. May there not be a nobler confidence in George Eliot's Gypsy chief, Zarca?

Because our race has no great memories,
I will so live, it shall remember me
For deeds of such divine beneficence,
As rivers have that teach men what is good
By blessing them.

While I earnestly recommend the whole of this book to the careful study of all readers, I should like to call special attention to the important chapter on the position of women.

C. EDMUND MAURICE.

[We regret to announce that Mr. Maurice died in his eighty-fourth year on January 4th, 1927. A full account of his many beneficent activities was contained in *The Times* of January 11th. He was a frequent and valued contributor to this REVIEW.—EDITORS, CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.]

THE LOVE-LETTERS OF THE ELDER PITT.*

In 1753 Samuel Richardson published his immortal *Sir Charles Grandison*, that picture of an ideal Englishman. In the autumn of 1754, William Pitt wrote his remarkable love-letters to his future wife, Lady Hester Grenville, the sister of brothers who had meant much to Pitt in his successful struggle to dominate the House of Commons. In 1754 a great crisis was at hand and Pitt's career was about to open into something nobler than a personal battle for power. These letters have, therefore, a double interest: one in the realm of literature, another in the realm of high statesmanship. Mrs. Edwards

**The Love Letters of William Pitt, First Lord Chatham.* Edited by Ethel Ashton Edwards. Chapman and Hall. 15s. net.

is fortunate in the opportunity of editing letters that have lain so long unprinted among the Chatham MSS. in the Record Office. It is strange that they have never before been printed in full but that may be due to the fact that until comparatively recent times the elder Pitt had become rather a sun-myth than a man. To-day, thanks largely to the efforts of Mr. Harold Temperley and Professor Basil Williams, to the latter of whom Mrs. Edwards owes much in her interesting but not wholly convincing estimate of William Pitt, the great statesman who emerged at the opening of the war of 1756 has been brought into the due perspective of history.

A comparison of the literary values of these real love-letters and the imaginary love-letters from Sir Charles Grandison that Richardson penned a year or so earlier, is inevitable. The suggestion is not, of course, that Pitt, a man of forty-five, learnt love-letter writing from the novelist, though he may have read the book. But the parallel on the one hand gives a new reality to the novelist's epistles, which some who do not know much of the eighteenth century regard as stilted, and on the other hand adds to our sense of the earnestness and reality of Pitt's letters which some also regard, at least in the earlier phases, as stilted and suited to the preliminaries of *mariage de convenance*. The comparison helps both Richardson and Pitt, two of the supreme geniuses, in very different fields, of the mid-eighteenth century.

Mrs. Edwards in some ways does less than justice to Pitt. It is underrating the great orator to declare that "What he said was less important than the way in which he said it." We have no real reports of his speeches, but the chief effect of those speeches, at any rate after 1756, was on those who did not hear them. Then again it is not strictly just—these authentic letters are the new proof—to write "always he viewed himself as a person apart; a little critically, but, perhaps, not entirely without approval." The man so depicted could not write: "the tender warmth of your feeling, loving Heart, has almost sweetly robbed me of the only superiority I gave myself: that of loving you more than you could love." The real Pitt emerges in these letters. They are a miracle of self-revelation and that perhaps is their chief value to the historian. Nor, perhaps, is Mrs. Edwards just to Lady Hester. Some may think that it is misleading to write, "Her's was the humility of a love which is content with very little, capable of great giving, ready to respond, but diffident." In fact she was demanding everything, as a Grenville should and would, but she was ready to give it all back and all herself with it, as the wife of William Pitt should give and in fact did give. Mrs. Edwards hardly realises the greatness of the woman, not in her first youth but wholly overwhelmed by the great passion that, as suddenly with her as with her lover, had come to fruition.

She was not one of a class of "Lady Hesters" any more than Pitt was one of a class of "William Pitts." Mrs. Edwards declares that "She lacks the compelling interest of the great lover. The world will always thrill to the passion of a Heloise rather than to the patience of a Lady Hester. And rightly. For the Lady Hesters know very little of the very best things of all." That seems to underrate the first Lady Chatham as other passages underrate or perhaps fail to go to the soul of the first Lord Chatham.

Yet it is not intended to criticise this excellent introduction in any other way since it brings the period vividly before the mind; it is competently written and makes the reader anxious to know more of these two historic figures. The value of the letters is very real to the historian since they were written immediately before the years when Pitt, once a matchless parliamentary gladiator, became a dominating force in Europe and the founder, in a very real sense, of the British Empire. It is not too much to say that Lady Hester played some great part in this consummation. She saw her husband's first failure when Newcastle discarded him in April, 1755. She saw the four-month ministry of 1756-7 when Pitt controlled the Duke of Devonshire and she saw the great coalition ministry of 1757 which perfected the processes of a war that was one of the turning phases in human history. Lady Hester in the first four years of her married life saw apparent failure that gave the impetus necessary to the greatest measure of success that perhaps any constructive statesman—with the possible exception of Wolsey and Cromwell—ever achieved. How much England and the Empire owed of this to Lady Hester Pitt may be guessed from these letters. In a sense they are too sacred to read. It is almost painful to read them. These things are not intended for the common eye. But they were preserved and to-day they may answer a noble purpose by enabling us more fully to understand the essential nobility of the elder Pitt.

J. E. G. DE M.

PETRARCH.*

The second volume of Canon Tatham's elaborate study of the first half of the fourteenth century through the personality and environment of Petrarch carries the student to the moment when the poet's second sojourn at Vacluse ended with his departure for Verona on November 20th, 1347. The first volume, it will be remembered, gave the story of Petrarch from his birth at Arezzo in 1304 to the days in 1337 when he was still wandering in Southern

* *Francesco Petrarca: The First Modern Man of Letters. His Life and Correspondence. A Study of the Early Fourteenth Century (1304-1347).* Volume II. *Secluded Study and Public Fame.* By Edward H. R. Tatham. With Illustrations. The Sheldon Press, Northumberland Avenue, W.C. 18s.

France and Northern Italy, a troubadour, a scholar, an ambassador. He had been in Avignon as a boy in the days of the pleasant Babylonish captivity of the Popes; he passed on to the Universities of Montpellier, Toulouse, Bologna, where he studied severely and was perhaps taught at Bologna by the great forerunner of Dante, Cino da Pistoia. After university days were done the poet-scholar returned to Avignon, and it was in 1327 that he first met Laura—Laura de Sade, or possibly Laura de Noves—the Laura to whom he devoted, in troubadour fashion, his muse for two decades. We know as little, or as much, of Laura as of Beatrice, and it may be—certainly it was for Dante—that in both cases the famous name was the Platonic inspiration of deathless poetry.

But Petrarch found room for the combination of his passion for travel with his passion for Laura. Troubadours love the road and even the sea. It is not impossible that he had reached the Atlantic in or about 1333 in Brittany. It is indeed not inconceivable that he crossed to England, though Canon Tatham lends no countenance to any such proposition. But he certainly travelled "by land to a bleak and barren country on the shores of the British Channel," and he certainly wrote to a Sicilian friend a prose letter on Thule. The fame of England might certainly have tempted him to cross the Channel. In any event he was in Avignon once more in August, 1337, and from that date Canon Tatham takes up the story again in his second volume, which deals with the "Secluded Study and Public Fame" of the great scholar. The volume opens with a chapter on the revival of ancient learning in Italy in the century preceding the year 1350. Canon Tatham holds that the renaissance of learning, like the earlier renaissance of literature, was essentially a lay movement though the monastic orders had preserved the classical texts:

There had been in Italy from time immemorial a succession of lay-schools and teachers, which existed nowhere else. Traditionally, at least, they were an inheritance from the old Roman Empire; the grammarians were said to have continued their course of teaching under the Goth, the Lombard and the Frank, without serious interruption. In the earlier ages the education imparted may have been far inferior to that of the best monasteries and chapters in the North; but it is significant that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries bishops allowed their candidates for orders to attend these lay-schools. From this state of things it naturally resulted that while the North produced a few phenomenal scholars, at least a modicum of classical culture was more widely diffused in Italy than elsewhere.

Canon Tatham might perhaps have recognised the fact that the educational edict of Gratian in the fourth century resulted in the foundation of schools in the north as well as the south, and that

those schools were in a sense the precursors of, among others, the lay grammar schools of England itself. The customs of the old Roman schools were reproduced or inherited by the oldest English grammar schools as well as by schools in France, Germany and Spain. It is hardly true to say that "a succession of lay schools and teachers" existed only in Italy.

The continuity of the teaching of Roman Law in Italy is another point upon which Canon Tatham hardly touches, though the point is one of first-rank importance. What was the real character of the revival in the twelfth century of the study of law at Bologna? Rome may have continued to have a law faculty until the Normans sacked it in 1084. Certainly in 1045 Ravenna, as Mr. Ogg has shown, "possessed a faculty of enterprising and secular-minded jurists." Moreover, the great Lanfranc had part in a school of Lombard Law at Pavia. Odofred tells us that law books were transported from Rome to Ravenna, from Ravenna to Bologna. Irnerius at Bologna had a forerunner, Pepo. There were glosses on the Institutes very early, earlier far than the tenth century, and these show a grasp of juridical science long before the days of Irnerius. But the view is widely held to-day, despite the opinions of Selden and Savigny, that Irnerius marks a new beginning of a secular subject. Yet Canon Tatham hardly estimates the value of the new movement when he dismisses the work of the glossators as deficient in the historic sense and says that law study "made little direct contribution to the revival of scholarship." It in fact trained the great scholars, including Petrarch himself.

Petrarch, trained in the strictest legal school, "strove to make antiquity, not the mere handmaid of knowledge, but its co-operator, as theology had been for scholasticism." He framed his Latin style upon the vernacular of antiquity. He did not found the artificial imitation of Cicero that has held the world since the days of the later scholars of the North. The sixteenth century did not like Petrarch's style for the reason that it was natural: so fully had he projected his personality into the age of the spoken word. He strove to restore the historic sense to the world of letters.

From 1337 to 1340 Petrarch was living in retirement at Vacluse where he read vastly and well, and there he entertained scholars and others from France and Italy, and one of these brought Petrarch into touch with Robert of Anjou, the King of Naples, and to Naples he went in 1341 with some eagerness to win the laurel crown awarded by a court assembled by King Robert. It is of interest to-day to know that the King urged Petrarch to discover the second decade of Livy. The crowning took place in Rome on the Capitol at the instance of the ancient municipality. Petrarch had insisted that the scene of his triumph should be the

Capitol, and it was not a mere act of personal vanity but a brilliant effort at the revival of the deserted city as a centre of humanism. He was crowned as a poet, a scholar and an historian. Dante had desired to be crowned in Florence in the "bel San Giovanni," but Petrarch deliberately chose the ancient centre of humanism that the Popes had deserted. There he pledged himself to his future task before passing northward to Pisa and thence to Parma, and at last to Avignon.

The new Pope, Clement VI, who ascended the Papal chair in 1342, listened graciously to Petrarch's plea for the return of the Papal Court to Rome, and declared that he desired as full a knowledge of Italy as of France and Britain. He granted to the poet a Priorate in the Pisan marshes that in fact—a point not hitherto noticed in any earlier life of Petrarch—he had not the right to give. Canon Tatham makes it clear that the Pope made up for this unwitting error. It was no time for the Popes to return to their ancient seat, for new things were at hand. Rienzi appeared in 1342 and visited Avignon in 1343, where Petrarch spoke with him. The mediæval Duce was on a mission to the Pope complaining of the misdeeds of the Roman barony. Clement was struck by his great ability, but Cardinal Colonna grew frightened, and the unhappy orator was neglected and fell sick and in need. It was Petrarch who rescued Rienzi, and before the future Tribune left Avignon in the spring of 1344, he was appointed notary of the civic camera in Rome with a salary of five gold florins a month.

This association of the famous scholar, with the man who was to revive the life of Rome, is one that has to be kept in mind if we are to estimate the influence of Petrarch on his age. The chapter on the Papal policy in Italy and the Empire is another aspect of the weight of the poet's personality. He was chosen by Clement as a diplomatic agent sent to Naples in a matter of political importance, the imprisonment of certain brigand nobles sentenced by the late King Robert. Petrarch was, moreover, to report on the state of affairs in Naples. Later he passed north and revisited, under strenuous circumstances, Bologna. He thence went on to Verona where he discovered the famous letters of Cicero to Atticus, and the study of these immortal documents involved much labour. In 1345 he was back at Vacluse, where he plunged into the work of a scholar, and in 1346 was composing there his Eclogues, the last of which is upon the Anglo-French Wars. It was here that he heard that Cola di Rienzo had assumed power in Rome as the "Tribune of Freedom." The fact opened a new phase in the poet's life which Canon Tatham will depict in a future volume. For the present volume it is enough to say that it brings out the mid-Petrarchian period with singular vividness.

that could be used—of the conclusions reached or achieved, the general public of this generation seem to take little interest in astronomy. It was not always so. In days when the celestial globe figured in the school curriculum a great number of people were instructedly interested in astronomy. For some reason or another educationists of fifty years ago sneered at "the use of the globes" and abolished them as a subject only fit for "young ladies." The whirligig of time has its amusing revenges. The "young ladies" have learnt to excel in the higher mathematics, and a good many years ago Miss Fawcett was placed in a class by herself above the Senior Wrangler. Moreover, the globes so despised and rejected have rolled back again. In far earlier days, days long before the amazing discoveries of Copernicus, Tycho Brahé, Kepler, Galileo, and Newton the study of the stars was popular enough. The common people attributed to the stars magical qualities that are not perhaps as remote from the new physics as superior people who relegated the globes to young ladies might think.

To-day, whenever a boy or a girl gets the chance of talking with an instructed, not a superior, person about the stars and secures a glimpse through a good telescope or a pair of powerful field glasses (an excellent substitute) at the heavens they become suddenly passionate astronomers. Boys and girls are always hungering after reality (as the present craze in making wireless receivers attests) and if they once grasped the fact that astronomy is within their means of achieving results the world would be the richer in the acquisition of many new young enthusiasts for the queen of all the applied sciences, astronomy. Mr. Macpherson's book, for instance, if read with some chance of seeing something of the heavens through an instrument, will convert every school boy or girl who is athirst for the unknown into amateur astronomers. The amateur astronomer is not to be despised. Sir William Herschel and Miss Herschel were amateurs. He made his own telescopes and with one of them in 1781 he was the first human being to see the planet Uranus. He died in 1822 in his eighty-fourth year. "He found astronomy a sedate elderly science, and astronomers engaged in the task of consolidating the gains of their predecessors. He left the science youthful and vigorous, standing on the threshold of the unknown." The professional astronomer despite the mighty instruments at his command to-day to a great extent must abstain from roving research. He has his routine that necessarily must absorb much or most of his time if the ever accumulating material is to be an effective commodity. The amateur has no such duties. He can plunge into the problems set by the professional and, in fact, has great achievements to his credit. It is true that the amateur must make himself efficient for the task of observation, must understand the problems

that await solution, must apply his mind as well as his eyes and his soul to the task. But Mr. Macpherson, in his account of the Moon, of the nearest star—our friend the Sun—of the dwarf planets and the giant planets, of the wandering comets, the flashing meteors, or the starry heavens, of the physical scheme of things, sets many problems that the young astronomer will approach with the same enthusiasm as the young scholars of the early renaissance in England approached the mysterious subject of Greek.

Is the Moon dead? Professor Pickering, in 1902, as a result of a detailed study of photography of selected regions, came to the conclusion "that the accepted view of the Moon as an absolutely dead world was untenable." He detected, with almost certainty, some form of vegetation on the lunar surface. Mr. Macpherson says that "it is plainly evident, of course, that the Moon cannot support anything but the lowest forms of vegetable life . . . the Moon is not a dead, but a dying world." But surely there is room for further investigation. Then again there is the modern problem of the Sun, is it a variable star, is there a real variability of the solar radiation? Perhaps Professor Eddington will tell the young astronomer. Again is Mercury destitute of atmosphere, water or vegetation? The surface of the planet is similar to the Moon in reflective power. Is it a dying and not a dead world? How long does Venus take to rotate? Is it a matter of 225 days or of sixty-eight hours? Has its atmosphere water-vapour and is there a world of life within its cloud-laden form? And what about Mars? Is it a miniature of our earth, as Proctor thought fifty years ago? Has it oceans, canals, water at all? Or as Lampland and Coblentz concluded in 1924, has it the temperature of a cool bright day on the Earth? The spectroscope has detected free oxygen in the Martian atmosphere and "the wheel of astronomical opinion has therefore come round full circle to the view expressed by Herschel that the planet's 'inhabitants probably enjoy a situation in many respects similar to ours.'" The problems of Mars will therefore singularly interest the young and ambitious astronomer. But the giant planets will always fascinate though on wholly other grounds. The Saturnian rings are unique. The romance of the discovery, simultaneously by Adams and Le Verrier of Neptune will never be forgotten. Adams the young Cambridge mathematical genius suffered from the routine of the professional astronomer, and while Adams announced the place of the planet first, a German astronomer first detected it, though Challis in fact had seen it twice in August, 1846, before Galle at Berlin saw it and identified it on September 23rd. Challis identified it six days later at Cambridge. It was on October 21st, 1845, that Adams had theoretically determined its path and indicated its place on a certain night in the sky. Is there a planet beyond

DANTE'S MINOR POEMS.*

Madame de' Lucchi (formerly Miss Lancaster) in this very interesting and attractive volume devotes her fine knowledge of early Italian to the task of translating *La Vita Nuova*, the *Piètra* group of poems, the poems from the *Convivio*, and other works. She translates the unpleasant sonnets to Forese Donati, but takes advantage of the happy and perhaps substantial doubt as to the authorship of the quite as unpleasant series of 232 sonnets known as *Il Fiore* attributed to Dante by d'Ovidio, who suggests that the well-known stanzas (XXX and XXXI) in *Paradiso* are the spiritual counterbalance to these worldly poems. Certainly Dante passed through spiritually dark days after the death of Beatrice, when he was almost overwhelmed by the essential evils of his native city. The opening of the *Divine Comedy* shows his emergence from the deadly forest.

La Vita Nuova exhibits "the sweet new style," the perfect vernacular used by a philosophic troubadour. Platonic love is wedded to the tongue that a sentimental troubadour might have used. Hence the combination of sweetness that perhaps cloy with a philosophy of worship that perhaps seems unreal. But the importance of the combination is that it foreran and was responsible for much of the essence of the *Comedy*. Madame de' Lucchi considers that "a knowledge of *The New Life* with its tender, youthful grace, its exquisite, intimate, poignant charm, is essential to a full comprehension of the *Comedy* we now call divine." This seems to over-stress the literary value of these poems. It is because *La Vita Nuova* gives literary form to the vernacular and weds it to philosophy that these sonnets are chiefly important in view of the fact that they are a preparation for an immortal work in the honour of her of whom the poet hoped to write "what ne'er was writ of woman."

Madame de' Lucchi has given in this volume a really wonderful rendering "of the beauty dwelling in these poems." It may be that Rossetti's versions have a higher lyric value, since he poured into them values that belonged to his own creative mind. But from the point of view of rendering Dante's thought it may well be that the poems before us are closer to the great Italian original. To read these translations is to find something of the philosophic grace, the passionless passion, the extra-human hopefulness that inspire the *Comedy*. It is only possible to quote one or two passages, but these will give an idea of the quality of the English verse:

Beatrice hath risen up into high heaven,
Into the realm where angels are at peace,

* *The Minor Poems of Dante Translated into English Verse*. By Lorna de' Lucchi. Oxford University Press. 7s. 6d. net.

And bides with them and hath forsaken you ;
Not frost, sweet ladies, bore her hence, nor even
Such summer heats as oftwhiles bring release,
But only her great goodness did so do ;
For the light of her humility shone through
The very heaven with a ray so bright
That it astonished the Eternal Sire,
Who, moved by a fond desire
To summon to Himself so much delight,
Bade her from here below to Him aspire,
Because He knew this life of weariness
To be unworthy of her gentleness.
Her gentle soul hath doffed the lovely veil
Of flesh it wore so graciously awhile,
And dwells in glory in a worthy place.

That is excellent, even Chaucerian, and yet it recalls the conceits that the Elizabethans loved rather than the realities that Dante adored.

... the delight of beauty that is great
As hers, when it departed from our ken,
Became rare spiritual loveliness instead,
Which through the heavens doth shed
A light of love that greets the angels, then
Into their clear, high intellects doth bring
A sense of wonder, 'tis so sweet a thing.

This is again excellent, though rather more laboured as the use of the word "doth" shows. Only very great poets dare to use the word "doth," and then only in tremendous circumstances.

Salvation to each worthy one she gave,
The mild and gentle lady, by her mien,
Filling the heart of every one with grace.
And I believe that out of heaven this queen
Descended unto earth our souls to save :
Blessed is she who near to her hath place.

So we move towards the Beatrice of the *Comedy*. But in the *Comedy* she is real, while here she is ideal. The poet is feeling his way to his transcendental reality.

J. E. G. DE M.

MODERN ASTRONOMY.*

It is an excellent thing for the general public to be able to acquire at a very moderate cost, as books go, a review by an expert, who knows how to write English, of the field of modern astronomy. Despite the importance of the subject, the fascination of a region of investigation which in some sense or another is always before the eyes of all men, the miraculous character—there is no other term

* *Modern Astronomy: Its Rise and Progress*. By Hector Macpherson. Oxford University Press. 6s. net.

Neptune? There is some evidence that there is, but the young astronomer will not find this spectral body though the possible orbit has been computed.

The story of the Stars in the history of astronomy is a vast one that Mr. Macpherson has brought into due perspective. The modern part of the story is the record of spectroscopic work. The spectro-scope has broken down the secrets of the spheres and given us a new physical theory of the universe. The young astronomer will do well to study with care these later chapters of a fascinating book. He will then realise that we are on the edge of a new conception of the totality of things. But there are practical, every-day values too. The rarity of planetary systems, for instance, gives some weight to the old theory that perhaps after all the Earth is the only inhabited world. But this seems unlikely and certainly it is a deduction not favoured by Mr. Hector Macpherson.

* * *

MR. GALSWORTHY'S VERSE.*

This book contains several poems from "Moods, Songs and Doggerels" and some verses appearing for the first time in book form, and some that are entirely new. It is always a pleasure to read anything that Mr. Galsworthy writes, and poetry reveals the author perhaps more intimately than prose, but in the case of these poems it is rather a saddening revelation. We all have our moods, but it is not always wise or well to give them to the world.

Many of these verses are descriptive of nature's moods, and Mr. Galsworthy interprets them with a poet's vision. He has a sense of beauty which must appeal to all lovers of earth and air and sky. But it must be said frankly that any interpretation which compasses only the outward beauty must fail to satisfy. Shelley and Keats both knew that beauty and truth could not be divorced. Truth is the beauty of holiness and we need to know it, for without it we shall never cease from aching. The last and fiftieth poem in this book is addressed "To Beauty" and craves a "fulfilment" which fills not, nor never can fill the hungry soul:

Bring me knowledge:

How the pansies are made, and the cuckoos' song!
And the little owls, grey in the evening, three on a gate;
The gold-cups a-field, the flight of the swallow;
The eyes of the cow who has calved;
The wind passing from ash-tree to ash-tree!

For thee shall I never cease aching?
Do the gnats ache that dance in the sun?

* *Verses New and Old.* By John Galsworthy. Heinemann. 3s. 6d. net.

Do the flowers ache; or the bees rifling their gold?
Is it I only who ache?
Beauty! Fulfil me! Cool the heart of my desire.

The *Beauty of Holiness* which is God can alone cool the hearts' desire. The very aching is the God-given instinct which aspires, and which differentiates man from all else in creation.

"Straw in the Street" (No. XXIX) is another saddening poem:

Straw in the street!
My heart, Oh! hearken—
Fate thrums its song of sorrow!
The windows darken
O God of all to-morrow!

Straw in the street!
To wintry sleeping
Turns all our summer laughter.
The brooms are sweeping
There's naught for me hereafter!

How can such an outlook help the human heart? These "moods" account for a good deal of that which seems unsatisfactory in Mr. Galsworthy's characterisation. There is a want in many of his men and women, which detracts from their humanity. They remain in the reader's mind as mortals, lacking that sense of vision which is to be found, if sought for, in all human nature. No doubt if we accept Mr. Galsworthy's phrase in the concluding lines of his poem "Time" in this volume:

"Then what is man's so brittle life?—
The buzzing of the flies that pass!"

his philosophy is logical. But logic is valueless if the premiss runs counter to human experience.

Turning with pleasure to the lighter poems the reader cannot fail to be charmed with "To my Dog," and "Desert Song." The refrain of the latter rings in the ear:

But—Ah! my heart! to know again
The scent of rain, the scent of rain!

And—Ah! my heart! I knew again
The scent of rain, the scent of rain!

However good Mr. Galsworthy's poems may be—and they are good—they will never fill the void that he purports to create. He begins his book with the exaltation of Courage and ends it with the adoration of Beauty. But neither will satisfy his soul nor the soul of his readers unless they are based on the eternal verities that somehow, some way, we feel to be around the brave and beautiful soul of man.

S. DE M.

TWO BREEZY GAELIC POETS.

These two short translations from the Gaelic* are a real literary curiosity. I speak, of course, from the point of view of the Saxon reader. I am not capable of judging whether the translations are accurate; I take them on their merits as a piece of English writing. Moreover, I did not know—and I suppose most Saxon readers will be astonished to learn—that Gaelic literature of this kind existed at all. They know about the "Celtic Twilight"—something vague in substance, irregular in form, gentle and dreamy. But here we are introduced to two Irish schoolmasters, writing in Gaelic in the later eighteenth century, who have the burly vigour and bludgeon-like satire of Butler's *Hudibras*. They sweep you along on a boisterous stream of humour, as if nothing could stop them.

They are, moreover, contemptuous of the "national spirit." They both describe, it is true, the woes of Ireland in their own day:

Her land purloined, her laws decayed,
Her wealth destroyed, and her trust betrayed—
Her chieftains banished, an upstart band
Of hirelings holding the upper hand.

They were "hedge schoolmasters," persecuted under the ferocious penal laws. But they are not in the least concerned with the ancient glories of their race. Indeed, one of them—Denis Macnamara—singles out this very sentiment of nationality as a first-class subject of satire, and covers it with unsparing ridicule.

His poem *The Adventures of a Luckless Fellow* is a delightful skit on Virgil's description of Æneas' descent into the nether world. He goes to sea (sailing from Waterford) and is dreadfully seasick, and in that condition is spirited away by "the queen of Craglee, Eevell fair" to the Stygian shore. The "pagan Virgil" proves to have made numerous errors in his account of that region.

"The same pretender idly wrote
'Twas Charon steered the Stygian boat;
The rascal lies—a jovial cock
We there beheld, of Irish stock,
A whacker stout, of warlike mould—
To wit, Conan the Fenian bold."

The Greeks and Trojans are flying in all directions before the victorious Gaels.

"Behold yon host," our hero said,
"The Gaels, who ne'er from battle fled;

* *The Midnight Court* and *The Adventures of a Luckless Fellow*; two poems translated from the Gaelic. By Percy Arland Ussher. With a preface by W. B. Yeats. Jonathan Cape. 6s. net.

See how they tear up roots apace
And fling them in the foeman's face;
The vanquished Danaans to a man
Make off as quickly as they can;
The valiant Gaels pursue with howls
And strew the plain with brains and bowels."

The poets of antiquity are put into their proper place.

There Ovid on a bank reclines
And languid pens his wanton lines;
There Juvenal with righteous rage
Rebukes the vices of his age;
But Hugh McCurtin of our race
Puts all these in the half-penny place.

The poet is hailed with loud applause.

"This man by troubles tost and torn,
Is of our noble nation born."
At that the hero gave a shout
That sounded the whole world throughout;
The heavens trembled at the tone,
And hell gave forth an echoing groan.

Brian Merriman is less witty than Macnamara, but he has a rude, rollicking vitality, and an open-air shamelessness, which takes you back to Aristophanes. His theme is the Midnight Court of "Eevell, Munster's Queen" (the same who played the Sibyl for Macnamara) before which the plaintiff, a "weeping nymph," states her case—which is, "that your lads and lasses have left off breeding," and that when they do marry, the girls marry old men "with bleary eyes and wry grimaces," and the fine young men are mated with ancient crones.

An old man then pours forth a tirade against womankind in general, and his own gay young wife in particular. He winds up by pleading for the total relaxation of the marriage bond.

The maiden hits back with a long and scathing denunciation. Her remedy is different. It is, that all the fine young priests should be allowed to marry.

It's often I've asked and sought in vain
What is the use of the rule insane
That marriage has closed to the clerical clan
In the church of our fathers since first it began.
We know it is true there are few but hate
The lonely life and the celibate state;
Is it fair to condemn them to mope and moan?
Is it fair to force them to lie alone?

She pleads with Eevell to

Illumine my mind with the Gospel's gleam—
What did the prophets preach, I pray,
Or Saint Paul, whose words were weighty, say?

Evevell replies with the cautious pronouncement :

" With hand on mouth, by me be taught,
(It is not safe to say your thought—
Beware the while the powers that be)
They'll have to marry yet, you'll see.
Tho' long deferred, the day will come
With licence from the Pope at Rome."

Meanwhile, all bachelors shall be soundly flogged, and as to the persistent offenders :

" Go wrack and wrench and rend and flay
Or with slow fire consume their clay."

Brian Merriman is grossly improper. He throws all reserve completely to the winds. But he also throws to the winds every trace of prurience. He presumes that you know all about it, and that you are as frank as he is. There is no sly wink at the sophisticated person—at the expense of the ignorant and simple. Nor is the sly wink directed at the man, at the expense of the woman. There is nothing of that sort here. The girl is on an equality ; and she gives as good as she gets, and better :

She can be as wise as we
And wiser when she wishes.

Mr. Ussher, the translator, is evidently in sympathy with the downright directness of Merriman and Macnamara. He shares their enjoyment of a torrent of words, of assonance and of alliteration. (Every line in the original, we are told, has one final rhyme, and no less than three internal rhymes.) He shares, too, their delight in letting themselves go, and shocking the respectable. He does it all as they did it, with a boyish glee which is infectious.

That Mr. Yeats, who stands for the *Celtic Twilight*—for everything that Merriman and Macnamara would have overwhelmed with irreverent laughter—should write an introduction at all seems the most incongruous feature of the whole thing. He seems, it is true, to have let himself in for it in a fit of absence of mind. He says :

Months ago Mr. Ussher asked me to introduce his translation of *The Midnight Court*. I had seen a few pages in an Irish magazine; praised its vitality; my words had been repeated; and because I could discover no reason for refusal that did not make me a little ashamed, I consented. Yet I could wish that a Gaelic scholar had been found, or failing that, some man of known sobriety of manner and of mind—Professor Trench of Trinity College, let us say, to introduce to the Irish reading public this vital, extravagant, immoral, preposterous poem.

Reading between the lines, we detect that Mr. Yeats cannot abide Mr. Ussher's pair of naughty schoolmasters.

C. R. B.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

Dr. F. Elvington Ball, a son of a former Lord Chancellor of Ireland, has in his two very learned volumes dealing with *The Judges in Ireland 1221-1921*,* compiled a work that, apart from its intrinsic interest to Irish subjects of the Crown, is of great value as a contribution to the history of the English Common Law. The decisions of the Irish Courts are not, of course, binding on the English Courts but they have always been received with the greatest respect and are frequently quoted in both arguments and judgments as of much weight. The Irish Courts that ceased to exist on the formation of the Irish Free State in 1921-2 are almost contemporary with the English Courts. "Seven centuries have elapsed since the first extant King's letter designating persons to act in a judicial capacity in Ireland was issued." That was in the reign of Henry III, but as early as 1210 the English Common Law had been established in Ireland by King John and for forty years before that date the chief Governor or Justiciar had formed the legal tribunal (the *Curia Regis*) of the Norman Settlers. By 1232 we find an Irish Chancery in existence and in 1246 a permanent Exchequer sitting in Dublin. In 1276 the King's Bench was in existence with a chief justice and three puisne justices, the Court of Common Pleas—the pleas nominally dealt with by the Justiciar—obtained a trained justice by 1290, and a chief justice and one or more puisne justices by 1324, while the Exchequer had its judges or barons by 1309. The pleas that followed the Justiciar included high treason, petty treason, felony, criminal trials, writs relating to land, appeals in error. The Court of Common Pleas visited the several parts of Ireland subject to English Law and supplemented the work of the itinerant justices who perambulated the country as in England and enlarged the confines of the Common Law. It is remarkable that in those stormy days law could have been introduced and could have been so firmly rooted as to withstand the Bruce invasions from Scotland and the successive paroxysms of many centuries. Dr. Ball writes "viewed as a whole, the history of the judges in Ireland from 1221 to 1921 is remarkable for a continuity quite exceptional in that land of change. A judicial seat was seldom left vacant for more than a few months, and the Bench came unscathed through every disturbance and constitutional upheaval. Indeed, some of the chief stages in the development of the judiciary synchronise with, or quickly follow, times of stress." It may be hoped that this great precedent will be followed and that the judges of the New Dominion, who will still enforce the *Pax Britannica*, will carry on unbroken the great Irish legal tradition.

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Miss Maud D. Haviland—Mrs. H. H. Brindley—a former Fellow of Newnham College—in her elaborate volume entitled *Forest, Steppe and Tundra: Studies in Animal Environment*,† reproduces in literary form the substance of her lectures at Cambridge delivered in 1920. The effect of what may be called "natural" environment on living creatures is the author's theme. What part has environment played in the ramifications from a common stock? When the zoologist tries to

* John Murray. 32s. net.

† Cambridge University Press. 12s. 6d. net.

classify environments he is in a worse case than the botanist and "cannot construct a workable scheme." But special regions, in fact, give special animal forms and "the predominant forms possess a certain number of adaptations in common." Miss Haviland has visited "extreme examples of Woodland, Grassland, and Desert in different parts of the world, and this book is the outcome of the lack that I myself then felt for some guide to the general trend of animal life amid surroundings that were new to me and presented unexpected ecological complications and problems." She was with Miss Czaplicka in the gold desert tundras of Siberia, later (during war service) in the Danubian Steppe and in 1922 in the tropical jungle of British Guiana and these visits have given her much of her material and her deductions. She takes structure and behaviour as complementary despite the greater elasticity of behaviour. How does Miss Haviland explain the animals that carry their young in pouches? Could they exist where beasts of prey are capable of destroying the mother and her family at one stroke? With the kangaroo organic continuity is not lost, it is deliberately recreated after birth. Is the pouch an adaptive structure that has been lost when, not the physical but the animal environment is fundamentally changed? If so, is the pouch an inheritance not due to environment at all? Miss Haviland gives a case of change in the tree kangaroo, a variation in the tail. Has there been any change in the pouch? Another point that can be raised as to environmental change is the weakening of bone structure in exhausted pastures. Is the stock doomed or will it adapt itself? Miss Haviland deals first with "the Rain-Forest" of Guiana, then passes to the Eurasian Steppe and last passes to her first adventure in the Siberian tundra. The work is one of the highest importance, it opens new fields and will have its applications in the science of anthropology.

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Admirers of Anton Chekhov's genius will welcome these entirely new translations of *The Shooting Party* and *The Grasshopper and Other Stories*, the latter containing three stories that have never before been given to English readers.* The translation and introduction is by Mr. A. E. Chamot—the translator of *Selected Russian Short Stories*—published by the Oxford University Press. It is a boon, to those unable to read these works in the original language, to have these good translations: and by this means to become acquainted with the works of a great writer such as Anton Chekhov. These stories introduce one to Russian life, and give the reader some idea of the country and people that are passing through such sad and difficult times. Chekhov was essentially a writer of short stories. *The Shooting Party* is one of his longest stories and may almost be classed as a novel. The introduction to this work should be carefully studied, as it gives in a few pages an account of Chekhov's literary career, and estimates the degree of popularity that his works have achieved in England, notwithstanding their gloomy and depressing character. He is a faithful delineator of life, as he saw it, a student of nature and of human nature. In many ways an impressionist; he yet never sacrifices detail for effect and often some trifling incident, skilfully introduced with poetic and subtle imagination, enhances the scene. He is, as the author claims, an entirely truthful portrayer of actualities.

* International Library Series. Stanley Paul. 2s. 6d. net.

THE CHINESE UPHEAVAL.

BOLSHEVISM bulks so large in the present stage of the Chinese revolution that we are apt to forget that the revolution began several years before Bolshevism leapt to power in Russia, and that its origin, like that of others forms of insurrection against Western ascendancy in Asia, must be sought in the play of earlier forces generated by contact with the West. Whether the West was morally justified in compelling China to open her doors to foreign intercourse, I do not propose now to discuss, but to understand the present situation one must bear in mind the sequel of events which have led up to it. After the first China war, loosely termed the opium war, which was conducted mainly by British naval forces operating against Canton and on the lower Yangtse in 1842, the Treaty of Nanking, secured to Great Britain, within certain areas at Canton, Shanghai, and a few other less important ports, definite rights of intercourse and settlement, which accrued subsequently to all Western nations, including the United States, who entered into similar treaty relations with China.

The present conflict has far deeper causes, but it is out of those old treaties that arise all the specific questions now in dispute at Hankow and Peking—foreign settlements and concessions (the distinction between the two is mainly technical) in "Treaty Ports" with their own jurisdiction and other immunities in restraint of China's sovereign rights that are comprised in the term extra-territoriality, as well as their privileged position in regard to taxation and the fixing of a general tariff on foreign imports into China. Those terms were not devised to inflict any singular injury or humiliation. They were an adaptation to Chinese circumstances of the "capitulations" which had for several centuries regulated peaceful intercourse between the West and the Eastern nations in different stages of development. They have been only quite recently abolished in Turkey and they still exist in a "sovereign and independent" Egypt after all the levelling up effected during more than forty years of British control. After American men-of-war in turn coerced Japan to emerge from her self-imposed and still more complete isolation, the Japanese treaties with foreign powers were modelled on the Chinese treaties. Japan submitted to them until she had proved that they were no longer essential for the security of foreign life and property. From the day when the "Restoration" of 1869 marked the triumph of the new over the old Japan, her rulers began to put her house in order and to recast all her institutions in a new mould borrowed or adapted from the West. Having done so with very remarkable success

they appealed to the Western nations to enter into friendly negotiations with a view to "Treaty Revision," and, to our credit be it said, it was the British Government under Lord Rosebery, who, in 1894, first met them in the same spirit, and to-day Japan has not only recovered all her sovereign rights, but taken her place not unworthily amongst the great powers of the world.

Why have things taken such a very different course in China? In the first place because the supreme government, vested in the Manchu dynasty, was incapable of inaugurating an "Era of Enlightenment" such as *Meiji* connoted after 1869 in Japan, and it never abated a jot of its arrogant hostility to the foreign intruders. It refused to open the gates of the capital to them until an Anglo-French expedition actually entered Peking in 1869 and the Treaty of Tientsin enforced diplomatic intercourse on the Son of Heaven. Nor did the dynasty do anything to amend its own corrupt and oppressive methods at home, and when it finally began to borrow some of the mechanical and material appliances of the West, chiefly in the matter of naval and military armaments, it alienated the provinces by diverting an excessive share of their local revenue to the Peking Exchequer, where it was so largely dissipated in mere profligate extravagance that when the much vaunted latent power of China was tested by her war with Japan in 1894-5, it crumbled at once to pieces. The next chapter was not very creditable to the West, for the European powers immediately proceeded to help themselves, as their own interests and their mutual jealousies required, to important slices of Chinese territory, "leased," as it was termed, to Russia in the Liaotang peninsula, to Great Britain, as a counterpoise, at Wei-hai-wei, and to Germany, in search of her place in the sun, at Kiao-chou; and they scrambled at the same time for the right to "open up" China by constructing her railways and developing her mines, and raising loans on her credit for those purposes. Disaffection grew apace, but the old Dowager Empress, whose strong hand alone kept China together, was shrewd enough to deflect on to the foreigners the first blind impulse of revolt in the Boxer movement of 1900, finally crushed by the despatch of large international forces to relieve the beleaguered Legations at Peking and "pacify" Northern China, which had alone broken out into Boxerism, by methods to which the German "punitive expeditions" and the Russian "conquest" of Manchuria imparted an exceptional ferocity. The Empress, who had tried to sit as long as she could on the fence, fled for a time to far away Sinyang-fu, but as the Powers dreaded the prospect of complete chaos in her absence, she was allowed to return with only a few ruffled feathers to the Forbidden City, where she continued to sit undisturbed on the safety

valve until she died in 1908, and then, within two years the revolution, long overdue, exploded and blew up the Manchu dynasty and with it the old centralised system of government.

Nationalism and reform were the watchwords, but such authority as a weak republican form of government possessed was successively undermined by Yuan Shih Kai's desperate attempt to revive the monarchy in his own person, by Japan's exploitation of China's weakness for her own ends, by the excessive pressure which the Allies had to exert in order to bring her at last into the Great War, and by the depletion of the Chinese Exchequer when the foreign financial consortium put a stop to indiscriminate borrowing abroad. In the provinces the Revolution degenerated into a welter of civil war between rival military adventurers, whose armies, victorious or beaten, preyed equally upon the peaceful but bewildered populations, north and south and east and west.

In the Chinese denunciations of the Treaty Ports the only statement that is true is that the foreigners have on the whole thriven there, though they have no more than touched the fringe of the enormous potential trade of a country that possesses boundless material resources and has a population of some three or four hundred millions—about a fifth of the whole human race and more industrious than most of the other four-fifths. But it is trade and trade alone that has brought them into contact with the Chinese people, and with the one class whose commercial honesty and understanding of Western ways have always stood out in striking contrast to the dishonesty and sloth and arrogant hostility of the Chinese official classes. It was the immense trading opportunity thus offered to the West that led to the extension and multiplication of Treaty Ports—a term ultimately applied to all towns thrown open to foreign settlement, even when far removed from the sea—and at the same time attracted to them large numbers of Chinese who appreciated the immunity they afforded from the exactions of their own rulers.

In Shanghai, the greatest of all the Treaty Ports, where on what was formerly a wretched mudflat, the foreigners, with the British community at their head, have built up a magnificent city with all modern facilities for shipping and trade, as well as many modern amenities, to which, at least when I saw it, there could be no more striking foil than the foul Chinese city of Shanghai just outside the foreign settlement, there is to-day a foreign population of some 30,000, of whom 7,000 are British and 13,000 Japanese, but also an indigenous population of over 800,000, whose rapid growth testifies, amongst other things, to their keen appreciation of such unwonted boons as an upright and orderly and efficient administration, though it has also resulted in huge

agglomerations of coolie labour imported into modern factories, which constitute a very menacing feature in the present situation. But trade having been the *raison d'être* and main business of the Treaty Ports, and having flowed into them as it were by its own momentum, the foreign communities—and there is none finer or more honourable than the British—have been satisfied to live their own lives there and look after their own affairs, knowing and caring little about the rest of China. Few of them have ever troubled to penetrate much further or to get into touch with Chinese ways of life and thought in the interior. That they left to the missionaries who, whether in the Treaty Ports or in remote inland cities, have almost alone endeavoured, through example and through Western education, to set before the Chinese the higher ideals of Western civilisation and Christianity and who have often earned for their pains the ignorant jibes of their meaner fellow-countrymen.

There are still amongst us narrow utilitarians who imagine that if the missionaries had never been allowed to preach and teach, the coloured peoples of the East would have been content to remain for ever docile hewers of wood and drawers of water for the white man. The real trouble in China is that there has been not too much education but too little. For more than fifty years after she was compelled to accept foreign intercourse for trading purposes, her ruling class continued to scorn Western knowledge, which the treaties had never compelled them to accept. They had none of the intellectual curiosity of the Japanese, and the Manchu dynasty and the Mandarins of the old bureaucracy scented danger in any knowledge other than that of the ancient classics, which had become slowly petrified in the immutable formalism of official examinations, and the dignified lifelessness of obsolete rites. It was only when the old régime had brought an unprecedented series of humiliating disasters upon the Chinese Empire that a younger generation burst through these barriers and sought out Western education for itself, with the help of Western friends who believed the Chinese to be worthy of better things than they had ever got from their own rulers or from mere business contact with the West.

In the last years of her reign the Empress Dowager had to relax her opposition to Western education and to the incipient reforms which derived from it. After her death and the fall of the Manchu dynasty the flood gates were unlocked, and "Young China," led for the most part by Chinese who had already received some Western education in the Treaty Ports or abroad, and constantly reinforced by a stream of more or less immature students pouring forth from new schools and colleges where the teacher's voice was

constantly drowned by the din of politics, took charge of the Chinese Republic at a time when even the Far East was shaken by the great earthquake of the world war. Neither the Paris Peace Conference, at which "Young China" made her first bow to the West shorn of the traditional pigtail, nor the Washington Conference, brought Nationalist China the demonstrative recognition of her new status or the immediate redress of her old grievances which might have saved Peking's "face."

There was much that was legitimate in the manifestation of China's sudden awakening to a consciousness of nationhood, actively stimulated by foreign sympathisers who, if they were American, claimed special sponsorship for such an infant prodigy as this great Asian Republic. But the Chinese had been torn from all their old moorings, and there was no class such as Japan had possessed to set a new and considered course. Peking, though still holding the lead, produced no leaders capable of controlling the tumult or of constructing a new machinery of government to replace that which the Revolution had utterly destroyed. Provincial jealousies played havoc with the prospect of national unity, which fatally disappeared when after a succession of Presidential and Ministerial crises, sometimes at the mere bidding of students "on strike," the Chinese Parliament assembled at Peking was finally rent in twain by the old antagonism between North and South.

Sun-yat-sen, a veteran revolutionist, whose life the British Government had saved in the days of the old Dowager Empress, made his native city of Canton the centre of extreme Nationalism and started the anti-foreign and anti-British campaign by waging a war of strikes and boycotts against Hong-Kong, the barren and almost uninhabited island which British rule has converted into one of the greatest and most flourishing ports in the Pacific, with a large Chinese population, excellent Chinese schools and the first Chinese University, and Chinese representation on the Governor's Council. His proclaimed purpose was to wipe out the old British settlement in Canton, and his slogan was "Away with foreigners." This is a slogan which appeals to the inherited sentiment of the masses for whom all foreigners are still as of old "foreign devils" and "outer barbarians," as well as to more recent memories of humiliation, spoliation and invasion during the last two decades of the Manchu dynasty. Nor is it incompatible with ultra-democratic slogans directly borrowed from the hated West. An acute French observer, M. Bonnard, remarks that one of the peculiarities of the Chinese mind is its capacity to admit contradictory beliefs, and having cast off under the impact of the West the slavery of its own sedate philosophies and rules of conduct, it has become a

slave to the intoxicating delight of creating a new world which will surpass all that the West has ever dreamt of.

That is, perhaps, where Bolshevism has chiefly got its hold upon Chinese Nationalism and especially upon the Cantonese, who are much more excitable and imaginative than the hard-headed, or as the South calls them, "stupid" Northern Chinese. Moscow was quicker than we were to gauge the intensity of the revolutionary movement which the Treaty Port foreigners and foreign diplomacy underrated just as they had ignored the Boxer movement in 1900 until the Peking Legations were actually in danger. Moscow was quick too to enlist in the service of the "world revolution" the Chinaman's traditional hatred of the "foreign devils" which could, if effectively handled, be transfused with added potency into the fevered blood of a revolutionary China. The Bolsheviks pride themselves on being scientific. In fact, they claim that Russian Communism is the last word in social and economic science, and with more reason they have absolute faith in their power of scientific organisation. The latter, indeed, constitutes the formidable contribution made by Russian Bolshevism to the extreme revolutionary forces now at work in China. Their organisation of propaganda has certainly never had its equal in Asia.

It is extraordinary how little notice has been taken in this country of the energy and resourcefulness with which the Bolsheviks applied themselves to it as soon as they were in the saddle. Tsarist Russia had far better and more highly-equipped schools of Oriental study than we have ever had. She needed them for her policy of Imperial expansion in Asia. The Bolsheviks took them over, extended them, and multiplied them for their own purposes, not only in Russia, but in all the Soviet Republics of Central Asia which they dominate just as Tsarist Russia did. There they trained, with a large leaven of selected natives recruited from all parts of Asia, skilled bands of experts equipped with a specialised knowledge of Asiatic languages and customs and religions—except, of course, Christianity—ready to clothe the gospel of Bolshevism in whichever shape was best calculated to make converts amongst the various Asiatic races. There was even a special university for Chinese neophytes. Nor did Moscow ever make a secret of its determination to fight Western civilisation and the British Empire as its strongest bulwark in and through Asia, which it believed to be the Achilles heel of its most formidable adversary, whose overthrow would at once clear the way for the "world revolution" in Europe.

Moscow has doubtless sent arms and ammunition and some money as well, to the Cantonese revolutionary forces, but nothing so invaluable as the disciplined organisation and unity of direction

which they would have lacked like all the other Chinese armies that have been collected and scattered and reformed again under the banners of rival Tuchuns and rival politicians behind them.

The Kuo-min-tang organisation, which has now imposed itself on about one-third of China, is closely modelled on Russian Bolshevism by Russian instructors, who are experts in the matter. Sun-yat-sen, who died in 1924 and has been succeeded by his son, has been canonised in Canton, just as Lenin has been in Moscow. The Party, claiming, of course, to speak for the sovereign people, is supposed to rule, but it rules through, or is ruled by, a Central Committee charged with the whole administration, and this Committee, with its Russian advisors, is itself kept in order by a political bureau, also Russian-advised, whose powers of control are undefined, because apparently unlimited. In the present stage of the revolution a Chinese Nationalist army is held to be as essential as a Red army in Russia. Russian officers are there to give their services in the field as well as in the Cantonese war department, and the new State being, at least in theory, built up—which is also the Russian theory—out of the masses and for the masses, the Kuo-min-tang army is described as the proletariat in arms operating in intimate association with the urban and rural proletariat of toilers in the factories and in the fields, organised for different but equally militant purposes into trades unions and guilds. Kuo-min-tang policy professes to have two immediate objectives in view. The first is to end war by destroying the war lords who plunder the country without any Bolshevik licence to do so, and by conquering the whole of China in order to restore national unity under a strong central Soviet like that of Moscow; the second is to ensure the independence of China by driving out the foreigners and putting an end to the Treaty Ports system, which exists, it is declared, for the economic exploitation of the Chinese people and constitutes an enduring outrage on their sovereign rights. These two objectives are, as in Russia, described as a supreme fight against "counter-revolution" at home and against foreign "Imperialism and Capitalism."

The fighting alliance between Bolshevism and the extreme Nationalists which first took effect in China has so far worked out "according to plan." The Kuo-min-tang dominates Southern China, and in every province which it dominates Christian churches and missions are shut down and plundered, and foreigners of all nationalities are driven to seek safety in precipitate flight. It has transferred its seat of power to the great triple cities of the Middle Yangtse, and has seized the Hankow concession under the pressure of mob violence which its forces did nothing to restrain, whilst large British naval forces gave an unprecedented example

of their splendid discipline by refusing to be provoked into reprisals of any sort and confined themselves to the painful task of conveying to Shanghai the women and children of the British and other foreign communities whose lives had often hung on a mere thread. The British Government has discharged a primary duty by despatching sufficient military forces in time to protect Shanghai against any Kuo-min-tang repetition of what has happened at Hankow, and it has at the same time formulated a policy which meets every proclaimed grievance of the Chinese in regard to the Treaty Port system. But though it is a policy of which it has for some time past commended the adoption by all the foreign powers concerned, it is construed now as a surrender to triumphant violence.

The Kuo-min-tang with the Bolshevik Barudin behind it hastened to reject the British proposals on the plea that the mere despatch of a Shanghai defence force from England constitutes a form of duress which renders any agreement impossible. The Peking Government, whose claim to represent the Chinese Republic the British Government cannot ignore without departing from its attitude of neutrality in the internal struggles of China, dares not show itself less uncompromising than the Kuo-min-tang in the assertion of China's "rights" in the Treaty Ports, and protests also, if less loudly against the sending of troops to Shanghai. But Peking is controlled by the Northern War Lords, amongst whom Chang-tso-lin, the master of Manchuria, openly denounces Bolshevism and Kuo-min-tang as a tool in its hands, and their armies are stated to be moving down to crush the Southern "rebels." But the fortunes of civil war are more often settled in China by corrupt bargains and wholesale desertions than by pitched battles. Diplomatic parleys meanwhile continue at Hankow as well as at Peking, and Mr. Eugene Chên (who, it seems, speaks English with an Irish brogue, having been partly educated in Ireland before he lived for a time in a British colony, and who, a few years ago, took sanctuary in the British Legation at Peking and even claimed British nationality) has blown sometimes hot and sometimes cold. In the Chinese trading class and peasantry Bolshevism may yet find sturdier elements of resistance than in Russia. But none can venture to predict the outcome of a situation as confused as it is menacing, which involves much larger issues at stake than any that appear on the storm-tossed surface of this Chinese revolution. It is certainly not a mere rebellion such as those which have frequently brought about forcible changes of dynasty. The question of the Treaty Ports may be solved as this country desires by meeting all the reasonable demands of Chinese Nationalism. But will that arrest the process of internal disintegration? For the first

time perhaps since more than two thousand years ago the genius of the first Chin Emperor unified China and built up a strong centralised state out of a loose feudal confederacy, its whole framework has been already shattered from one end of China to the other. For the first time also, the religious traditions and habits of mind of the most conservative people in Asia have been violently disrupted, and new forces have been unloosed which are driving China to exchange her passive resistance to the West for a militant participation in the widespread revolt of the coloured races throughout the East against the ascendancy of the white race, which has been the outstanding event, or portent, in the relations between East and West during the first quarter of the twentieth century.

VALENTINE CHIROL.

JOHN MORLEY.*

THAT this biography is a labour of love and devotion is stamped on every paragraph—on its faults, when Mr. Hirst seems to linger too leisurely by the way; on its virtues, when as a disciple he removes masks and exteriors and discloses the soul of fine rectitude lying beneath. The story ends with the election of 1885, the cracking of the beams of the Liberal habitation, the shadow of the estrangement between Morley and old political friends like Mr. Chamberlain, and the opening up of a new world for Morley himself.

Mr. Hirst would have been well advised, perhaps, if he had finished his work in one effort. When he ends, we are still in our youth and Morley is still the "John" of that youth, and in his green leaf. His last sentence is about a day that is dead. Morley is hardly the man who can be divided with advantage into halves. We want, before we place him on our shelves by his own Cobden and Gladstone, to have him as that graciously alert but frail figure sitting by his own fireplace at Flowermead, with the sun from the tall windows lighting up his delicately distinguished face, surveying the world of action with the detachment, but the interested keenness, of an inquiring philosopher, "his soul well-knit and all his battles won." For, until we reach to that stage we know not John Morley. But Mr. Hirst's devoted hand found it hard to prune and to throw aside; moreover, at 1885 he reaches a point when his own intimacy takes the place of filed records for his illumination, and the style of the biography would naturally change. So we must await the end of Mr. Hirst's labours. May that be soon.

Some people have expressed surprise to me that, after Lord Morley's instructions that his private papers should be kept hidden from the eye of biographers, any biography should be written at all. But Mr. Hirst is right. Morley is a public possession, and he knew that he had to yield possession of himself. Again and again have I discussed biography with him, how it should be written and how his should be done. The selection of a certain writer to produce the life of one of Morley's political friends caused him great annoyance, and undoubtedly that influenced him. He was always very sensitive—perhaps supersensitive—about himself. He was not sure how he would appear, what lines would be drawn by an unsympathetic or an unknowing hand. He was as shy and self-conscious as a girl going out to her first party. He did care what people thought about him. In a letter quoted in these volumes Frederic Harrison twits him for allowing a "civil

* *Early Life and Letters of John Morley*: Two volumes. By F. W. Hirst. Macmillan & Co.

letter" from Mill to influence him on a matter of political controversy, and he bristles up at the suggestion. I should not wonder if Harrison was right—though in this case the dates were against him. No man could fight a more courageous battle than Morley; the *Fortnightly Review* under his editorship was one long blare of trumpets challenging the world to bring its beliefs into the tourney lists. But when the riding and the rampaging was hottest, I can imagine Morley's heart whispering inquiries as to what sort of a figure he was cutting. He was assuredly not one of those rare and happy men who live a life of solitary indifference, who in hermitage serve truth, whether it be at their desk or in the market-place, and who when dead wish to be buried in the desert unvisited by the memories or the thoughts of men. No man was more willing than he during the long days of evening to wander back over his life and to walk with the shades whom he had known in the flesh; no man was prouder of the causes he had championed, of the blows he had given (even if he had come to think that some had been dealt too hotly), of the history he had helped to make, than he; and no life of our generation is more worthy of a separate record than his by reason of its rich variety, of its fruitfulness in thought and deed, of its fine demeanour and high inspiration, of its strenuous beginnings and its crowned success. But he would have liked to see that biography, to have approved of every page and record, to have smoothed out wrinkles and frowns so that he might lie on its pages like an alabaster figure in the utmost serenity and peace.

That is what he strove to attain in his "Recollections." Everyone in communion with him when he had that work in hand must have observed the charming play of his mind. Two anxieties troubled him: he wished to vindicate himself as Secretary of State for India, and to leave as a lasting impression of himself that portrait of a man who had caught up into his own being the expansive hush and beauty of the Hindhead landscape, who with "the pleasant cheerfulness" of the church bells ringing in his ears for evening service mused upon life sadly and charitably, and turned homewards "in the falling daylight." Under the latter anxiety those friends will remember how difficult it was to persuade him to put down certain things that would have ruffled the serene smoothness of his pages. He had passed beyond the raging floods and their spirit was no longer in him. Thus it becomes that autobiography whilst it may be the most interesting of human stories is often the most misleading, and, instead of unfolding a tale of ripening fruits, may throw over it the colour or the light of a mood, of a purpose, of a yearning. The Morley who drew the curtains in the spacious library at Flowermead was

the man of the "Recollections," but not the man whose face looks from the beginning of these two volumes, the Editor of the *Fortnightly*, the captain of an aggressive Radicalism.

There is, perhaps, the "fitness of things" in one of the bits of information which Mr. Hirst gives us. He was sent to learn his alphabet to the old Queen Elizabeth Grammar School, which after some vicissitudes has "become the local headquarters of the Independent Labour Party." The span of Morley's life stretched from the time when, from the rough passions of the second and third generation of factory workers Radicalism was being born, almost to when their grandchildren put a Labour Government in office. He saw the rise of the Liberal Party and he saw its fall; he was one of the disciples who greeted with doughty energy the sway of individualism, he lived to see that sway pass, to be a victim to its allegiance, to look without misgiving upon the approach of the new Socialistic order. But Mr. Hirst leaves us as yet with the Radical Member for Newcastle troubled by that "despicable impostor," Joseph Cowen; grieving over "the baffled trickster" Joseph Chamberlain who has cooled on Ireland because Parnell has cooled on him, but who has not yet dealt his Cassius stroke; about to enter the new Ministry of "the great Sophist" and translate his Irish articles into Parliamentary policy.

What we get here is the man of ideas, the man of the pen, the man who in the detached surroundings of a Surrey, or a Sussex, or a Kentish retreat, threw from a writing table the thunderbolts that made respectable people start, rallied the intellect that gave Radicalism a doctrine and a programme based on conceptions of society and interpretations of history, and won from the hearts of multitudes that never read a speech by Burke nor heard of the "Encyclopædia" affection and confidence. Here was a man working in a medium which the man in the street knew was not his, who nevertheless was hailed a champion by him of humbler ideas and cruder needs. So far from working class minds being conscious only of working class minds, and being attracted only by the language, the thought and the interests of the market-place, they have always given an almost pathetic welcome to those who dwell in the Surrey Down tops, and from that spacious outlook set into wide systems of thought the bristling and unkempt agitations of the crowded mean streets and forums, where immediate grievances are discussed and sworn about. Thus, to the thunderbolts of the writing desk a reply in generous welcome came from the streets.

John Stuart Mill, George Eliot, Comte (not as a pope but as a philosopher), Darwin, were being translated into the politics of liberty, popular education, peace, democracy. Political Radicalism

was being elevated into the eternal movement of the human intelligence ever busy in creative work, and the man who was doing it was the Editor of the *Fortnightly*. Looking back over those challenging pages, one may have to admit that the crusades failed in the end. The Church is not disestablished, our schools are not freed from ecclesiastical control, the Imperialist mind still menaces our peace and security, we have lapsed further into that moral quiescence which enables us to conform in both ecclesiastical and religious affairs with tolerant indifference. So, if we care, we can put down the excited controversies which Morley fanned and fed as having been barren literature. But I am not so sure that that is a full judgment. These battles were fought immediately before the country put itself under a draught of somnolent reaction which held it for forty futile years, resisting stolidly the only possible solution of the Irish difficulty. Under that numbing draught, progressive ideas and intellectual politics lost vigour and courage and voice, and in the end the nation had to admit that its long resistance was a mistake, and he who as editor of the *Fortnightly* and the *Pall Mall* had joined issue with the Unionist policy in Ireland was the one chosen to commend to the House of Lords the Bill which made Ireland a Dominion and the Unionist domination of over a generation a confessed blot on our history. Truly, the crusades may have failed at the time, and they may never be reopened now in the way they were then fought, but those who engaged in them will continue to hold in the political history of our country a position of honour higher than that of those who succeeded in thwarting them, and the historian who has to judge the governments of the generation of reaction will never be able to avoid reflecting upon the heavy price that the nation has had to pay for the misfortunes that swallowed up as in dry sands the waters of hope and of courage that flowed from the pages of the *Fortnightly* whilst Morley was still in charge of it. If it is useless to fight a baffled fight for the right, then most of our history is a record of wasted effort, and the rest of it is meaningless.

Although Morley had the airs of a cold, detached man of books and letters, and was a fitting object to be called, by those who suspect all men of considered opinions and of wide systematised views, a dogmatist, he fought with a warm heart. No man has ever felt more simply and sincerely the hard lot of the workers. Till the miners of Northumberland and Durham adopted him as their own, the folks of Blackburn held him in their keeping. How often in his later years have I heard him reflect on how this or that was to put bread into the cupboards of "my friends, the Northumberland miners"; how often have I seen in these years the grey ashes of enthusiasm and keenness glow red when

themselves into an independent party, Morley had gone down so far into the streets that he failed to see the broad sweep of events. He became for a time the didactic champion of the most barren creed of social Liberalism. For the moment, parched and wizened individualism took possession of him. He never forgot that his great master, Mill, had found his barque drifting on the current of event and experience into a wide sea of Socialist thought. But he hesitated. He shuddered at the expanse of the sea; he clung all the more frantically to his own moorings. He cast anchor. He would not drift. He had a definite bit of work to do, and he fenced his mind against new influences. Not only did he abandon Mill, but he forgot Burke. "Politics is not a science of abstract ideas, but an empirical art with morality for its standard. . . . Nothing universal can be rationally affirmed on any moral or any political subject." Morley, like all men of wide culture and broad sweep of vision both before and behind, had to pay the price of being absorbed in affairs. The narrowing influence of the pressing importance of the daily task told upon him. But the root of the matter, be in whomsoever it may, was certainly in him, and when freedom returned to him he went back to his old masters and regained his vision. The days of the intellectual Newcastle conflicts which ended in his defeat, were but clouded times in his sure and serene vision. He never associated himself with the new movement, but he saw it from his resting place in its historical setting and relationship.

His weaknesses and his charm came from his extraordinarily fine and sensitive nervous being. He has been called feminine in his sensitiveness; some of his critics have commented on his appreciation of good fare and simple flattery. He was like most men who bear heavy burdens—none the worse for some appreciation; like most sensitively artistic men, he was not careless of comfortable privacy. It is because there are so few of such men in the rough and tumble of public life that those who are, are made the butts of the vulgar eyes and the coarse minds of Philistines. But it is to this delicacy that we owe Morley's literary style, robust yet dainty; large, sonorous and rotund, yet sensitive and easy; arrayed in the colour of pomp and marching in the grand manner of ceremony, yet subdued by taste and rarely overdone. If anything, his retentive literary memory and his well stored note-books of "elegant extracts" (how often in almost pontifical gravity has he enjoined upon me the desirability of keeping commonplace books) intruded upon the flow of his own thought, like the dyed water of tributary rivulets in a stream. Or, to vary the thought, his copious extracts and references made him appear like a man walking on crutches and detracted from the spontaneity and independence of his own thoughts. But such dyes and crutches! How

brilliantly they coloured, and how gracefully they supported. How they revealed his mind.

To this sensitiveness for what is of good report—or ought to be—we also owe the selections of his subjects of literary study and the presentation he made of them—the moral and sagacious heroic figure who taught "a grave diligence in caring for high things"—Burke; the regeneration of the political spirit in the "very mixed personage"—Rousseau; the genius who "changed the mind and spiritual conformation of France"—Voltaire; the entangled life of elevated sentiment and noble solitudes—Condorcet; him of such different mind but of illuminating diction and lofty piety—the Catholic de Maistre; and the rest. It was not the romantic drama of the Revolution and its leaders, it was not the doctrines and the tussles of the men, it was their valiant distinction, their illuminating blaze and heroism, their power to make the dry bones live nobly, that appealed to Morley and inspired the portraits that he drew of them. Upon them he lavished his passion for intellectual liberty, for vital men, for the glory of progress and emancipation; and throughout these studies one is conscious of the fine sensibilities of the artist picking his way through what was harsh and unlovely, and rescuing and maintaining what belonged to the ennobling conflicts and the serene triumphs of the human intelligence. Oxford gave him nothing distinctive. The natural man pursued culture, and found for him his avocation and his speech.

To this fine nervous structure also belongs his own honesty in thought, word, and deed. It might be said (and the discriminating mind will not misunderstand the saying) that the explanation of his punctiliousness regarding the capital G in the name of the deity was the same as his horror at Mr. Gladstone's bad claret. To him honour and honesty belonged to the sentiments of taste; they were artistic essentials. He withheld not his dreams, but he ever sought to embark upon action ampler than his promises. So were his enflamed enthusiasms, so the colour and the musical rhetoric which, like Burke, he put into his diction, so the solemn resignation to fate after a life of upright walking, which was his religion. He was like a finely-strung musical instrument; the gentlest touch awakened into life sympathetic chords that hummed in low harmony together, a blow brought out loud chords of passion in sonorous volume. The generations will forget much of what he has written because the interest that occasioned it will have sunk into the silent chambers of the dead, but those studies upon which he lavished the dignity of his mind and the high nobility of his thought, and which he sent out arrayed in a style appropriate to both—surely, whilst the soul of man has an ear to hear, they cannot be forgotten.

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

mention was made of working-class struggles. "The people" was no fine copybook word for him, something remote and abstract; it was his kindred doomed to hard and dark lives, groping after liberty, deprived of their patrimony, sound in their instincts, trustworthy in their character. This faith bore the test of the Paris Commune with which he sympathised. He no doubt arrayed the workers in some trappings borrowed from his own scholarly mind, but none of them were grotesque or false, none of them unnatural to the wearers. Let there be no doubt about it, however, whatever may have been his demeanour or his address sometimes, Morley felt working-class injustice and subordination. In contrast, he fumed at the plutocracy. For the rich manufacturers and their relations to their workpeople he had no sympathy. When roused upon that subject his language was red. Peace amongst nations and justice to the masses were his consuming enthusiasms.

One feels in reading Mr. Hirst's story how completely Morley was immersed in the life of his generation, how its failure was his failure, its impermanence his impermanence. No one brought a larger or more cultured mind into politics than he did; no one concentrated that mind more than he did upon the concerns of the day—Republicanism, rationalism, peace, education, disestablishment, Ireland. He was an interesting union of the dweller on the hill tops and the man in the street. In him, the one called to the other constantly.

The reformer of his generation was interested in formal liberty, in rebuilding institutions, in opening up opportunities, and he proceeded upon the assumption that the inherent qualities of men were so good that opportunities would be seized upon and put to the best use. The generation may properly be regarded as the last of the eighteenth century in its interests and ideas. It belonged to the sweep of the French Revolution and the shining characters of that Revolution provided living studies for the Victorian Radicals. In his *Rousseau*, Morley explains what they meant to him:

"Undivided love of our fellows, steadfast faith in human nature, steadfast search after justice, firm aspiration towards improvement, and generous contentment in the hope that others may reap whatever reward may be."

In this creed there was a dignified sturdiness which is not always found in the more modern doctrines which spring from sentimental pity for those overtaken by hardship. The standpoint is that of strong men fighting and using their own powers of character to redress common injustice, rather than that of soft-hearted charity, alleviating the shortcomings—and often thereby increasing them—of an ill-adjusted society. Whatever we may now think of the programme, we cannot forbear a thought of admiration for the

assumption underlying them that the man in the street felt indignity and that spiritual riches, like liberty and equality, independence and self-respect, were just as much appreciated and as essential as material comfort.

But even the programme was worthy in many respects. Its international policy was admirable. Morley's hearty detestation of the Imperialist cut-glass jewellery of an Oriental fortune-seeker, his patriotic assertion of the British spirit against the alien spirit in power, his stirring championship of the cause of peace, would have, had they been crowned with success, given strength and vigour to our national life, and would have warded off not a few of the dangers which we have had to encounter.

As Morley came down from the hill-tops of the *Fortnightly* to the streets of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the severely practical part of his nature came more and more to the front. He was not so particular about his bed-fellows as he had been—or to put it more accurately, he believed that he was as particular as ever, but that he had discovered upon closer acquaintance new virtues in them and explanations hitherto hidden from him for their shortcomings. It was then he passed under the influence of Mr. Chamberlain, whose powers of quick and firm decision and whose forthright qualities attracted him. Perhaps the influence was not altogether good for him, and yet, though the man Chamberlain got very near to him in a friendship that political differences never broke (though Morley did consider for some time whether he could accept the usual Christmas present of a barrel of oysters when the Home Rule split was fresh and sore), the mind Chamberlain rather troubled him. Mr. Chamberlain's loose thinking was always a trial to his punctilious friend, and Morley poured impatient scorn upon his use of "natural rights." It dismayed him "as if I had seen a deinotherion shambling down Parliament Street to a seat in the House of Commons." He himself, like all politicians on hill-tops, or on the outer steps of Westminster, had his fling at party (and was in this respect a warning to all politicians with prospects), but he did not love the way that Mr. Chamberlain showed disloyalty and pulled wires for his own hand, and yet, though he had always a suspicion that the root of the matter was not in his friend, and that his Radical faith originated in his Camberwell self-consciousness and was not of the enduring kind that springs from intellectual conviction, he hailed him and his Radical programme as the best manifestation of leadership of the time. When the movement of progressive political thought was paralysed by the Home Rule conflict, and the new Socialistic ideas that were sprouting in the minds and the words of the leaders of valiant Radicalism were stifled by the absorbing strife of parties and had to form

themselves into an independent party, Morley had gone down so far into the streets that he failed to see the broad sweep of events. He became for a time the didactic champion of the most barren creed of social Liberalism. For the moment, parched and wizened individualism took possession of him. He never forgot that his great master, Mill, had found his barque drifting on the current of event and experience into a wide sea of Socialist thought. But he hesitated. He shuddered at the expanse of the sea; he clung all the more frantically to his own moorings. He cast anchor. He would not drift. He had a definite bit of work to do, and he fenced his mind against new influences. Not only did he abandon Mill, but he forgot Burke. "Politics is not a science of abstract ideas, but an empirical art with morality for its standard. . . . Nothing universal can be rationally affirmed on any moral or any political subject." Morley, like all men of wide culture and broad sweep of vision both before and behind, had to pay the price of being absorbed in affairs. The narrowing influence of the pressing importance of the daily task told upon him. But the root of the matter, be in whomsoever it may, was certainly in him, and when freedom returned to him he went back to his old masters and regained his vision. The days of the intellectual Newcastle conflicts which ended in his defeat, were but clouded times in his sure and serene vision. He never associated himself with the new movement, but he saw it from his resting place in its historical setting and relationship.

His weaknesses and his charm came from his extraordinarily fine and sensitive nervous being. He has been called feminine in his sensitiveness; some of his critics have commented on his appreciation of good fare and simple flattery. He was like most men who bear heavy burdens—none the worse for some appreciation; like most sensitively artistic men, he was not careless of comfortable privacy. It is because there are so few of such men in the rough and tumble of public life that those who are, are made the butts of the vulgar eyes and the coarse minds of Philistines. But it is to this delicacy that we owe Morley's literary style, robust yet dainty; large, sonorous and rotund, yet sensitive and easy; arrayed in the colour of pomp and marching in the grand manner of ceremony, yet subdued by taste and rarely overdone. If anything, his retentive literary memory and his well stored note-books of "elegant extracts" (how often in almost pontifical gravity has he enjoined upon me the desirability of keeping commonplace books) intruded upon the flow of his own thought, like the dyed water of tributary rivulets in a stream. Or, to vary the thought, his copious extracts and references made him appear like a man walking on crutches and detracted from the spontaneity and independence of his own thoughts. But such dyes and crutches! How

brilliantly they coloured, and how gracefully they supported. How they revealed his mind.

To this sensitiveness for what is of good report—or ought to be—we also owe the selections of his subjects of literary study and the presentation he made of them—the moral and sagacious heroic figure who taught "a grave diligence in caring for high things"—Burke; the regeneration of the political spirit in the "very mixed personage"—Rousseau; the genius who "changed the mind and spiritual conformation of France"—Voltaire; the entangled life of elevated sentiment and noble solicitudes—Condorcet; him of such different mind but of illuminating diction and lofty piety—the Catholic de Maistre; and the rest. It was not the romantic drama of the Revolution and its leaders, it was not the doctrines and the tussles of the men, it was their valiant distinction, their illuminating blaze and heroism, their power to make the dry bones live nobly, that appealed to Morley and inspired the portraits that he drew of them. Upon them he lavished his passion for intellectual liberty, for vital men, for the glory of progress and emancipation; and throughout these studies one is conscious of the fine sensibilities of the artist picking his way through what was harsh and unlovely, and rescuing and maintaining what belonged to the ennobling conflicts and the serene triumphs of the human intelligence. Oxford gave him nothing distinctive. The natural man pursued culture, and found for him his avocation and his speech.

To this fine nervous structure also belongs his own honesty in thought, word, and deed. It might be said (and the discriminating mind will not misunderstand the saying) that the explanation of his punctiliousness regarding the capital G in the name of the deity was the same as his horror at Mr. Gladstone's bad claret. To him honour and honesty belonged to the sentiments of taste; they were artistic essentials. He withheld not his dreams, but he ever sought to embark upon action ampler than his promises. So were his enflamed enthusiasms, so the colour and the musical rhetoric which, like Burke, he put into his diction, so the solemn resignation to fate after a life of upright walking, which was his religion. He was like a finely-strung musical instrument; the gentlest touch awakened into life sympathetic chords that hummed in low harmony together, a blow brought out loud chords of passion in sonorous volume. The generations will forget much of what he has written because the interest that occasioned it will have sunk into the silent chambers of the dead, but those studies upon which he lavished the dignity of his mind and the high nobility of his thought, and which he sent out arrayed in a style appropriate to both—surely, whilst the soul of man has an ear to hear, they cannot be forgotten.

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

PRAYER BOOK REVISION.

THE presentation by the House of Bishops of their proposals for the Revision of the Prayer Book is, if all goes well with them, the beginning of the final stage of a very long process. The Archbishop of Canterbury in his opening speech on February 7th rightly traced the question of revision to its origin in the many and various changes of the nineteenth century. The present proposals, like the Revision of 1660, come at the end of a period of revolutionary change. The Book of 1662 was a Restoration book. It represented the return of the English Church to the dominant position which it had lost under the Commonwealth, and it had some of the marks of a period of reaction. The supremacy of the Puritans had been short-lived: and their point of view found little consideration in the new Book. Undoubtedly, they would not have been satisfied with much less than a complete acceptance of their peculiar tenets: and this may have been part of the reason why so little attention was paid to them. In the result, as the Directory of 1649 made no allowance whatever for the opinions of Episcopalians, so the Prayer Book of 1662 imposed a fixed order of service, based on the Prayer Book of Queen Elizabeth, upon all persons in England, Ireland, and Wales. It is probable that in the circumstances nothing else could have been done: but it is true that the Book of 1662 left the differences of opinion exactly where they were, and offered no means of reconciliation to vanquished Puritanism but submission.

The present proposals come also at the end of a long period of change and controversy, as the Archbishop pointed out. In the nineteenth century there has been no such political upheaval as there was in the seventeenth, but the changes in thought have been more revolutionary than anything that happened in connection with the Civil War. The relations of Church and State have been involved: Newman dated the beginning of the Tractarian Movement from Keble's sermon on National Apostasy—a sermon provoked by the suppression of certain Irish Sees by the State. The question of Church courts and jurisdiction has found a large element in the discussions of the last century: but the changes in that period involve far deeper questions than these. They have affected the problem of the Existence of God, and the mode of His operations, as well as the authenticity and trustworthiness of the Holy Scripture. That is, these controversies have not been confined within the limits of a practical issue, political and ecclesiastical; they have affected the validity of the Christian Faith and the polity based on it.

During this period, another and very important change has taken place: a different view has developed of the method of dealing with controversy. In the seventeenth century, as already noticed, the

great controversy was fought to a finish: one party won, the other lost. The differences arising in the nineteenth century were at first approached in a similar way: they were brought into the Ecclesiastical Courts. Decisions were reached there, not, however, very conclusive ones, on such subjects as Baptismal Regeneration and the Real Presence of our Lord in the Eucharist. Questions arising out of the volume called *Essays and Reviews* were also brought into Court, but again without a decisive declaration of the true doctrine. The Public Worship Regulation Act aimed at making procedure easier and more successful in matters of ritual divergence than it had been before, and a certain number of cases were decided under it, but without putting an end to the controversy.

In the meantime a change was taking place, as it were, behind the scenes. For many years the great Cambridge trio, Lightfoot, Westcott and Hort, were working at the problems raised by the criticism of the New Testament. They sought to show that, on the lines of reasonable and scholarly criticism, the case for the traditional view of the New Testament books was quite different from the picture of it which a certain school of critics had placed before the world. This direct appeal to learning was, of course, no new thing in the Church of England: but it cut across the appeal to Courts of Law or to mere tradition, and it involved an attitude to disputed points which was not then in favour. Some of the more conservative minds, such as that of Dean Burgon, were nearly as hostile to some of the conclusions of scholars of this type as to those of the Tübingen critics. To him, the whole theory of the text of the New Testament set forth by Westcott and Hort was anathema: they used arguments of the same type as their opponents and no one could say where theirs would stop. The disturbance over the *Essays in Lux Mundi* showed how strongly and widely the conservative view was held till very near the end of the last century. Of course, such a view has its advantages. If it could be successfully put in operation, there would be a clear and decisive end to the controversy and everyone would know "what to believe." The method of scholarship is slow: it took Westcott and Hort thirty years to work out their text, and it often provides surprises for those who use it. In the region of scholarship, however, there is now no doubt that it is the only way of dealing with questions such as these. So late as 1920 an attempt was made to get a condemnation of certain "Modernist" views, but it was unsuccessful.

In the region of Church Order the desire to appeal to legal arbitrament in times of controversy has prevailed and, indeed, is loudly vocal now. There is, of course, more to be said for such an attitude in this region than in the other. Those who minister in the Church do so under certain definite restrictions which they accept when they

undertake their ministry, and it is not unreasonable to argue that, if they do this, they should be held strictly to their bargain. The situation has been greatly complicated by the introduction into the controversy of the authority of particular Courts. No doubt, this is an important question, but it is not there that the key of the situation lies. The real question is, Why is it that certain clergymen want to vary from the practice which had been customary for many years? It is easy to say, They are coquetting with Rome: just as it is easy to say in the controversies we have just been considering, They are throwing over the doctrine of the Incarnation. There are, certainly, persons who look lovingly towards Rome, and some who have passed over into that Communion, just as there are persons who have found it impossible to retain their belief in the Articles of the Creed. But the great majority of those concerned have done neither of these things, and are unlikely ever to do them: the solution of the difficulty must be sought elsewhere.

The Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, which reported in 1906, dealt precisely with this point. It frankly declared that the law as it stands was nowhere exactly observed, and it recommended that the Convocations should be empowered to consider the question whether the law itself did not require to be brought up to date. "The law of public worship in the Church of England is too narrow for the religious life of the present generation. It needlessly condemns much which a great section of Church people, including many of her most devoted members, value; and modern thought and feeling are characterised by a care for ceremonial, a sense of dignity in worship, and an appreciation of the continuity of the Church, which were not similarly felt at the time when the law took its present shape. In an age which has witnessed an extraordinary revival of spiritual life and activity, the Church has had to work under regulations fitted for a different state of things, without that power of self-adjustment which is inherent in the conception of a living Church."

These may seem to some bold and almost revolutionary words when applied to the Church: but they express exactly the principle which works in the English State, and has preserved us from violent revolution. In the State, when a law is found to be ill-adapted to present-day conditions, it is altered to suit the needs of the time. There are always some who say that no change is necessary: these are they who really promote revolution, by refusing all adaptation to the movements of time. But the country has hitherto, in all departments except the Church, been ready to adapt itself to new conditions: till recently, the Church has had no power even of expressing its mind upon such questions. In consequence of an outcry against the lawlessness of ministers, initiated by Sir William

Harcourt, not without reason, the Royal Commission was appointed. It reported, and the present proposals to extend the liberty of those who have to minister in our churches under the directions in the Prayer Book are the result of the unanimous report by the Commissioners in 1906 quoted above, and the consequent instructions of the Crown to the Convocations. They are not ideas, imagined and promoted by a party of agitators: they are based upon the answer in 1920 of the constitutional representative of the Church in Convocation to Letters of Business addressed to them by the Crown. They are not imposed upon anyone: they are permissive variations upon the old Book. The result has been long in coming. The first Letter of Business was issued in November, 1906; but there have been many interruptions for which the Church was not responsible, and the proposals now set forward represent the considered judgment of all the various bodies through which the Church can express its mind.

Before passing on to the details of the Revision, it may be well to note briefly in passing that the whole process above described corresponds very closely to the normal procedure in secular matters. The laws of the land are capable of and are constantly receiving revision. It is, indeed, assumed that they must be in constant need of it. No Prime Minister could conceivably meet Parliament at the opening of a Session and say that he had no items of change upon his programme; the existing laws had, many of them, been long in existence, and given satisfaction: why add or take away? Even decisions in the Courts are regarded, if they seem to be in a serious degree unsatisfactory, as an occasion for changing the law. The House of Lords decision in the case of the "Wee Frees" in Scotland was taken as a sufficient ground for a Statute, because the decision produced considerable confusion in the ecclesiastical bodies concerned. It is, in the opinion of the present writer, unfortunate in the highest degree that this process of reviewing the law was not undertaken many years ago; we might then have avoided a state of things of which a Royal Commission could report that the law of the Church was nowhere fully observed. Lawlessness had undoubtedly been rife in many directions, and it is always a misfortune. But it cannot be avoided unless the Church like the State can adapt its legislation to the changing circumstances of life.

In coming to consider the proposals for alteration in detail, the following point should be noticed. A large number of the suggestions are of no controversial importance, and have been made in consequence of a criticism directed generally against the Prayer Book as a whole. A feeling had grown up, specially prominent during and after the War, that the daily services were monotonous and over-long. It was urged that there was too little variety in the

forms of Morning and Evening Prayer, and that the arrangement for the use of the Psalter and the Lessons frequently resulted in incongruity on Sundays. This is the main ground upon which the variations from the existing order of Morning and Evening Prayer were approved. The new Lectionary was dealt with separately, and is now legalised for optional use. The other alterations are intended to provide for a greater variety in the form of these services than existed before. In pursuance of this policy, the section containing Prayers and Thanksgivings on various occasions has been considerably enlarged. To this section is appended the rubric permitting the use of extempore prayer. It is possible, but, perhaps, not very likely, that this provision will meet with criticism. As the Archbishop remarked in his speech in Convocation, this is an experiment. The English clergy have depended in a very remarkable degree upon the Prayer Book, and a large number of them would find it difficult to lead a congregation in prayer, in their own words. Everyone must have noticed in the war-time how new prayers tended to contain fragments of phrases from the old Collects, and in how very limited a range they seemed to move. This is, surely, a disadvantage, and it may be that the permission given in this Rubric may in some measure overcome it. That there are dangers in the prospect, no one can deny.

Another of the changes for which the war is partly responsible is the provision of Prayers for the Departed. The existing Prayer Book contains no definite forms for this purpose, though the last clause of the Prayer for the Church Militant recognises the unity of the living with those who have passed away. The losses in the war brought before people's minds very emphatically the question of our relation to those who have gone before. Most, if not all, of the forms of prayer issued during the war contained prayers for the departed, and those who have any extended knowledge of the forms used at the Dedication of War Memorials will be aware that such prayers were included very commonly in these. It would have been difficult, if not impossible, to make no provision for this need in a revised Prayer Book, even if there had been a strong reason for such omission. It is surely clear that, to S. Paul's mind, union with the Body of Christ is in no sense broken by death: those who die in the Lord do not pass out of the fellowship of their brethren in the Lord on this side of death. The Church is one body, though its members are not all in one environment, and the prayer of the Church on earth should not ignore this unity. There is no evidence for the detailed conception of Purgatory which prevailed in the Middle Ages, but it is not possible to argue from this fact, to the destruction of the unity of the fellowship of Christ.

Passing to more controversial subjects, we observe that a problem

of very long standing has a suggested solution; the recital of the *Quicumque Vult* is optional and not compulsory. Days are indicated as suitable for the use of the whole or of parts of the Confession of our Faith, and a revised translation is offered. It seems probable that this particular matter is productive of much less acute feeling than it was. For various reasons, the rubric providing for the recitation of *Quicumque Vult* has been increasingly disregarded, and it is probable that it is rarely, if ever, heard in a large number of churches. The suggestion of the Revised Book has been to a great extent anticipated.

There are, however, other matters in regard to which there is still acute division of feeling. One of these is the result of critical discussion of the various Books of the Bible. Until recent years it was assumed without question that the traditions as to authorship of all the books were certainly right, and the statements, on whatever subjects, in the books were infallibly true. In form, this has been the normal view of Holy Scripture for centuries, though the free use of the allegorical method of interpretation seriously modified the meaning of the doctrine. Strictly speaking, this view is of special importance to churches which have rejected the claims of the Church of Rome. The members of that Church could, theoretically, satisfy themselves with the authority of the Pope, and accept the Papal exposition of the Scripture, without inquiring too narrowly into its ultimate authority. In the Roman Catholic Conference on the Bible at Cambridge some few years ago, it was plain that that Church affirms the inerrancy of Holy Scripture in all its details. It cannot, however, be denied that, in its extreme form, this view has been very largely surrendered. It is held no less firmly than before that the Holy Scripture is the supreme source and test of all that can be taught as of necessity to salvation, but considerable changes have taken place in our ideas as to the mode in which truth is conveyed through the Scriptures and the subjects which it may be expected to determine. This change of attitude has been the cause of certain variations in the orders of Baptism and Matrimony especially, and of one important variation in the Ordering of Deacons. Allusions to the Old Testament in two former offices, which cause a great deal of perplexity to many at the present time, are omitted in the Alternative Orders. Words are added to the existing question on Holy Scripture to the candidates for Deacon's Orders, to define more precisely what is meant by the belief in the Canonical Scriptures.

The area of most acute controversy is, unfortunately, to be sought in the Office of Holy Communion. Besides some comparatively unimportant changes, such as additional Proper Prefaces and the like, an Alternative Canon is provided, and the practice of Reservation for the Sick is definitely permitted under conditions. It is

probable that these will be the points upon which the largest amount of discussion will turn. The Alternative Canon, or Consecration, combines into one the Prayer of Consecration, now in the present Book, the Prayer of Oblation, now used after the Communion of the people, and the Lord's Prayer. Besides this, there is an Invocation of the Holy Spirit, and in that part of the Prayer which consists of Thanksgiving reference is made not only to the Death of Christ, but also to other actions in His Life. These various alterations have the effect—as has been pointed out by the Bishop of Gloucester in a letter to *The Times*—of bringing the English Consecration Prayer more nearly into line with the forms which prevailed in the earlier centuries of the Church, before the specially Roman developments had occurred. It may easily seem that a change like this cannot be of any great importance. No one can seriously maintain that our present office is invalid, that is, that it fails to carry out the purpose of the Church in the Sacrament. But this is not quite all that can be said. The Prayer as it stands in our present Books breaks up the connection between the memorial of the Institution, the Thanksgiving for the whole redemptive work of Christ, and the oblation of ourselves. It also omits the ancient Invocation of the Holy Spirit. In this, it departs from the most ancient precedent, and opens the way to a narrower view of the Sacrament in relation to our Lord's Life and Work. The proposed alteration in no way alters the doctrine of the Sacrament but it gives, we submit, a richer and fuller expression to it.

There can be little doubt that the circumstances of modern life have caused the question of Reservation to be raised. It is sometimes said that there would have been no such question if the practice of fasting Communion had not been pressed unduly, and beyond the lines laid down in the Prayer Book. Undoubtedly, this practice is an element in the discussion: but it is by no means the whole cause of the demand for Reservation. There is a very widespread increase of the desire for frequent Communion, especially in times of grave illness, and this desire renders the existing provision for Private Celebrations insufficient. No priest could celebrate these several times in one day, and there would certainly be occasions, in large parishes especially, where this would be inevitable, in the periods of the Greater Feasts, for instance, unless the Reserved Sacrament were available. It is probable that this would be largely admitted, and it is surely true that the carrying of the Sacrament to a sick person outside the Church is not intrinsically different from carrying it to a person in the Church. The real objection felt to this provision depends on the fear that if the Sacrament is reserved in the Church, the cult of the Sacrament such as is common in Roman churches will inevitably grow up. The rubric as it is proposed endeavours to preclude this result. There is, no doubt, a real risk:

but there is also a real demand on the other side, and it seems doubtful whether it would be right to reject the demand on that account alone. There is, in the opinion of the present writer, a very wide gap between such Reservation and the practices historically and doctrinally open to grave objections, which are connected with it in the Church of Rome. The desire for Communion has no necessary connection with these.

It has not been possible in the space available to do more than touch on the more prominent features of the proposals for Revision of the Prayer Book. The various provisions may be criticised and defended in many more ways than have been mentioned in this article. Something was said at the beginning of the changes in thought which have led to the present position. In conclusion, something must now be said of the general character of the proposals. The main question which has to be considered under this head is: Do the proposals put forward by the House of Bishops alter the doctrinal basis of the Prayer Book?

Speaking as one who has been continuously engaged in the business of Prayer Book Revision since November 10th, 1906, I can say without the slightest hesitation that the idea of altering the doctrinal basis of the Book, and so, indirectly, of the Church of England, has never been entertained for one single moment. But it has to be remembered that this question of the doctrinal basis of the Church of England is not, in itself, a simple one, and is apt to be affected by subjective considerations. The Church of England has always been a comprehensive Church: that is to say, it has allowed within its unity a number of points of view, which have, at first sight, an air of incompatibility. This is, of course, an extremely difficult policy to follow. Everybody in the Church would like to know, at any given moment, what the Church's teaching is, and what the Church of England "stands for." To some extent the Church of Rome satisfies, for its own adherents, this requirement. The Church of England, on the other hand, has proceeded upon a different plan: it has so defined its position as to leave room inside it for very different points of view.

That method involves this disadvantage. The representative of one possible point of view—let us call him Mr. A.—finds certain theological positions in the Prayer Book: he thinks it was devised for the sole purpose of setting forth these, and excluding all others. Mr. B. finds in the same Book a different set of ideas, and interprets the Prayer Book equally exclusively. Mr. A. or Mr. B. may find in the Proposals for Revision things which will disturb the serenity of his conviction that his interpretation of the Prayer Book is the only tenable one. Either of them will then say, The doctrinal balance is shifted. "Mr. B., whom I have always regarded as a heretic, will find countenance in the new Book: this is clearly a surrender to

Mr. B.'s views, a disturbance of the true balance." Mr. B. will say the same from his point of view. And both may be wrong.

This position is illustrated by the criticisms upon the Alternative Order for Holy Communion and other connected matters. The Alternative Canon is said to be Romanising: whereas it is really further from the Roman type than the present one. The provision for Reservation is criticised on the ground that practices may follow which the proposed rubric definitely condemns.

All such criticisms—and they come from various quarters—seem to rest upon an inadequate view of the position of the Church of England and an inadequate ideal of truth. The Church of England has, as we have already noticed, been comprehensive of various limited and abstract points of view. All have arguments in their favour: all can appeal to Scripture: but none can claim to be exclusively true. There should be an indefeasible right in the English Church for those who value most highly the direct and immediate access to our Father in heaven. There should be a no less indefeasible right for those to whom sacramental rites and organised worship and definitely appointed order appeal no less strongly. There should be a no less indefeasible right for those who wish to discover by careful testing and criticism the true reason for the faith that is in them. Anyone of these which tries to oust the others will be doing the Church of England and Christianity at large incalculable mischief.

This is not the most plausible, but it is the most trustworthy idea of the way in which truth should be presented and attained. The indolence and ignorance of men lead them to desire a mode of finding truth which will save them the trouble of inquiry or criticism. They seek for infallibility in the Pope or in the letter of Holy Scripture. But this is not the way in which truth has come. Men have found it by inquiring, by testing their convictions, by exchange of views with others, by adhering to central certainties and learning by listening to discussions on this side or on that. The most alarming claim for a Church to make would be that it has nothing new to learn about any subject—even in theology.

One of the advantages of an Order of Services is that the fixed prayers fall in at special moments and carry special meanings. The Collect for the Week in which these proposals have been submitted to the Church runs as follows:

O Lord, we beseech thee to keep thy Church and household continually in thy true religion; that they who do lean only upon the hope of thy heavenly grace may evermore be defended by thy mighty power; through Jesus Christ our Lord.

I venture to claim that it is in this spirit that these proposals have been drawn up and are now set before the Church.

THOMAS OXON.

THE EDUCATION OF THE ADOLESCENT.

ADOLESCENCE presents tough problems at home, to education and to industry. Is the education of the growing boy and girl of the right type, and sufficient? Do the interests, occupations and associations of the working life assist in expanding their moral and intellectual powers, or do they weaken resistance to the undermining influences which beset them during the free hours of a natural rebound from the monotony of mass production? What can education do to support the one tendency and to mitigate the effects of the other? How can the unemployed be prevented from sinking into the unemployable? Happily, all youth does not need preventive education, but education is primarily a nurturing process; and there can be no more "marking time" in a progressive nation than in a progressive school.

Five million children are enrolled in the public elementary schools of England and Wales, half a million in each age group. Education is obligatory from five to fourteen years of age. At the extremes, the nine years are spent in one room of one department or in promotion from class to class, with a break from infants' to senior departments at about seven or eight. Under progressive authorities the abler pupils at eleven to twelve are promoted to senior classes, or transferred to senior schools, to secondary schools, central schools, trade schools, junior technical schools and continuation schools, by means of free places (exemption from fees) and, in a number of areas, the addition of a small maintenance grant. Numbers approaching 20 per cent. of each age group pass on thus to a higher type of school for three, four, or five years, while 80 per cent. continue in ordinary elementary schools to the close of their school career at fourteen. Ambitious youth seeks further education in evening classes in subjects mostly associated with employment; the total of individual students in such evening institutions reaching 600,000 (boys and men, women and girls), those between fourteen and eighteen (320,000) forming about one-sixth of the total in the four age groups. The standards of work vary from the simpler elements of new subjects up to the honours degree of London University. A few thousands attend, intermittently, part-time Day Continuation Schools. Probably 60 per cent. of the rising generation never re-enter school after fourteen. In time, much of the early schooling wears off, leaving a large, half-educated residuum. These two groups form the pride and the anxiety of the educational system.

The educational aspect of the problem is not a new one, but it has just entered upon a new phase. On December 16th last the

Board of Education published a Report of the Consultative Committee which recommends legislation making full-time attendance at school until fifteen years of age obligatory for all children from the beginning of the school year 1932. On the same day the President of the Board addressed a letter to the Chairman of the Committee in which, after pointing out that the local education authorities were fully engaged in carrying out the three years' programmes which had been required by the Board, added: "Authorities will therefore, I think, wish to be assured that without in any way pre-judging the issue raised by the Committee's recommendations on this point, the Board will not, in the present circumstances, ask Parliament to add to their existing statutory duties in such a way as to disturb their programmes of development, and this assurance is one that I feel I ought to give without delay."

The Consultative Committee forms part of the statutory machinery of the central government of education. In the past, most valuable reports have emanated from it. Although only an advisory body it has acquired a position of much influence and responsibility. Its advice is independent of the Board's views, attitude, or action, and is given on questions duly submitted to it. The present Report, dealing with organisation, objective and curriculum for children who will remain in full-time attendance at schools up to fifteen years of age, is in many respects admirable. It might with advantage have been pruned of some of its details and repetitions. It is rather long for the layman, rather short for the expert. Some of its appendices are most valuable (for example, Table 3, Appendix III), and its sixty pages of "Suggestions on Teaching" ought to be studied by every teacher, head and assistant, and by every lecturer and principal in every training college. In view of the importance of the administrative issues involved it is, perhaps, one of the few cases in which it would have been an advantage to examine the balance of evidence between those witnesses engaged in administration, those in teaching, and the attitude of "big business"; and to have had an opportunity of weighing the experience of the individual against his evidence. It is obvious that the idealists on the Committee are largely responsible for the character of the Report. They have not been embarrassed by questions of finance. In spite of that the Report will form a most valuable addition to the materials for reference which local education authorities consult when considering large issues of policy.

The raising of the limit of compulsory school age has been a slow process, and the universal application of any limit—twelve, thirteen, or fourteen—has always been preceded by a period in which authorities were empowered, when they thought fit and the

central department approved, to make by-laws requiring attendance for one year more, thus preparing for the next advance. Up to 1918 the compulsory age in many school areas was not above thirteen. The Act of that year, however, swept away all exemptions, made fourteen plus ("plus" meaning to the end of the school term in which the child reaches fourteen) the upper limit and, as before, empowered local education authorities to make by-laws if they thought fit, substituting fifteen for fourteen. The President has not discouraged local authorities from framing reports for raising the school age, and he has, in fact, approved two such proposals, but there has been no sign, he says, that progressive authorities in general are yet prepared to face such an extension of their responsibilities.

The recommendation as to lengthening the school life forms the most striking feature of the Report. It is accompanied by a scheme of extensive reorganisation for all education from eleven to twelve upwards.

It may be assumed that the promoters of the Act contemplated that a complete elementary education would be obtainable within the walls of each public elementary school. As elementary education spread, and the conditions of life broadened and deepened, progressive school boards and pioneer teachers struck out independent lines of advance. To such action the country is to-day indebted for the variety of schools in the front line of progress, a variety which, without compulsion, has in progressive areas been responsible for much of the phenomenal growth of secondary schools; has raised the elementary school age to fifteen and even sixteen, and has given the keynote to the Committee's proposals on classification and curriculum. The Committee has been moved by the new interests created by the break at eleven to twelve by the new subjects with their practical leanings in the new type of school, with the confidence of parents and pupils in them, and the consequent lengthening of school life. In a broad sense, they regard these schools as meeting the needs of a new age, and as the changes correspond with the physical changes in the child's life and outlook, the Committee is justified in claiming for them a natural basis. They propose, therefore, that education up to eleven to twelve should be regarded as primary and that all children who do not thereafter go forward to "Secondary Education" in the narrow sense of the word should go forward none the less to what is, in their view, a form of secondary education in the broader sense of the term, and after spending the first years of their school life in a primary school should spend the last three or four in a well-equipped and well-staffed modern school (or senior department) under the stimulus of practical work and yet in the free

and broad air of a general and humane education. All education subsequent to eleven to twelve should in their opinion be regarded as secondary and should, as respects equipment, staffing, methods of teaching and intellectual demands, be of secondary standard, differing only in subject matter, treatment, and length of school life.

Having regard to the progress made in lengthening the school life the author of the Act of 1918 (Mr. Fisher) offered two solutions for further advance, but in each case left to the discretion of individual authorities the appropriate time to move, in whole or in part, with the intention, no doubt, to follow up with a line of general action when progressive authorities had as usual prepared the way. The Committee have heaped up evidence and arguments in favour of their own plan, but have offered no grounds for almost ignoring the possibilities of the other. That other, the Compulsory Day-Continuation School, had a short, brilliant success but owing to the stress of financial depression, of political opportunism and of parental excitement has, so far as it was compulsory, been with little exception abandoned—for the present, at all events. While giving heed to the effects of practical work and advanced instruction up to fourteen, the Continuation School solution sought thereafter to combine labour and education in a forty-eight hours' week, eight being assigned to education. Such "part-time" education was to continue at first to sixteen, and after seven years to eighteen years of age. "Standards" were to be of secondary breadth and level. The one plan precedes entrance into employment: the other would make industry and education concurrent, thus gathering and using the experience of the effect of occupation on the adolescent's character. The one would remove immediately more adolescents from the labour market, and it would be easier to organise, since there would be no break or disturbance in employment during the whole of the week. Both involve compulsion; the Committee's plan universal; the continuation school, by areas or part-areas or by industries. In either case the Act leaves to the local education authority discretion to adopt or not adopt the proposal in whole or in part. At present there is little or no disposition to move either way.

In the course of their inquiry the Committee discovered a few rather immovable administrative obstacles. "Finance," they say, "is not within our purview." They are contented to submit "unanswerable" educational arguments. Such an explanation would have been acceptable had the Committee not proceeded to recommend a beginning in 1932, and to suggest that the strain on the family income will be so great that compulsion must be accompanied by some form of maintenance allowance. The provision of another year's schooling at £20 a head would cost

10,000,000 pounds sterling, and a maintenance allowance of five shillings a week would add another 5,000,000. In the case of the Day Continuation School the adolescent would be a wage-earner: schooling of eight hours per week at the same rate would cost annually about one-third!

Two sets of authorities share the local government of education. Non-county boroughs and urban districts are responsible, within their own areas, for elementary education only. Counties and county boroughs are autonomous in respect of both elementary and higher, while the county is responsible for higher education within the areas of non-county boroughs and urban districts. Within geographical Lancashire, an extreme example, seventeen county boroughs and twenty-six boroughs and urban districts, with their several autonomy, stand out like islands in an educational archipelago. The Committee realises that the proposal to divide education before and after eleven into primary and secondary will greatly increase the difficulties of co-operation. They therefore favour legislation creating new provincial authorities in which the present authorities for elementary and higher education would both be merged. To all such proposals vested interests will offer fierce opposition. Voluntary combinations would seem to be the first step.

As always, the solution of the problem depends on the teaching staff. London and other progressive areas have succeeded with central schools and classes because they have collected reservoirs of teachers from which they can draw supplies of the necessary heads and assistants. Scarcely a teacher, head, or assistant, in London is below the grade of certificate. At the other extreme, in rural areas the corresponding figure is 30 per cent. How is it possible under such conditions to staff the schools with existing teachers qualified to give instruction to children from eleven to fifteen up to secondary school standards, to teach history, geography, literature, drawing (and a modern language!) in the way in which they can and should be taught by specialists in a secondary or a central school? The present writer's experience includes first-hand acquaintance with rural schools. While the work done by rural teachers is, under present circumstances, worthy of all admiration, they have not been trained to give effect to the Committee's ideals. They cannot be dismissed wholesale, even if there were sufficient graduates ready to replace them. Assuming that the Committee's proposal finds general acceptance the process of change must be one of evolution extending over many more than five years.

Parliamentary answers during 1925 disclose the facts that, of all teachers in elementary schools below the grade of certificate, the

proportion was in London 2.7, in county boroughs 14.9, in boroughs and urban districts, 22.7 and in counties, exclusive of London, 43.2 (March 19th). Graduates numbered 1,227 men, or 3.2 per cent. of the total men teachers, and women 685, or .53 per cent. of the total women teachers. Of these 1,912 graduates probably 1,000 were in the London service.

The Committee deal with the century-old problem of "dual control" with moderation, but with firmness. They direct attention to the difficulties which arise from the fact that elementary schools of to-day are of two types of management: local education authorities and denominational managers. Since 1902 the local education authority has controlled all its own schools within its area. The management of each voluntary (non-provided) school has had a life long isolation. There is no group or association representative of all. Where buildings are unfit, even for an elementary school, or not adapted or adaptable to meet new requirements, the fabric of the denominational school cannot be altered or repaired. The managers have not the means and the local education authority is forbidden by law. Further, when authorities seek, by agreement, to organise the schools in groups, whether provided and non-provided, or non-provided alone, conflicting views of neighbouring managers form persistent barriers to combination or co-operation. Notwithstanding conspicuous examples of success, the problem has not hitherto yielded to goodwill or to prolonged negotiation. One-fifth of all the elementary school-children of England and Wales are in rural schools and these belong mainly to the Church of England. In Wiltshire and Lancashire, for example, there are seventy-one council schools with 8,460 pupils whereas in 532 denominational schools the pupils number 43,412.

The non-provided (church) school managers could help or hinder. The Committee appeals for their co-operation and does not overlook the regrettable possibility of its loss, and it refers to recent efforts to secure a co-operation, quoting the President of the Board's general description of them. (*The Times*, June 26th, 1926. Page 10.)

"Generally speaking, these schemes resemble each other pretty closely and appear, broadly speaking, to amount to this: that authorities should be empowered to accept the transfer of voluntary schools upon conditions which would allow denominational instruction to be given in them on certain days of the week. In all other respects, the transferred schools are to be conducted in school hours as council schools, but religious instruction within the terms of Section 28 of the Act of 1921 is to be provided in all council schools, and during the hours set apart for such instruction facilities are to be afforded, where desired, for the withdrawal of children for denominational teaching outside the school premises."

Provincial authorities and the solution of the problem of dual

control are not essential to the establishment of a system of continuation schools, as was shown in 1921.

The Report is not happy on nomenclature. To call all schools after eleven "secondary" would seem to damage the status of existing secondary schools. Moreover, within the higher group it would be unfortunate to abandon such attractive names as junior technical school, trade school, or even the much more neutral name of central school. And it seems unwise to call all the time-honoured secondary schools grammar-schools. "Grammar" used to mean Latin and Greek exclusively. It makes a different appeal in modern days but the suggested name of "modern school" for the remainder implies that the secondary schools are not modern. Yet the principal subjects taken in the examination by candidates for State scholarship in 1921 tenable at a university were: Classics 21 (31), Modern Studies, 88 (105), Mathematics and Science 72 (102) and other subjects 3 (2). The figures in brackets are for 1924.

Briefly the present writer believes that general advocacy of any measures involving large new expenditure would at present be unwise: that the continuation school could be more effective than the Committee's proposal: that the choice should be left to individual authorities: that school conditions are far from ripe for the general adoption of such an extensive programme of full-time education, however desirable, as the Committee proposes: that surplus energy should be devoted to much needed consolidation including provision of handicraft and domestic training in rural districts now lamentably deficient: that progress demands the creation of a reservoir of highly qualified staff, which depends on authorities and training colleges and requires time; that a much larger proportion of teachers should be educated at a university and should bring away from it its spirit as well as its hall-mark: that provincial authorities are a distant prospect; and hopes that a strong effort will be made to settle the question of dual control before the present Government comes to an end.

R. BLAIR.

THE CASHUBES OF THE CORRIDOR.

THE borders of the Baltic have been the breeding ground and nursery of tribes who multiplied or diminished, rose to prominence or sank into obscurity, according to the fortunes of the warring races and marauding hordes who made the shores of that Northern sea their battlefield. Here in the early centuries of the Christian era a welter of wild peoples—Tartars and Vikings, various types of Slavs and Teutons, Poles and Lithuanians, Wends and Prussians contended for mastery. The hazy records of the period are little more than a tangle of conflicting claims without continuity: it is not until the tenth century that historical data exist which can be accepted as fairly trustworthy. Not all the Baltic tribes or races survived these turbulent times; some became mere fragments and would now have been forgotten but for the emergence of a new nationalist spirit after the Great War, when they attained an historical and political significance altogether out of proportion to their numbers.

Among the most ancient of these Baltic peoples are the Cashubes who live in the most northerly part of West Prussia, now known as the Corridor—the new Polish province of the Starosta of the Seas. They are the “key” people of this part of the Corridor and have more natural claims to their territory than any other race, as it has been their home from remote ages. They have increased in importance, although owing to emigration not in numbers, in recent years: before the war when the Poles brought them within their Polonising policy and made them political allies, and since the partition when the Germans claim friendship with them and seek their sympathy.

A visit to Cashubia is not all easy going. The entry to the Corridor is well protected by Customs barriers and armed guards. The easiest way to reach the country of the Cashubes is from the Free City of Danzig. The road leads through the beautiful suburbs of that city; you pass Zoppot, its seaside resort—the Monte Carlo of the Baltic. A little farther on, when admiring the scenery around Gdynia—the Polish rival to Zoppot and the new competitive port to Danzig—you are pulled up at the first Customs barrier. You are at the frontier of the Free City. Your passport is taken away and a record made in the Customs office. Your luggage is examined and you are questioned before you are allowed to proceed. You do not proceed a hundred yards when another barrier, displaying the ferocious-looking crowned eagle which forms the arms of Republican Poland, blocks the way and you are subjected to another Customs examination. This time the ordeal is stricter and you must state where you are going and how long you mean

to stay. Sometimes the cushions of motor cars are probed and Germans from East Prussia are liable to be subjected to personal search. Your passport goes to the office for inspection and record. The Customs officials are always attended by armed soldiers. Poland and Danzig are in the same Customs union, but these irritating inspections take place as if they were two separate countries living under hostile tariffs. It is true while Polish tariffs apply to Danzig that the Free City has one or two State monopolies of its own, but there is no reason why the frontier formalities should not be carried out at one Customs office by the same staff instead of having two sets of officials at work in two offices within speaking distance of each other. On the return journey the inspections are repeated.

The examinations which take place on entering the Corridor are pleasant experiences compared with the ordeal which awaits the traveller if he proceeds through the Corridor into Germany. In the first place no resident of Poland can leave that country unless he pays 500 zloty for a passport and then it is only issued for a short period. While the tax applies to everyone leaving Poland the Germans regard it as a penalising tribute specially aimed at them. It hits them hardest as the Germans now living in Polish territory—formerly German—have relatives in the Fatherland and want to keep in close touch with their kinsmen, for personal and business reasons. Germans who have opted for Polish nationality and have material interests in Germany may wish to cross the frontier frequently, or desire to educate their children at schools in Germany—more efficient than the Polish schools—and the passport impost provokes bitter feelings, besides which the fee is prohibitive to middle-class and professional people. There are other strict conditions on residents leaving Poland. The traveller is not allowed to take more than 250 zloty out of Poland: certain goods on the prohibitive list must not be exported; tariff duties are high and Customs examination on traders is a severe and expensive ordeal. A policy of levying tribute is preferred to facilities for encouraging trade. Political nationalism expresses itself in economic Chauvinism.

To reach the Cashubian country, on entering the Corridor one must turn southward. The ancestors of the Cashubes at one time occupied the whole of Pomerania and the area between the Vistula and the Oder, stretching south to the Netze and the Warthe and north to the Baltic. The Cashubes are now reduced to about 110,000 and inhabit the western part of the Corridor from Konitz to Neustadt, thinning as they near the sea. The coastal county of Putzig and the long spur which stretches out towards Danzig Bay are inhabited largely by Germans. The Cashubes have succeeded in preserving distinct characteristics, physical and psychological: their manners, mode of life and speech. Their concentration and preserva-

tion have been aided by their religious belief; they are Roman Catholics, while West Prussia has been and is predominantly Protestant.

They live in a picturesque country, hard, cold and inhospitable. It is winter for seven months of the year. It is a country of many lakes, mountains, ridges, racing rivers, steep slopes and great forests. It has been likened to a small Switzerland. The Baltic ridge which divides the German plain forms a watershed in Cashubia. It rises to a height of over a thousand feet in the Cashubian highlands. There are many smaller eminences: a hilly plateau forms the centre of Cashubia. Owing to heavy rainfall it is the source of many rivers; some of which are tributaries of the Vistula, some fall into the Baltic, while others flow westward, joining the Warthe and the Oder.

The richer lands in Cashubia have always belonged to Germans, and the owners of many large estates and forests are also Germans who have been settled here for many generations. They are the chief territorial magnates, and give the only examples of scientific agriculture in the country. There are cases in which property has been in the possession of the same family for seven hundred years. Some of the leading families are of Cashubian origin. One representative of this ancient race gave me an exhibition of his rolls of parchment which dated from the thirteenth century—a family compared with whom the Hohenzollerns are upstarts. These ancient documents were either in German or Latin.

The Cashubes are chiefly peasants, smallholders, workers on the land, village tradesmen or fishermen. The typical Cashubes are small of stature, usually blue-eyed and fair-haired. Their horses are also small sized and so are their cattle. The soil which they cultivate is not fertile. The chief crops are potatoes, and rye, which form the staple food of the people. During the potato harvest you see family groups at work in the fields, the women and children in bare feet. Oats are grown, but the climate is unsuitable for wheat. Barley, which is produced in other parts of the Corridor, is almost entirely neglected. Pasturage is poor and stock-breeding is not made a business. There are few sheep. Pigs are bred in great numbers and are sold to Danzig dealers for the English markets. The peasants keep geese and goats, who feed in the fields and by the roadsides in summer and autumn.

It has been the misfortune of the Cashubes that they are not a people with highly developed political instincts, in which respect they differ from the Poles; nor have they the gift of system and organisation, thereby contrasting strikingly with the Germans. They have neither been Polonised or Germanised. Because of their low standard of natural intelligence and their lack of receptivity feudal authority lingered longer among them than in any other part of the Baltic provinces. The nineteenth century had run

half its course before the last vestiges of feudalism had disappeared from Cashubian territory.

Statistics do not help much to fix the political sympathies of these people. There is nothing which Poles and Germans differ so much about as statistics. The northern end of the Corridor can be made Polish or German according to the transfer of the Cashubes from one side to the other. The Poles point triumphantly to the results of the elections before the War; not one German was returned to the Reichstag from the districts inhabited by the Cashubes. The Poles not only claim them as kinsmen but Cashubia as a land where the people are "indisputably Polish." Pole and German propagandists lead one into an ethnological maze in their attempts to demonstrate the racial affinities and historical associations of the Cashubes. The Poles not only claim the Cashubes as kinsmen but declare that they are the rightful heirs to Cashubia. The country they say was either an integral part of Poland or under the protection of the Polish State from the eleventh century. It was not German until 1308, when conquered by the Teutonic knights. It reverted to Poland in 1454, returned to Germany again in 1772, and was transferred to the new Poland under the Versailles Treaty in 1920. Thus arithmetically Pomerania was in possession of Poland for 318 years while it was German for 294. The difference of twenty-four years out of six centuries is negligible, particularly if we remember that the past century and a half was the period which saw Europe re-shaped into stable political units. It is also the period which saw the rise of democracy and Parliamentary institutions, the period which witnessed revolutionary progress in science, invention, commerce, industry and communication, the spread of education, and the introduction of ordered Government. The Germans might claim that theirs was the cycle which counted for most in the lives of people and in the world's history. Inevitably they disagree with the Poles' reading of history. Although Pomerania was under the protection of Poland it was never Polish. The Cashubes were never absorbed.

The Corridor territory was originally occupied by German tribes, and during the great migration in Baltic countries there was an incursion of Slav tribes, not Poles, who underwent a far-reaching Germanisation by peaceful penetration and in consequence of the 150 years' domination of the Teutonic Order.

The 300 years of Polish rule which followed the rule of the Teutonic Knights failed to effect more than a partial revocation of the German influence.

The Cashubes did not come within the purview of the Peace Conference as a people who deserved special consideration. If the Polish claims had been conceded they would have been completely swamped in the two and a half million Germans living in East and

West Prussia who would have been transferred to Poland. Mr. Lloyd George resisted these extravagant demands and also the proposals of President Wilson that "a free and secure access to the sea" should include Danzig, Pomerania and slices of East Prussia—entirely incompatible with the President's other principle that the new Polish State should only "include territories inhabited by an indisputably Polish population." Mr. Lloyd George wanted Poland's access to the sea to be through a "Corridor"—a description due to his fertile imagination for which the Poles have never forgiven him.

No provision was made for granting the Cashubes a measure of local autonomy which they hoped to secure and have been disappointed in not receiving. The Cashubes were friends with Poles before the war. The atmosphere was favourable to a political alliance. The Poles had secured the sympathy of the Cashubes, who gave them support and looked to them for help.

The introduction of reactionary measures in Prussia coincided with a revival of Polish nationalism, and the Poles took full advantage of the opportunity to put the worst possible complexion on the revival of Polish nationalism, and the Poles took full advantage of the opportunity to put the worst possible complexion on the hateful measures. They increased their hold over the population, not only by political organisations and banks, but by choral societies, reading-rooms, newspapers and other agencies which were established. It was estimated that in 1909 every tenth Cashube was a reader of a Polish newspaper. While they united with the Poles in sympathy and in political campaigns, the Cashubes had no trace of national self-consciousness.

After the war the Cashubes took no part in the general elections for the Reichstag or for the Prussian Diet. They welcomed with enthusiasm the occupation of the country by Polish troops in January, 1920. They have been disappointed, however, with conditions which followed. They expected autonomy, and they resented the place-hunters who came from Congress Poland and Galicia. Little change has taken place in the condition of the people or in the internal organisation of the country. Both languages are used for official administrative purposes; public notices are only in Polish. German officials and Crown tenants have been replaced by Poles, and the two groups are as antipathetic to the Cashubes as were the Germans.

There has been a deterioration in administration, an all-round lowering in efficiency. Local taxation is higher. The local authorities do not receive the same assistance from the State as they did under Prussia. It is more difficult for the Cashubes to find markets for their agricultural products.

Formerly the Corridor was part of a highly developed industrial

State: it was an integral part of Prussia. Communications and the flow of trade went from east to west, and from west to east. Now the natural interchange of commodities between parts of the same country is interrupted. The Cashubes find themselves living in a bottle-neck. They are hemmed in by tariffs which blocks intercourse with their former natural markets in East Prussia and Germany, and they cannot trade freely with their former metropolis—Danzig. The trade from south to north has not been developed by Poland to an extent which replaces the former activities, industrial and agricultural, which made for the prosperity of the people of the Corridor.

It is natural that Poland should try to build up a case to justify possession for other reasons than that of political expediency and President Wilson's thirteenth point. Were a vote taken now after thousands of Germans have left the Corridor and been replaced by Poles there would be a Polish majority, but the Cashubes would not be found all on the side of the Poles. While they resisted Germanisation they are equally hostile to assimilation by Poles. They are readier now to speak German than they were under Germany. They chafed under German militarism, and find Polish militarism equally distasteful. Militarism is more in evidence: in the armed police, armed Customs guards and numerous soldiers.

The Cashubes remain a somewhat primitive community. They want to cultivate their fields; be left to live peacefully under the conditions which suit their habits and characteristics. Their grievances in pre-war times were provoked by the short-sighted reactionary legislation of Prussia. They feared that in some way through the suppression of Polish their religion was in danger. There was also a lack of sympathy for racial units during a period when the rise of democratic feeling in Germany was thwarted and not allowed expression in representative Parliamentary Government. It was precisely during this period, beginning two decades before the War, that there was a keen revival of Polish nationalism carried out by vigorous campaigns beyond the borders of Congress Poland. This propaganda found ready adherents among the Cashubes, who had no local leaders and no means of defending themselves against attacks. They now find that economically they were better off under Germany and perhaps realise that the new Germany has a different conception of its responsibility towards racial minorities, a new political outlook, and is altogether a more stable and progressive country than Poland. The Cashubes are obsessed with a new fear: they feel that they are in a centre where danger lurks. Their habitat is in the narrowest parts of the Corridor, a strip of Polish territory projected into Germany, cutting Pomerania off from East Prussia, hemmed in by tariff walls, and they realise that it is one of the weak and dangerous spots on the Eastern frontier.

ROBERT DONALD.

the need of finding an Emperor for Mexico. Don Juan de Bourbon had been sounded and declined: who was there? Neither Hidalgo nor Napoleon believed the Archduke Maximilian would accept if approached. Then Eugénie made her famous utterance, "it is borne in on me that he will accept." Despatched to Miramar, Gutierrez found the proposal fascinated the Archduke and Duchess, who saw in it opportunities for promoting religion, justice, and progress, only Maximilian insisted he must be chosen by the Mexican nation. The belief that he was remained with him to the last, so skilfully was he deceived. The formal offer of the crown was manipulated by the reactionary party. Men who would have told him the truth were kept from approaching him, and highly coloured representations by Gutierrez, whose good manners pleased his fastidiousness, dominated his final decision. A brisk correspondence began between Charlotte and Eugénie, both enthusiasts for the "sacred cause."

Maximilian did not set sail till 1864, and meanwhile much happened in Mexico. In accordance with the Convention of London (October 31st, 1861), Spain, France and England sent their fleets to Vera Cruz, landing troops to enforce payment of the debts repudiated by Juarez. Only a demonstration was intended. A meeting held at Soledad would have clinched matters with Juarez but for the impossible demands of the French plenipotentiary, Saligny, and other irreconcilables. Spain and England withdrew their forces when Napoleon's troops acting on secret orders penetrated inland. Eugénie repeatedly encouraged Napoleon to despatch reinforcements, which he did, but never enough. Crimean veterans smiled grimly, saying he expected to subdue Mexico with fewer soldiers than were needed to take Sevastopol. When matters went badly, Bazaine was sent out. His greatest success was the capture of Puebla with its large garrison and the flower of Juarez' generals. Still Juarez gained the greater advantages, and Bazaine constantly left captured towns to the Juarists.

Napoleon was full of promises to Maximilian, declaring that when he reached Mexico all would be right. Eugénie sang the same song to Charlotte, and Mexicans in Paris supplied the chorus. Francis Joseph remained consistent throughout. Not averse to his cleverer brother, who was always a problem, accepting a crown, he gave him money, permitted the recruiting of Austrian volunteers, but declined involving his government. Maximilian must be guaranteed by the Sea Powers, and Napoleon must undertake to leave French troops till tranquillity was established in Mexico. King Leopold was encouraging but with forethought. He agreed with Francis Joseph, but warned Maximilian not to pin his faith to Napoleon. He believed that England would refuse to commit

herself. Even the exiled Bishop Labastida said that to establish a permanent rule in Mexico was impossible.

Unlike Gutierrez, Hidalgo and kindred spirits who had been long absent from Mexico, and Sir Charles Wyke, our recently recalled Chargé d'Affaires, thought only Juarez could hold the country. Maximilian's one chance lay in gaining the support of the best Liberals (*Moderados*), thus defeating schemers of whatever colour. Wyke knew the deep-seated corruption amongst civilians, even as Prince Salm knew that with the military betrayal was often a question of enough *pesetas*. Maximilian feared being too dependent on France. Lord Russell, our Foreign Secretary, was adamant, foreseeing that the Federalists would triumph in America. Favouring the South, Napoleon was always tapping the American barometer, his moods changing with its fluctuations. Spain was sulky, having tried to forestall Napoleon in Mexico.

In September, 1863, Charlotte asked King Leopold whether she should accompany her husband. He said emphatically, "that is your duty." She telegraphed to Maximilian, "Everything goes excellently." A deputation from Mexico brought glowing accounts of how their country longed for its Emperor. Napoleon and the *émigrés* urged haste. What matter if the Pope had done little but allow Mexican bishops to return to safe districts, promising a *nuncio* later, or that no Great Power but France had made any promises at all? Maximilian felt he must fulfil his destiny.

The Archduke and Duchess went to Paris, and were received with sovereign honours. Maximilian, no financier, agreed to heavy stipulations for a loan. Napoleon gave him a secret undertaking not to fail with troops whatever happened in Europe. Visiting Venice and splendidly fêted, a bombshell fell on Maximilian when he was informed he must renounce all rights as an Austrian Archduke. He and Charlotte resented keenly that a deed to this effect was sprung upon them at the last moment. Maximilian refused to sign and returned to Miramar. Great was the perturbation in Paris; Napoleon, knowing his man, wrote that it was a matter of honour not to draw back. King Leopold agreed it was too late. Valiant Charlotte went to beard Francis Joseph, extracting a promise that the appanage should be restored if Maximilian returned from Mexico. The renunciation was effected at Miramar. The departure of the Imperial Pair was delayed by Maximilian breaking down; Charlotte had to represent him at a farewell banquet. Rome received the new Emperor and Empress enthusiastically. Pio Nono admonished them with his blessing always to put the Church first; on Mexican ecclesiastical difficulties he was silent.

Their reception in Mexico City made up for coldness at Vera Cruz. They were fascinated by the old Palace of Chapultepec,

THE DOUBLE TRAGEDY OF MEXICO.

"THE French expedition to Mexico and its tragical end is a sad blot on Louis Napoleon's career." This entry in Lord Malmesbury's diary is the more telling because he was Napoleon's friend. As another diplomatist put it, Napoleon had bitten off more than he could chew and it was bringing him nearer and nearer to Sedan. The Empress Eugénie's disastrous urging to embark on the Mexican venture prevented his taking her advice in 1866 to join Austria.

On March 20th, 1871, I stood close to Napoleon on his arrival at Dover after his captivity at Wilhelmshöhe. The restrained emotion in the demeanour of Eugénie, who met him with her son, haunts me still. In startling contrast to the charming hostess and eager politician of gay Compiègne, I saw a woman steeped in sorrow. Yet more vividly I recall the photograph of a bullet-pierced coat, shown me in 1867, the coat in which the Emperor Maximilian died. The close of the ex-Empress Charlotte's long martyrdom brings back those far-off "sixties" when Eugénie, inspired by a Mexican diplomatist, Hidalgo y Esnaurrizar, devised a scenario, the climax of which outran her conceptions.

In 1856, Queen Victoria and her beloved "Uncle Leopold" discussed an alliance for his daughter, Charlotte, considered the most beautiful Princess in Europe. Having a predilection for the nineteen-year-old King of Portugal, Her Majesty insisted that he was more likely to "secure Charlotte's happiness" than "one of those innumerable Archdukes." King Leopold inclined to Pedro, but wished to please his motherless child. Had Charlotte married King Pedro, she would have been a widow in 1861, when he died of typhoid fever. Fate decreed that she should prefer the Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Austria. After being sent to the French Court by his brother, the Emperor Francis Joseph, Maximilian had visited Brussels, where he found a wife, and a firm friend in King Leopold. His visits to both Courts were pregnant with consequences. Charlotte was ambitious and her father desired to see his daughter sharing a throne. On Napoleon and Eugénie Maximilian had made an impression without which there might never have been that pitiful bullet-pierced coat. Queen Victoria took her defeat generously, and when Maximilian visited her warmly praised his cleverness, amiability, and naturalness: nevertheless she noticed the falling off in the mouth and chin of his otherwise good-looking face. Maximilian was noble, brave, but not forceful.

After a wedding celebrated with much pomp, the Archducal pair made a state entry into Milan. Francis Joseph, as arranged with Leopold, had appointed his brother Governor of Lombardo-

Venetia. Unfortunately Maximilian's and Charlotte's personal popularity could not make up for their representing a hated Government, then making itself more detested by fresh conscription and currency laws. Despite her husband's liberal rule, the young Archduchess met with hostility. In 1859 Maximilian retired disgusted. He was busying himself making the Château of Miramar on the Austrian littoral into a place of surpassing beauty. It was a spot to dream in; only Maximilian was not made for lotus-eating. His character is epitomised by a youthful entry in his diary: "walking is death, trotting is life, galloping is bliss." He adored Charlotte, but he must be up and doing.

In Mexico the long strife between Liberals and Clericals was waxing fiercer. Santa Anna, who had been repeatedly President and twice Dictator, feared further encroachments by the United States, which had acquired Texas, New Mexico and California through the war of 1848. He intrigued to be Dictator *de facto* with an Emperor as an ornamental figurehead. His emissaries in Europe were to emphasise that finding a candidate for the Mexican throne would favour European trade and prevent an upstart Republic snapping its fingers at the Great Powers. The last point was well conceived. The Great Powers were even more tenacious of their dignity than of their pockets. They had yet to learn that what Napoleon termed "that barbarous Republic" would do more than snap its fingers at them, it would shake its fist. Santa Anna's first propagandist, Gutierrez de Estrada, was a violent reactionary and a notorious bore. He bombarded monarchs and chancelleries with voluminous pamphlets and letters, which were pigeon-holed and forgotten. His younger and cleverer colleague, Hidalgo, obtained the first practical results. Sent as Secretary of Legation to Paris, when the Clericalists were temporarily in power, on the way Hidalgo met Eugénie, whom he had known at Madrid. Being graciously recognised, he poured out his country's woes, begging her to tell Napoleon. His pleading impressed her. She saw it might increase Napoleon's prestige to help the scion of some ancient race to a throne, and above all the thought of establishing a Catholic monarchy pleased her.

Napoleon was willing to have a hand in Mexican affairs, provided it did not embroil him with Great Britain and Spain, and especially with the United States, which favoured a Mexican Republic under Benito Juárez. Miramon, the Clericalist President, fled, leaving him master of the situation. Intent on reform, Juárez confiscated Church property, declaring all religions equal, and suspended payments to foreign creditors for two years, including a loan from a Swiss bank. The European Powers complained in vain through their representatives. Hidalgo seized this opportunity to reiterate

with its giant ahuehuetes trees through which flitted gorgeous butterflies and humming-birds. They put their servants into the national dress, their carriage was drawn in Mexican fashion by cream-coloured mules with gay trappings. Vainly they sought to identify themselves with their adopted country, only gradually learning that most of it was Juarist. Murder, plunder, and despotic injustice existed unchecked. A clean sweep in the administration was imperative. King Leopold urged bringing the people into line before granting a Constitution; but Maximilian could not be ruthless nor cope with past masters in intrigue.

The clergy were much inferior to European priests. Where Church property had been unfairly disposed of, Maximilian said restitution or compensation should be made. This dissatisfied the ultra-Liberals. He longed for the *nuncio's* arrival; when Monsignor Meglia came he wished him away. Meglia was bigoted: all Church property must be restored and only Catholicism permitted. Maximilian and his Ministers protested, while Charlotte told the *nuncio* he was leading them into a blind alley to the detriment of religion. The Emperor at bay confirmed all lawful sales of ecclesiastical property and instituted freedom of worship. Meglia stormed, whereupon Maximilian forbade Papal bulls in Mexico without his sanction. This angered the Clericalists who had elected him.

The crux was want of money and soldiers. Napoleon emphasised trust in Bazaine, whilst Maximilian complained of his tactics and extravagance. Pressed on every side and irate that Maximilian firmly refused to cede the mining rights of the rich province of Sonora to France, Napoleon evaded his promises. After the final *débâcle* the Liberal General, Porfirio Diaz, a white man, told Prince Salm he had refused a shameful offer from Bazaine to surrender Mexico. If true, this was due to Bazaine's personal cupidity. Strained relations between him and Maximilian were accentuated by his incorporating the Belgian and Austrian contingents in a French foreign legion. After the victory of the North in the American Civil War, many soldiers of fortune joined Juarez. Secretary Seward demanded that Napoleon should withdraw his troops from Mexico, and notified Austria that sending more volunteers would be construed into an "unfriendly act." Uncle Sam rubbed his hands.

As late as 1864, Mr. (afterwards Sir George) Buckley-Mathew, who had acquired exceptional information as our representative in Mexico and adjacent territories, was confident an agreement could be arrived at with the National Party. He knew Juarez, honest though obstinate, would keep his pledged word if Miramon, Marquez and others "bought by the clergy" were banished. In 1866

it was too late, Juarez being already sure of victory and Napoleon's European difficulties acute. Paris was weary of the Mexican affair: a second loan had not been freely taken up as Hidalgo pretended.

The Prusso-Austrian War rang Maximilian's death-knell. In Southern Germany we saw the miserable equipment of the Austrian troops, and were hardly surprised at their smashing defeat at Königgrätz. The disastrous news greeted Charlotte's landing in France. Having heartened her husband to persevere, as a last hope she sailed for Europe to plead his cause. Her father was dead, her brothers were lukewarm. Francis Joseph was knuckling under to America's raised fist. Santa Anna was already intriguing in Washington for a new Republic. Correspondence had cooled with Eugénie, who ignorantly declared all would have prospered had the clergy been staunchly supported. She had not attained to the comprehensive sympathy of her mellowed age.

In Paris there was a veritable *bataille des dames*. At St. Cloud, Napoleon, ill and depressed, wished to see Charlotte after receiving her memorandum on the desperate situation. He sent Eugénie in his stead. She was ashamed of France scuttling out; but France must be upheld, and Napoleon be spared an interview. To these ends, with consummate skill she conversed charmingly on other subjects, but found her match. Charlotte, fighting for her husband's life, met her rapier with a bludgeon, saying, almost brutally, if necessary she would force her way in to Napoleon. An appointment resulted. Passionately she pleaded for help, telling of Juarez' encroachments, of how the Customs' Revenues being used by the French or seized by Juarists made it impossible for Maximilian to redeem his original promises, and ending by a powerful indictment of Bazaine. Napoleon was genuinely moved, but when subsequent interviews only resulted in the conversion of the two loans not being insisted on and France paying overdue stipends of Mexican envoys at European Courts, Charlotte's anger knew no bounds. Overstrained she denounced him violently, shaking the soil of France haughtily from her feet. To Maximilian she still wrote hearteningly. A rest at Miramar, where she gave a banquet on Mexico's Day of Independence, braced her for fresh efforts. Beautiful, Imperial, undaunted still, she was attempting too much.

In Rome, where Pio Nono received her with fatherly kindness, the revelation that he could not grant a Concordat proved the last straw. Already in Mexico a fear of poison had insinuated itself, a glass of orangeade offered her at St. Cloud revived it. Insanity, haunted by the belief that Napoleon's spies were seeking her death, set in with hideous vehemence. Her brothers removed her to Miramar. When Maximilian learned that she was hopelessly insane, his impulse was to go to Europe, then his sense of duty as

Emperor prevailed, and Miramon, Marquez, and Father Fischer, a schemer, prophesied success. On February 5th, 1867, Bazaine having previously disbanded the Austro-Belgian corps, the French army left for France. Maximilian, though dependent on Mexican troops of indifferent morale, felt freer, and the Customs' receipts at Vera Cruz would be available. On February 13th he set out for one of the few important towns not in Juarist hands. Quaretero, surrounded by heights which could not be held by the small garrison, proved a deathtrap. In May it was sold by Lopez, who subsequently denied this, but against whom the evidence seems incontrovertible.

Maximilian was condemned under Juarez' law of January, 1862, against those taken in arms. Friends pressed him to fly. Prince Salm's plan was frustrated by the Emperor declining to start on hearing that the foreign Chargés d'Affaires he had sent for would arrive next day. Young Princess Salm, showing extraordinary resourcefulness, repeatedly braved danger in endeavours to save Maximilian. Betrayed and arrested, she persuaded General Escobedo to have her escorted to Juarez, whom she begged, alas, in vain, on her knees to spare the Emperor. Maximilian met his death, to quote Lord Malmesbury, "like a Christian and a soldier," on June 19th. It is notable that amongst his many farewell letters there was not one for Napoleon. Yet Napoleon cannot fairly be called callous. He had sent a special envoy to beg Maximilian to return to Europe when the French troops left, and even Bazaine saw that the honour of France demanded it. Perhaps what Maximilian could not forgive was Napoleon's shuffling with Charlotte. When Maximilian fell pierced by Juarist bullets, she was dreaming of him as "Lord of the Earth." To him, the news had been brought that she was dead, causing him to exclaim, "one tie less binds me to life!"

A year later the Archbishop of Malines was able to tell her of his death. Still referring bitterly to Napoleon, she blamed herself yet more for persuading her husband to accept the crown and for interfering too much in politics. The Emperor, she said, had sometimes sternly, sometimes jokingly sought to restrain her, once remarking "ma chère, vous feriez mieux de tricoter des bas." Yet still the dream of greatness made her hold imaginary Courts and address imaginary Princes and Ambassadors. A stranger delusion was to think herself the Emperor.

In the quiet of Farnborough, the aged Eugénie sometimes spoke of past crises. Of her referring to the Mexican tangle, there seems no trace; nevertheless, in those moments of silent musing which others always respected, there must have come thoughts of Maximilian and his heroic Charlotte.

M. MONTGOMERY-CAMPBELL.

THE NEW CATHOLIC POLICY IN FRANCE.

ALTHOUGH Monsignor Maglione is one of the most recently accredited of the foreign diplomatic representatives in Paris, it is the custom that the Papal Nuncio shall be considered to be the doyen of the diplomatic corps for ceremonial purposes, and it was for this reason that he was entrusted with the task of making the little complimentary speech in which the diplomatic body, having called upon the President of the Republic according to custom on New Year's Day, presented their good wishes to him.

It is not often that the visit is made the occasion for anything beyond merely formal politeness. This year the Nuncio congratulated France upon her efforts for international peace, but also specifically referred to the speech of M. Briand before the League of Nations Assembly in September, "which no one can remember without emotion," and to the way in which that speech expressed the aspirations of the peoples towards fraternity. He went on to say that this good work would not only secure the active and loyal collaboration of the Governments in the name of whose representatives he spoke that day, "but in particular—if I may be allowed to say so—of him who has never ceased to call, with the tenderness of a father and in the name of the Prince of Peace, for spiritual disarmament."

I quote a literal translation of the words because they show that the speech was not made, as has since been suggested, without authority. On the contrary, it marks a turning point in the very important development which has been going on for some little time in the attitude of the Vatican towards the French State—that State which is not Catholic, with a Government quite definitely secular, with a parliamentary majority quite definitely anti-clerical and with memories, hardly more than twenty years old, of the complete and violent severance of the last remaining ties which bound Church and State together. Another sign of this development was the culmination, a few days later, of the Papal disapproval—first indicated last July—of the Royalist and violently nationalist newspaper, the *Action Française*, by the placing officially of the paper itself and the works of one of its editors upon the index, which means that Catholics are forbidden to read them.

The speech of the Nuncio was quickly followed by political consequences. M. Briand, who had been, perhaps conveniently, upon a short holiday from Cabinet meetings before the New Year, did not wait two days after it to announce his intention of pressing for a general discussion of foreign policy by the Chamber as soon as it should meet again; and the subsequent relations of the personal forces between the members of M. Poincaré's government, as well

as the party influences in the Chamber itself concerning foreign policy, have been affected almost as much by the new attitude of the Papacy as by events in Germany.

To understand this new attitude one must understand the position of the Catholic Church in France in the present and in some of the past. The tourist is accustomed to regard France as being in a general way a Catholic country; but for nearly a hundred and forty years—ever since the Revolution—the former intimate association between the Catholic Church and the Government has ceased, except for a short reactionary interval, to exist, as much in local affairs as in national. The village church in every French village is the Catholic Church, and the townsman almost as much as the peasant, when he thinks or speaks of religion, means the Catholic religion. But there are the Protestants and the Jews, both of which sects, if numerically unimportant, exert a disproportionately large influence through their representative personalities in the worlds of industry, finance and politics. It is not without significance that M. Doumergue is the first Protestant President of the Republic, and that the leader of the Socialist party is a Jew. Above all, there are many Frenchmen who have definitely and publicly separated themselves from religion altogether. If the village church is Catholic, the village school is secular, and the *maire* of the commune is not likely to be a friend of the *curé*. Moreover, though nearly every peasant is baptised, married and buried by the priest, that does not prevent him from staying habitually away from church and from being violently anti-clerical in politics; while certainly the majority of townsmen are not baptised, and some would refuse on principle to attend a religious funeral or a religious marriage. Moreover, for Catholics as for everyone else, the only legal marriage ceremony is the civil contract before the *maire*, so that Catholics are always married twice. Even Catholic estimates of the total number of "practising" Catholics in France put it at under ten millions—that is to say, about a quarter of the total population—and do not reckon those who are vaguely sympathetic to the Church to be more than another fifteen millions. The priesthood is in a miserable condition, and since the separation of 1905 the *curé* no longer receives from the State the modest living wage which he had been paid from the time when Napoleon, who understood the value of a State Church as an instrument of Government, had re-established it after the Revolution. The priest is now fortunate if he obtains from private sources as much as 900 francs a year—not £8—and he often has to be content with less. It is consequently not surprising that since the war there has been a grave lack of candidates for the priesthood.

The power of the Church in the political arena is certainly not

greater—almost certainly not as great—as its relative strength in the country. The majority in the Chamber, as in the Senate, has long been anti-Catholic, and, as far as the Chamber is concerned, that majority was even further increased by the elections of 1924. The officers of the army and navy are perhaps the only class of men connected with the direction of French affairs who can show a majority of Catholics, for the French Academy—even if the Catholic majority is there—is a decorative survival rather than a vital force. As for the Press, if the Catholics have, in the *Ouest-Eclair*, which circulates all over Brittany, an excellent provincial paper, the *Echo de Paris* is the only one of the five largest daily papers of the capital which is Catholic in sympathy. This, of course, does not take account of the *Action Française*, which, however, can hardly be described as a paper of news.

In all these circumstances, the moment might hardly have seemed opportune for the Church to try and make its influence felt in French politics. Moreover, it was and is by no means certain that in prescribing a line of political action for Catholics the Pope would be followed by his flock, or even by the whole of his clergy. There still survives among the bishops and the seventeen archbishops of France a sturdy tradition of Gallicanism, which tends definitely to separate matters of religion from matters of politics, with which latter, in the Gallican view, the Papacy should have no concern; and although the Pope has undoubtedly obtained a formal and outward obedience to his condemnation of the *Action Française*, the compulsory reading of his decree in all churches has occasionally been performed in a rapid and mumbling manner which is literally no more than lip service, and there are many good aristocratic Catholics who consider themselves justified in continuing to support the paper and the political movement, to which seven archbishops, including the archbishop of Lyons, the Primate of Gaul, have at different times given their approval. For it must be remembered that the *Action Française* is more than merely a journal. It is an active and militant political organisation with many branches in different parts of the country.

The Nuncio has not had to wait long before receiving proof of this independent spirit among French Catholics. It is not in the *Action Française* alone but in the conversation of many devout but patriotic Frenchmen that the Papacy has recently come to be spoken of as a "foreign power" and its recent policy as "foreign intervention"; and the speech which began this policy on January 1st was hardly less sensational than the inauguration of a monument to war heroes in Brittany on January 30th, when the Papal interdiction of the appearance of a bishop on the same platform as an *Action Française* admiral was received with outspoken disapproval at the meeting

patible with Catholic doctrine in so far as it makes the State an end in itself, and men and citizens a simple means to that end, which monopolises and absorbs everything."

It may be said in passing that it is not only internationalism and not only sympathy with Labour which some critics, and especially French critics, see in the new foreign policy of Rome. They do not hesitate to trace a German influence. The disappearance of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which was a great loss to the Papacy, is to be compensated by a new South German Catholic power, with Austria included. It is this hope, they say, which accounts for the Papal coolness towards Fascist Italy and even Catholic Poland, and for the friendliness towards the Belgian Flemish party and the Alsatian autonomists on the one hand, and M. Briand, as being the least inconvenient of French statesmen, on the other. The new alliance of the Catholics with the Nationalists in forming the latest German Government naturally, does not tend to weaken these criticisms.

I have said that the two currents—the international and the democratic—at present generally run together. The day may come, nevertheless, when the Church will have to choose between internationalism and Labour, however closely the two may appear to be allied to-day. Many values have been changed by, or at any rate since, the war. The aristocracies, who travelled, have always been international in spirit. They had certain sentimental territorial attachments, and they could lead patriotic enthusiasms when it suited them, but they never had the chauvinism which, beginning with instinctive local affections and instinctive dislikes, is aggravated by ignorance of the foreigner. That chauvinism was developed by the still untravelled middle classes, upper and lower, in the course of the nineteenth century, and national consciousness, which increased everywhere during that time, was fortified by the fact that economic interests in each country tended in the same direction. So fierce has been the struggle of those economic interests in our own day, that it is difficult to realise that very recently, and in a very short time, the issues around which they fought have become no longer real, while at the same time the general habit of travel has destroyed much of the prejudice. National economic interests, one after another, have been pooled in international combinations, and capital, which has no territorial sentiment and no home, has become the greatest international force, far greater and more real than Socialism, with all its congresses in different capitals—congresses in which no working man in his heart believes. Indeed the able theorist of the Extreme Left, M. Edouard Berth, has been arguing that, money having now become international, the workers remain the only national element in any population. How far it is

a sane and balanced element is another matter, and it is perhaps significant that in Paris, on the very day when the Nuncio was making his speech, a Scottish referee had to be protected against a working-class crowd, because an Irish had beaten a French team in a football match.

At the same time the mass of men dimly feels that neither the thirst for peace between nations—which is not the same as internationalism—nor certainly the interested internationalism of business, which is a practical element in peace, has any ideal expression. It is in translating the sentimental side of the combined desire into ideal terms that the Church sees her legitimate chance. It is a chance to restore that Catholic unity which the furious nationalisms of the war had almost swamped. Whether it is true that the Papal praise of M. Briand is part of a manoeuvre for an invitation to membership of the League of Nations or not, it is certain that the attitude of the Church towards the League of Nations is favourable, and is constantly so expressed by the Jesuits, who have taken the lead in this matter. This was particularly evident at the "Semaine Sociale" at Le Havre this summer, of which I shall say more in a moment. One speaker went so far as to say that the League of Nations needs the Church even more than the Church needs the League. Perhaps when some of the troubles which arise in many countries and not least in France between clericals and anti-clericals reach the League arena, as they may do, the tone will be different. For the present, at least, the interest of Rome in Geneva and in the spirit of Geneva is the natural expression of the universal character which the Church was always claimed, and is fighting hard to recover.

These considerations might well justify the action of the Church from spiritual and moral motives and even from motives of world policy. I have already given some of the arguments against its particular application to France, but there are others in favour of it. With regard to the *Action Française*, apart from any questions of nationalism or internationalism, the surprising thing is not so much that the Church should sever its connections with the paper but that they should have been allowed to subsist so long. Politically it is attached to the hopeless cause of Royalism. Moreover, it is directed by two men, one of whom, Charles Maurras, is an avowed agnostic, supporting the Church only on political grounds, and the other, Léon Daudet, is the author of novels of a moral character which has led to their condemnation by the Church and by everyone else, and the wielder of a political pen beside which the controversial manner of Eatanswill seems not only temperate and kindly but noble.

Doctrinal and moral considerations have, however, not perhaps

itself and afterwards in the columns of part of the Catholic Press.

In fact it may be considered that the new move of the Papacy, far from bringing French Catholics together, will even embitter the differences which already exist between them. These differences may, indeed, almost be said to date from the last occasion when a Pope attempted to give a directive to the political action of French Catholics. This was in 1893, when Leo XIII invited them loyally to "accept the civil power in the form in which it in fact exists"—that is to say, to rally to the Republic. Since that time there have existed three political groups of Catholics in France. Most important is the central group, composed of those who have followed the Pontifical advice, and may be said to be represented by such papers as the *Echo de Paris* in Paris and the *Ouest-Eclair* in the country. Most vehement and most active is the group of the Right, violently nationalist and Royalist, represented by the *Action Française*, which would have gone as far as Fascism, if it had found in the French temperament any sympathy for Fascist methods. This group, in spite of its small size, may certainly be said to have obtained remarkable political results, although those results were rather nationalist than Catholic. It was mainly responsible for bringing about the impeachment of MM. Caillaux and Malvy during the war and for provoking M. Poincaré to the occupation of the Ruhr after it. There has also been, however, a smaller but hardly less determined Left group, led by M. Marc Sangnier, whom M. Daudet and his "Camelots du Roy" tried to dose with castor oil in the accepted Fascist manner. This Left, of Socialist and especially of pacifist tendencies, journalistically represented first in the *Sillon* and since in the *Jeune République* and *Démocratie*, itself suffered condemnation from Rome at the time of the enforcement of the Combes separation laws of 1905, when the relations between the French Government and the Vatican were at their most strained, and when diplomatic representation was suspended altogether. M. Sangnier, has, however, seen the turn of the wheel of fortune in the benevolence with which his congress of pacifists at Bierville was received by Rome last summer.

I have mentioned some of the considerations which might have deterred the Vatican from the step which it has taken. There are, however, others which support that step. The boldness of the step itself should not be underestimated. It amounts not only to taking a side in French politics, but to taking a new side. In so far as the earlier phases of the disavowal of the *Action Française* were concerned, the Vatican might claim, and did claim, that this action was in direct continuity with that of Leo XIII. The later development goes much further. Not only does it abandon the parallel support of nationalism and condemnation of pacifism, which were in them-

selves departures from the negatively "render unto Cæsar" policy of Leo XIII, but it becomes positive in the opposite sense. This tendency, which is marked in the Nuncio's New Year's Day speech, is also to be found elsewhere, and not in France alone. Indeed, there may be traced in it two currents, which are occasionally separate, but which generally run side by side. Not only is there the exchange of nationalism for internationalism, but there is also an evident desire to detach the Church from reactionary associations and to attach it to the aspirations of the people and of Labour. In this latter respect the French Catholics have certainly hitherto been behind the movement of Catholicism in the rest of Europe, and the identification of the *Action Française* with political and social reaction has perhaps had almost as much to do with its disavowal by the Papacy as has its nationalism.

This second current may be traced in the interest which the Church has taken in the International Labour Office. It may be found in the Catholic Trades Union Movements in Germany, Austria, Belgium, England and even in France. It finds political developments in the alliance of the Belgian Catholics with the Socialist, Vandervelde, in the similar association of the Volksverein with the Social Democrats in Germany, in the orientation of Catholicism in the United States and even in the Popular Party in Italy, which although at present swamped by Fascism will probably be heard of again, and is certainly democratic.

As for the internationalist current, it is to be found as much in the growing coolness of the Church towards Fascism in Italy as in its already defined disapproval and open discouragement of Fascist tendencies in other countries. The development of the attitude of the Vatican towards Fascism in Italy is not yet complete. No doubt the Church has accepted and still accepts Fascism—on the Leo XIII principle concerning the French Republic—as being the *de facto* power. No doubt the congratulations of the Pope upon Signor Mussolini's last escape from assassination and the description of him as the man whose disappearance would "shake the most solid foundations of Italy" do not appear to show any disfavour towards the existing regime. Yet the address given by Pius XI at the Christmas consistory, an address which was passed over in silence by all the Italian papers except the one which is known to be in direct sympathy with the Vatican, tells a different tale. This address began by referring to the "tempest of violence" which followed that same latest attempt on the Duce's life, a tempest which "spared neither the venerable dignity of bishops nor the sacred character of priests" and attacked "the organisations, the Press and the educational works" of "the best among Christians." It went on to describe such a "conception of the State" as "incom-

been alone in inspiring the separation from the *Action Française*. Nor have those of internationalism. The growing hold of the *Action Française* organisations over the youth of the middle classes in certain parts of the country, in competition with and to the detriment of the more official Catholic organisations, is certainly not unconnected with the fact that those organisations, their central Association and the Jesuits, who are behind most Catholic educational movements in France, were among the first to take up the hints from Rome of disapproval of the *Action Française*, before these hints became definite injunctions. The hope and perhaps the calculation that the Church under certain conditions may once more play an important part in French politics has, no doubt, also had its share in separating Catholics from the very active but mainly secular politics of the *Action Française*. For this hope is based on the formation of a Catholic party, which shall unite all Catholic elements by refraining from such action in French politics as shall not be directly concerned with Catholic interests. This party, it is believed, may at no very distant date hold the balance of power in France as surely as does the Catholic party in Germany. The hope is not so illusory as may appear from the small Catholic representation in the present Chamber and Senate.

The nucleus for such a party already exists in the National Catholic Federation. This body was formed as recently as 1925, after the electoral defeat of May, 1924, had been attributed to Catholic indiscipline and disorganisation. It already includes more than two and a half million members, and its President, General de Castelnau, published on December 15th a letter which the Papal Secretary of State had written on November 23rd, virtually recognising the Federation as the French Catholic party. This letter approves the desire of the Federation to remain "outside of all party politics and above them" and speaks of the object of the "organised and disciplined Catholic forces" as being "the preservation and the conquest of religious liberties." It is the Catholic party's charter.

The growth of the Federation—which is independent of the clergy—has been made possible by the very definite Catholic revival which has been going on since the war and before it, a revival which has rather been stimulated than otherwise by the Separation, and the consequent dependence of Catholics upon their own financial resources. The *Fédération Nationale* is the latest political fruit of that revival, but it has manifested itself in many ways, particularly in education and in the increase of the influence of the Church upon the young. The new enthusiasm of French boyhood for sport has been very cleverly exploited by developing the "patron-ages," or boys' clubs, which have long existed under the younger

priests in the towns, into athletic associations and Boy Scout troops, for which the *Association Catholique de la Jeunesse Française* is the central rallying point. Educationally, in addition to the previously existing Catholic private schools and the Catholic influences in such military academies as St-Cyr, there is the new Catholic University in Paris, which is directed by Monsignor Baudrillart, and there is what corresponds to a Catholic University Extension meeting, which is called the "Semaine Sociale." This year the meeting was held at Le Havre, and was particularly important, not only as evidence of the wide influence of Catholic culture, but as an authoritative exposition of Catholic doctrine in regard to the League of Nations and internationalism. It need hardly be said that, with the constant Catholic insistence upon continuity, this doctrine was shown at Le Havre not to be new, but to be as old at least as the Middle Ages, when the Church first taught the peoples of Europe to be conscious of their solidarity.

In the arena of the Chamber itself the Catholics, weakly represented as they are, have already won a moral victory. M. Poincaré, who is not a Catholic and indeed repeatedly declares his secular sympathies, had restored the diplomatic relations with the Vatican, and M. Briand, who is equally secular but equally realised the international value of keeping in touch with Rome, persuaded the very definitely anti-clerical majority of the new Chamber of the 1924 elections to maintain them, after even M. Herriot, although frequently called upon by some of his supporters in the same Chamber to bring them to an end, had also preserved them.

No doubt the Catholics hope that, numerically negligible as they are in the Chamber to-day, they will not remain so after the elections of May, 1928; and it is not impossible that their hopes may be justified, if they pursue what at present appears to be their plan of organisation. At that election the Catholic party, free from Royalist or Nationalist ties, may on the one hand be in a position to rally the conservative elements, now very insecurely held together by the panic of the franc, which has induced the miracle of the national coalition under M. Poincaré. By that time the public may be tired of M. Poincaré, even if he has succeeded, and a well disciplined Catholic party may, in the confusion of French politics, where no party is disciplined except the Socialists, head the opposition to the discredited Socialists and Radicals. On the other hand, if things should go badly, and there should be a dangerous Communist movement, that same disciplined Catholic party may be able to rally all the defenders of law and order, even including the Radicals themselves.

All this is looking far ahead, but the plans of the Church are never hurried.

PHILIP CARR.

THE "IDEA OF A UNIVERSITY" IN THE UNITED STATES.

THERE are some facts about American Universities which are known to everyone who has made the slightest study of higher education in the United States. The number of American institutions on which the title of "University" or "College" has been bestowed; the vast number of students who resort to them; their variation in aim, attainment and resources; the huge sums which have been and are being spent on their maintenance and advancement—all these are matters of common knowledge. They are evidence, if evidence were needed, that the "University idea" is popular in the United States, whether the idea is manifested in the work of institutions as world-famous as Harvard or John Hopkins; of those (such as the "Colleges") with more modest aims; or again, at the end of the scale, of those which in an old phrase "presume to be corporations."

There are also certain stock criticisms. Some of these are justifiable; some merely owe their origin to a confusion of thought which passes judgment on the unfamiliar by dubbing it inferior. English criticism is for the most part cool and reserved; although Lord Bryce, the most competent of critics, placed on record his enthusiasm for American Universities. And English criticism, of the kind which is informed criticism, varies in a manner which is significant. It is significant for example that the humanist, and especially the classical scholar, should find little to admire, that the student of the social sciences should find much both to respect and admire, and that, in the realm of the physical sciences, our Royal Society should have bestowed its highest award on an American physicist and have included in its short list of foreign members many scientists from the United States. It would seem, then, that in the making of new scientific knowledge the work of American Universities is deemed worthy of respect even by critics notoriously not prone to enthusiasm. Again, the steady stream of English doctors who visit the laboratories at New York and Baltimore or the Mayo clinic at Rochester, or of lawyers who study the methods at Harvard's great law school, are impressed, if not always convinced, by the work in professional education which is being prosecuted.

But while it will be admitted that much that is being done in the American Universities for the advancement of knowledge and the promotion of professional education may be of a high, sometimes of a very high order, it must frankly be said that the general level of undergraduate education is, with some exceptions, definitely unsatisfactory. Much of it is mediocre: some is definitely bad. This is not an original judgment so much as a report of a judgment, and

the judgment itself is American. For let there be no doubt on this point: that American undergraduate education is undergoing self-criticism in all quarters so thorough and comprehensive that any criticism from without is superfluous. Among non-academic utterances there is the brutal criticism of writers like Mr. Mencken and the subtle criticism latent in the novels of Mr. Sinclair Lewis and of many lesser American writers. There is much criticism, sympathetic and informed, in books such as Mr. Gavit's *College*. But most authoritative is the criticism one encounters in the conversation and writings of American professors themselves.

"The toad beneath the harrow knows
Exactly where each tooth-point goes."

It is not possible to cite all these judgments, but the most important may be briefly summarised, though a summary must omit both the necessary qualifications as well as the piquancy of presentation in which Americans delight. Stated shortly and comprehensively, the criticism runs that undergraduate instruction is not education of a University standard, and that at least half of it is school work; that the subjects which are offered are too many to allow of anything but superficial treatment and may be too little related to form a core of solid learning or a way of approach to further learning: that there is no provision of mental gymnastics which shall stretch the mind; that the students, gifted and mediocre alike, though they enjoy certain social and other advantages from their college career, go out into the world after four years of what should be the most stimulating intellectual experience with their curiosity unkindled and imagination untouched.

It is not my purpose here to elaborate or emphasise this criticism. From what I have seen of American Universities I should surmise that much of it is true, and although perhaps too much may be and is expected of a University training, I do not think that, as yet, the fruits of the American undergraduate colleges are an adequate return for the wealth and labour which has been expended on their foundation or extension. Still less is it my business to indicate remedies. That, like the diagnosis, is much better left to those who understand the problem. And while it would be presumptuous it would also be superfluous for an outsider to offer advice. The searching of heart which is now going on among American educators is very thorough: it is being reflected in voluminous reports and "Proceedings," and some of it is well worth reading, not only for the light which it throws on American conditions but also for the impressions which American students derive from the observation of English ways. Professor Richardson's (of Dartmouth College) *Study of the Liberal College* is a notable book in this respect. So

also, in a different way, is the report drawn up by some students of Harvard, for American students too are searching for solutions.

My purpose here is neither to criticise nor to offer suggestions, but to set down some of the causes which seem to me to be responsible for many of the difficulties in which the American Universities find themselves and which are the subject of present discontents. Some of these lie on the surface. Inevitably an attempt to give education of a University standard on a large scale to all and sundry instead of to a selected few not only intensifies difficulties with which all Universities have to grapple, but raises new problems of its own as well. The American student population is large—it is in some Universities gargantuan—and it is heterogeneous to a remarkable degree. In some of the Eastern Universities what may be called the English cultural tradition is strong; but in the Middle West—and the Middle West is in many ways the “growing point”—the nascent American cultural tradition does not furnish that reinforcement of formal education which is so potent a force in older countries. The immigrant from Europe not only forgets his own people and his father’s house; he wants to forget and still more do his children. They want to be Americans, and they succeed in being so, by setting out to forget and to learn. They learn their way in the vigorous hustling school of self-help which, with its triumphs of mechanics, marks the civilisation of the United States; but to learn and maintain the culture, which is (and more certainly will be) the contribution of those States to the world, is slow and painful. And here comes one of the prime difficulties of the American teacher, especially of one who is concerned with humane studies. The framework of American civilisation is English, modified in detail it is true, but in its structure English. English is the official language, and English is the medium of instruction in schools and Universities. But there is a gap, which some Americans think is a growing gap, between the spoken English and the English which is the language of education. It is not merely the differences in dialect and intonation which give colour and variety to the speech of Englishmen, literate as well as illiterate. These are, of course, found in the United States as well as the persistence of idioms and words which have long since perished in the land of their origin. Nor does it arise solely from the creation of a racy and expressive slang: it is a product of the fusion of races and languages which make up America. A visitor can form an estimate of the extent to which the vernacular may differ from official English by noting the difficulties he experiences at first in understanding (“construing” is the apter word) the very amusing *oratio directa* articles in the *New York World*. These are probably exaggerations, but they are an illustration of the converse difficulty which the child of, say, Russian

parents in Chicago must feel when confronted with classical English literature. Such a child may have enough “English” for human nature’s daily food; but English as a vehicle of exact thought and expression, and still more as a thing of beauty, is a foreign tongue which he has to learn just as a Bengali student learns it. This state of affairs may improve as the results of the limitation on immigration become more apparent; but at the present time, the low standard of English, even among some graduate students, adds greatly to the task of the American Universities.

It would, of course, be absurd to suggest that an imperfect acquaintance with English speech is common to all or even the majority of undergraduates, or that all the Universities are faced with this difficulty. It is probably experienced most acutely in the State Universities for reasons to which I will refer presently. But even in other Universities it is obvious that with large numbers and a consequent inability to differentiate between the mediocre and the gifted student the pace of the whole cannot be faster than the pace of the slow student. The student’s lack of acquaintance with English is not, however, the only notable thing in his intellectual make-up. It seems to be pretty generally admitted that American youth, in general, is less bookish than the English, and the reading of the American is not of the same quality as that of the English undergraduate. He does not “help himself” to the same extent. His teachers may not assume that he has by private reading some acquaintance with the significant events of history or with the development of ideas. Nor do his surroundings, stirring and stimulating as they may be, tend to awaken curiosity as to the past, for in a new country there are few of the things which can unconsciously teach an American child historical perspective in the way that Stonehenge, or the Tower, or even the Parish Church can teach an English boy.

•A comparison of the American undergraduate with the English is in some respects misleading, since, when all adjustments have been made, the proportion of university students in the United States to the population is so much greater than in England. Consequently one is comparing what is an “average” American boy with a selected boy who has in different ways been repeatedly tested all through his school career. It is inevitable for this reason alone that there should be a considerable disparity in their respective attainments. That there is a difference is commonly agreed, but the extent of that difference is difficult to measure: for while in Classics, for example, an English sixth-form boy has reached a standard rarely attained in any American University, in Physics and Chemistry there would not be anything like so notable a difference. Perhaps two years would be a fair average, if an average is possible

in such a matter. While the reasons may be found partly in the environment and tradition of American youth itself, a body of American opinion would lay the responsibility for many of its defects upon the Schools, "preparatory" and "high" ("Public" and "Secondary"). A visitor will hear a good deal of criticism of their methods and their personnel, but, while it is obvious that the effectiveness of the schools in preparing young people for admission to the Universities is a factor of high importance, it is a matter which lies somewhat outside these notes, and it is a matter also on which I have little first-hand information.

There are other points on which one might dwell, such as the hazy objective of many undergraduates and the excessive addiction to games. The latter especially is freely recognised and, on the principle that it is better to canalise a flood than to attempt to dam it, the authorities are "taking hold" of the situation by the expedient—strange to English ears, but accounted a notable advance—of placing the sports "coach" in the Faculty and, in some cases, actually ensuring that his salary shall not exceed that of a University professor. It is time however to pass from the qualitative to the quantitative nature of the task before the Universities.

The popularity in the United States of a University career is in itself an interesting subject of speculation. An easy explanation is that it owes its strength to the belief in the social and monetary advantages it confers ("I am myself an alumni," says Babbit). Such a motive is not unknown in England, and it would be rash to deny its existence elsewhere. But I think also that, when all qualifications have been made, an American "believes in" higher education, and not merely for the sake of the adventitious advantages of a college career. Some may see in this a manifestation of the idealism which contrasts so strongly with other elements in the American character, others the outcome of a democratic belief in the power of environment over heredity. But of its existence or of its potency there can be, I think, little doubt: only a passion for, and belief in, education can adequately explain the sacrifice many students will make or the hardships they will undergo to obtain the coveted "college education."

Whatever the motives which move young men and women to enter a University, whether they are lofty or mercenary or mixed, the numbers of students who betake themselves to the Universities are now so great as to be a source of real anxiety. The question of the limit which should be fixed to the size of an institution if it is to carry on its work at the highest point of efficiency is a question which educational administrators in England have had to consider a good deal in recent years, and will probably have to consider still more in years to come. In the United States, where a University

may have to contend with undergraduate classes nearly a thousand strong or post-graduate classes of 150, the efficiency point, however much the technique of teaching may have been elaborated, has clearly been passed. In the privately endowed Universities the situation is not so acute, as the authorities can, if they so desire, set limits to the numbers admitted, and many of them do in fact choose their freshmen in an extremely careful and painstaking manner. It is in some of the great State Universities that the difficulty is mainly felt. The University may be the most important organ of the State, but it remains a creature of the State and if, as is sometimes the case, the State has laid down as a kind of constitutional right that all children who have passed through the high schools (and "passing through" does not connote passing a matriculation examination) are entitled to a University education, the University has to acquiesce. The University in such a case cannot prescribe any minimum of entrance requirement: the schools over which the University has no control determine what these shall be, and thousands of would-be University students present themselves annually for admission, armed with a record of school "credits" as evidence of their having attained a sufficiently high standard. The results are not un instructive to those critics of English Universities who complain of the domination of the school curriculum by the University.

The Universities are not, of course, absolutely powerless. "They can make us take them but not make us keep them," a famous University President is reported to have said: and the heavy mortality among freshmen is a proof that this is no empty threat. But this is not the only consequence of a doubtful application of egalitarian doctrine. The patently unfit may be "sent down," but among those who remain will be many whose preliminary training is so poor and whose attainments are so meagre that they are a hindrance to their more gifted fellows and a fatal obstacle to teaching of a high standard. Hence the bitter complaints of many teachers that they are set to do work of a school standard, and the various proposals, such as the institution of junior colleges, for mitigating as far as possible the consequences of indiscriminate entry.

It will be seen then that these two factors, the one the mental equipment of the American undergraduates and the other their numbers, themselves create a situation which renders difficult, if it does not indeed preclude, the provision of a University education of the best European standard. Such an education postulates teachers of a certain type, men and women of high attainments with a vocation for the calling of a teacher, and teachers of this type are difficult, and, I understand, increasingly difficult, to obtain in the United States—more difficult than the magnificent buildings and

libraries and stadia which strike the eye of an English visitor. The pull towards commerce and industry, far more potent in the United States than in England, does not in itself provide an explanation of the relatively low salaries which are paid. It probably lies in the fact that as yet the status of the University teacher has not been accorded the recognition which it has received in Europe where, though a teacher may not hope or desire to attain the material rewards which he might win in other fields, he has, among other things, the respect of his fellow citizens and independence and freedom. In the United States though there are distinct signs of improvement there are still in some Universities some topics on which a teacher may not speak his mind.

The attempt to provide in the United States University education on the large scale would probably of itself tend to produce institutions and curricula with aims and methods differing from those of European countries with smaller student populations and more firmly established academic traditions. It may be surmised, however, that it is not merely from necessity, but partly as the outcome of a conscious philosophy which in turn springs from a new physical and mental environment, that the ideals and purposes of the American University are being shaped in a manner differing in some respects fundamentally from the European. The ideals and purposes of the European University have been stated and re-stated in diverse ways, and the Universities differ among themselves as to the method of their application, but the element common to all of them is the emphasis which should be laid on the advancement of scholarship. This is the classical doctrine of antiquity, and it is the doctrine of modern times preached with eloquence and conviction by writers who in other matters have but little in common, by Huxley and Newman and Renan. And its implication is two-fold; that the training of the mind is all important and that the subject matter of the training is secondary. Seek and find the passion for accuracy and truth and the patience and discipline that sustained and intensive study connote, and other things will be added unto you. On the whole the doctrine has held its own, for, although during recent years subjects have been added to the curricula of English Universities which would have certainly shocked Newman and possibly have startled Hamilton, they have as a condition of their admission had to conform to the University ideal, and even in technological subjects the professed aim of the teachers has been to lay the emphasis on the scientific bases rather than on the superstructure, on the habit of mind rather than on the data.

This conception of the functions of a University will be found in the United States in some of the older Universities. The ancient humane studies will not, it is true, be prosecuted to the level found

in the older English Universities, but certain of the newer subjects, especially Geography and Psychology, have been advanced in recent years very considerably, and with admirable results. In the main, however, "the idea of a University" is taking another form. It may be described as the method of direct service. It does not repudiate the ideal of rearing up highly trained men and women to serve the commonwealth, nor would it deny that the trained mind which is the product of intensive study is perhaps the most highly desirable goal. But, for the reasons I have given, intensive study on the European model is not in many cases possible, and even where possible, it would not be deemed the appropriate way of approaching the problems to be solved. The problems are put in terms of the student who is not merely taught the subjects which are the common stock, but is instructed in subjects which lie within the ambit of few European Universities.

"What, having regard to their origin and environment should we as a University do for these thousands of young men and women who have come to us? They are not the material for high scholarship and if they were they are too many for us, but we can perhaps make good citizens of them. We can give them background. We can make them aware of the importance of the Declaration of Independence, while at the same time make it plain that history does not begin with the eighteenth century: that there was a grandeur that was Greece and a glory that was Rome: that the Renaissance and the Reformation were events that shook the Europe from which we came and made thoughts which influence us to-day. We cannot assume that our students have read much of these things, but we will teach them something of their significance: and we will teach them how to read about them. And we must help them to comprehend the environment in which they find themselves: how industry is organised, the structure and psychology of politics and the interaction of law and economics and biology." Such, or something like it, is the avowed aim of many leaders of educational thought in America: it is enshrined in more than one syllabus of "Contemporary Civilisation." Similarly, and proceeding alike on the assumption that they can be produced by direct inculcation, it is sought to make the University responsible for the building of character and the development of personality. Some are searching for "courses" in leadership.

A State University may have other aims based even more certainly on the principle of direct service. Not all its functions are educational. It has regulative functions and police powers. It may inspect dairy cows and vaccinate cattle, assist in the eradication of pests, enforce pure food laws and do a hundred other things which in England would be a function of a department of State. And by

common consent it does them well. It is no exaggeration to say that great States like Michigan and Minnesota and Wisconsin would not be what they are were it not for their Universities, with their many activities.

Some of the difficulties under which the American Universities are now labouring are probably temporary and may diminish or disappear in the next decade or so, but it may be doubted whether they will have either the means or the desire to provide, in general, facilities of the same kind as those of the European Universities, and it is certain that much of what is distinctive in them will remain and be extended. Their task is so different both in size and character from that of the English Universities that no one would urge without considerable caution the transplantation of ideas from one side of the Atlantic to the other. American educators are turning to England very much in recent years for information and guidance, and there are probably some respects in which we can help, if there is sympathetic understanding of the difficulties to be overcome.

It is more than probable that in the future, perhaps the immediate future, forward-looking men will turn to America for hints and suggestions, for, taking note of recent tendencies in English Universities, it is easy to discern possibilities in which American experience may be instructive for example as well as for warning. And meanwhile we can admire without reservation the whole-hearted belief in education and the energy and enthusiasm which Americans bring to its service.

EDWIN DELLER.

SIR ISAAC NEWTON, 1642-1727.

"Affable, humble, diffident and mild,
Such was Sir Isaac . . ."—COWPER.

ANYONE who attempts a sketch of the life and work of Newton is from the very first at a disadvantage. We have no standard to measure him by. All we can do is to quote the epitaph on his monument, "*Qui genus humanum ingenio superavit*," and let it go at that.

Isaac Newton was born on December 25th, 1642 (old style), at Woolsthorpe, in Lincolnshire, his father being a country gentleman whose name was also Isaac Newton. His mother's maiden name was Hannah Ayscough. Little Isaac never saw his father, for the latter departed this life some three months before the birth of his illustrious son. And, indeed, his son was soon likely to follow him, for we are told that the infant Newton was so small "that they might have put him into a great mug," and so unlikely to live, that two women who were sent to Lady Pakenham's at North Witham, for something for him, did not expect to find him alive on their return. In 1645, his mother re-married, her second husband being a clergyman, of the name of Barnabas Smith, vicar of the near-by parish of North Witham. Little Isaac, however, did not accompany her to her new residence but was left at Woolsthorpe under the guardianship of his grandmother.

And now the education of the future great scientist was commenced. First, he was sent to a day-school at Skillington, and then at Stoke, this sufficing till Isaac had reached his twelfth year, when he was removed to the grammar school at Grantham. It does not appear that Newton was a boarder at the school, but, on the contrary, he was what they called a "day-scholar," lodging in the town at the house of an apothecary named Clarke.

"Every one who knew Sir Isaac, or have heard speak of him, here recount the pregnancy of his parts when a boy—his strange inventions and extraordinary inclination for mechanics, that, instead of playing among the other boys, when from school, he always busied himself in making knickknacks and models of wood in many kinds: for which purpose he had got little saws, hatchets, hammers and a whole shop of tools, which he would use with great dexterity. In particular they speak of his making a wooden clock. About this time a new windmill was set up near Grantham. . . . Our lad's imitatory spirit was soon excited, and by frequently prying into the fabrics of it, as they were making it, he became master enough to make a very perfect model thereof, and it was said to be as clean and curious a piece of workmanship as the original."

It is also related that Newton experimented with kites, working out their best proportions and shapes and the best position for the

string. To his kites he would hang paper lanterns, also home-made, and send them up at night to the great consternation of the simple-minded folk of Grantham. Here also, at the house of the good apothecary, he first began to make observations on the diurnal motion of the sun, driving wooden pegs into the walls of the house to mark its course. This love of dialling the great scientist appears to have retained all his life, and on the walls of Woolsthorpe Manor were also to be seen examples of his ingenuity in this respect. Such were the pursuits of Newton's boyhood. We have a contemporary sketch of him in the following words: "Sir Isaac was always a sober, silent, thinking lad, and was never known scarce to play with the boys abroad at their silly amusements, but would rather choose to sit at home, even among the girls, and would frequently make little tables, cupboards, and other utensils for them, to set their babies and trinkets on." There is also a story, vouched for by a kinsman of Newton's, that he was very negligent at school and occupied a low position in his class. But having received a kick in the stomach from the school bully, he seemed to wake up; he soundly thrashed his tormentor, and so assertive did he become that he soon rose to be head boy.

However, this kind of life could not last for ever. His step-father died and his mother returned to Woolsthorpe. Accordingly, Newton was removed from Grantham Grammar School and brought home; the intention was to make a farmer of him, Woolsthorpe Manor and its land being their own property. It does not appear, however, that Newton took the slightest interest in farming, and whenever he was sent on business to the market town of Grantham he at once made off for Clarke's house, where it would seem he was always cordially welcomed, and spent the whole day in his old garret with his books and apparatus. The same thing would happen at home. When he was supposed to be working in the fields, he was usually to be found lying under a tree with a book, and apparently quite oblivious to everything about him. Newton's habits of abstraction soon proved that he was not cut out for a farmer, and that the endeavour to make him one would only prove a case of trying to fit a square peg into a round hole. Accordingly his mother was at last prevailed upon to send him to Cambridge, after he had received a further term of nine months' polishing at the grammar school at Grantham. And so on June 5th, 1660, we find Newton entered on the books of Trinity College, he being then seventeen.

It was during the ensuing six years that most of Newton's discoveries were made, and it is really astonishing how much he accomplished. We can only refer here very briefly to a few of the most important. He always inquired beforehand what books his

tutors intended to use as class-books and took care to read them up, to such good effect that when he appeared in class he surprised his teachers by knowing more about the matter in hand than they themselves did. His early studies, we find, were logic and optics; at first he did not read mathematics. When, however, he did come to take up mathematics he at once showed, by the astounding quickness with which he grasped the subject, that he had discovered his true bent. For he read Euclid just as another person would read a novel, and after he had looked at a few of the demonstrations he had the whole matter at his finger-ends. From this he passed straight to Analytical Geometry as developed by Descartes, whose book Newton mastered by himself, though as he himself confessed not without some difficulty.

Newton's life during this period was that of the model student. He was seldom seen outside his study and always had a book and a pen in his hands. He was an incorrigible annotator and his books were filled with marginal notes that he had written himself as he read, either criticisms of the text or original suggestions of his own. He also interested himself in chemistry, theology, chronology, etc., to which subjects he would turn as a relaxation from his severer studies. Newton now began making original discoveries in mathematics. One of these was his discovery of the celebrated Binomial Theorem, given in all books on algebra. There is also reason to believe that he had already invented the method of calculation which we now call the Differential and Integral Calculus, but which Newton called "Fluxions" because it deals with variable or "flowing" quantities. However, the Great Plague broke out in London, and during parts of 1665 and 1666 the University was closed, Newton retiring to his home at Woolsthorpe. It was while on this forced vacation that he thought out the principles of his Law of Gravitation; some say that his attention was directed to the subject by seeing an apple fall from a tree while sitting in his garden.

There is a common belief that Newton was the first to suggest that the planets were bound to the sun by the force of gravity. This is wrong. The idea had occurred to several astronomers, including Huyghens, Wren, Hooke and others, who had discovered that it was possible to account for the motions of the planets by assuming them to be moving under the action of a force directed to the centre of the sun. Newton, thinking over this matter, saw that if the planets move round the sun under the power of gravity, then the moon must move round the earth for the same reason. The force of the sun's attraction was unknown, but that of the earth was known, and Newton determined to submit the idea to a crucial test. Unfortunately, however, the value which he adopted for the radius of the earth was wrong, and, in consequence, the result was not what

ally. It showed how the whole mechanism of the Heavens could be explained on the theory of gravitation. As Newton had foreseen, the book had to face a storm of criticism. Though in England it was hailed with enthusiasm, yet on the Continent it made little headway, the continental mathematicians regarding it with suspicion or even with hostility. Out of this arose the unfortunate misunderstanding with Leibnitz already referred to, and as a result it was a long time before the truth became known beyond the shores of England. It was largely due to Voltaire that the doctrines of Newton became accepted in France, half a century after the book was out.

About this time Newton became involved in a dispute with the King, James II, who had endeavoured to force the University to grant the degree of M.A. to a certain Benedictine monk, without his being obliged to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. Newton was one of those delegated by the University to resist the order, which they successfully managed to do. This resulted in Newton's being appointed, after the abdication of James, to represent the University in Parliament. During this period, however, Newton became a prey to some disorder of the mind, which some have represented as amounting to insanity, but was most likely only a form of deep melancholy. Be this as it may, the great scientist, though he recovered, never really regained his former vigour of mind. He still showed the same power of solving problems when urged to do so, but had little inclination to do original research work.

In 1695 he was appointed Warden of the Mint, which necessitated his removal to London, and four years later he was promoted Master of the Mint. In order to devote himself wholly to his new duties, he resigned his chair in favour of Whitson, who had been acting as his deputy. Newton was now at the very head of English science, was president of the Royal Society, and was on intimate terms with the Queen, who would often visit him and delighted in his conversation. He had in 1705 received a Knighthood in recognition of his services to science. Thus he lived up to his death, on March 20th, 1727.

Much has been written about Newton's habits of abstraction, which were the natural consequence of his total immersion in scientific speculation. Biot, the French astronomer, writes:

"During two years that he employed in composing his immortal *Principia*, in which are developed so many admirable discoveries, he existed only to calculate and meditate; and if the life of any being subjected to the necessities of humanity can furnish any idea of the pure existence of a celestial intelligence, we may say that his offered such a representation. Often lost in the contemplation of these sublime truths, he went through the ordinary duties of life without perceiving that he did so, and without his thinking principle seeming to preserve any connection with his body. It is said that oftener than once, after he had begun to dress himself in the morning, he suddenly sat down, again on his

bed, arrested by some thought, and remained in this situation half naked for hours, pursuing the idea which occupied him. He would even have forgotten to take his food if they had not reminded him of it; nay, even sometimes when he felt himself hungry before any of his meals, it would not have been impossible to have persuaded him that he had already finished it. One day his particular friend, Dr. Stukely, having come to dine with him, had to wait a long time before Newton came out of his study in which he was shut up. At last, feeling rather hungry, the doctor resolved to help himself to a chicken which had been set on the table; after eating which he returned the fragments to the dish, and replaced the cover. Some hours after, Newton at last made his appearance, and seating himself at the table, remarked that he was very hungry. But when, upon lifting the cover he saw nothing but the picked bones of the chicken, 'Ah,' said he, 'I thought I had not dined, but I perceive I am mistaken.'"

His death has been described in a very touching manner by his kinsman, Mr. Conduitt.

"On Tuesday, the last day of February, 1726-7, he came to town in order to go to a meeting of the Royal Society. The next day I was with him, and thought I had not seen him better for many years, and he was sensible of it himself, and told me, smiling, that he had slept the Sunday before, from eleven at night to eight in the morning without waking, but his great fatigue in going to the Society, and making and receiving visits, brought his old complaint violently upon him. He returned to Kensington on the Saturday following. As soon as I heard of his illness I carried Dr. Mead and Mr. Cheselden down to him, who immediately said it was the stone in the bladder, and gave no hopes of his recovery. The stone was probably moved from the place where it lay quiet by the great motion and fatigue of his journey to London, from which time he had violent fits of pain with very short intermissions, and though great drops of sweat ran down from his face with anguish, he never complained, or cried out, or showed the least sign of peevishness or impatience, and during the short intervals from that violent torture, would smile and talk with his usual cheerfulness. On Wednesday, the 15th of March, he seemed a little better, and we conceived some hopes of his recovery, but without grounds. On Saturday morning, the 18th, he read the newspapers, and held a pretty long discourse with Dr. Mead and had all his senses perfect; but that evening at six, and all Sunday he was insensible, and died on Monday, the 20th of March, between one and two o'clock in the morning. He seemed to have *stamina vitæ* (except for the accidental disorder of the stone) to have carried him to a much longer age. To the last he had all his senses and faculties, strong, vigorous, and lively, and he continued writing and studying many hours a day to the time of his last illness."

Thus passed away, in his eighty-fifth year, Sir Isaac Newton. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, a fitting resting-place for the greatest intellect the world has ever seen. J. A. LLOYD.

Newton had anticipated. A lesser man would have twisted the facts to suit the theory. Not so Newton. With characteristic magnanimity, he laid aside his work, and was content to abandon all thought of publishing his idea, though he must have been grievously disappointed at the way things had turned out. It was not till sixteen years later that Newton came to know that a better value for the earth's radius had been found by Picard, a French astronomer. Once more he took up his calculations, making use of the new data, and to his unbounded delight he found that the result agreed with his anticipations and that he had been right all along: that it really was the force of gravity that directed the moon in its course.

In these calculations, Newton made great use of his Fluxional Calculus, which he had in the meantime developed to a high pitch. By means of the new analysis he was able to attack problems which were quite insoluble to the other mathematicians using the older methods. This idea of a calculus dealing with regularly varying quantities was known to mathematicians before Newton's time, but only in a vague form. Indeed, even the Greek geometers had a hazy glimmering of it. But the mighty genius of Newton enabled him to take up this vague idea and to forge it into a complete system of analysis, which in his hands became a powerful weapon of attack. Unfortunately he did not publish any account of his methods.

In the meantime, the German philosopher, Leibnitz, had heard from some source that Newton had invented a method for finding the areas of curves. This gave him a clue, and starting from this point he re-invented the calculus for himself. A long and acrimonious dispute followed, in which Newton, Leibnitz and their adherents took part, each side accusing the other of plagiarism. This unfortunate quarrel had a most disastrous effect on English mathematics, for instead of developing and spreading the knowledge of the new method, the English mathematicians wasted their time in disputing with the continental mathematicians, and it was nearly a century later that the English mathematicians once more found themselves abreast of their continental rivals.

At the end of 1666 Newton returned to Cambridge, and in 1667 he was elected a Junior Fellow of Trinity College, to be advanced to Senior Fellow in 1668, taking his degree of M.A. at the same time. In 1669, the chair of mathematics became vacant, owing to Isaac Barrow being transformed to the chair of divinity. Newton was obviously the one to take Barrow's place, to which he was accordingly nominated. Newton chose optics as the subject of his first course of lectures, in which he dealt with the decomposition of light by a prism, the theory of colour, the explanation of the rainbow and many other matters. Before this time he had occupied himself with the theory of the telescope, and had formed the opinion (erron-

ous as we now know) that it was impossible to construct an achromatic telescope of the refracting type. Accordingly, he turned his attention to the reflecting telescope, which had been suggested by Gregory some time previously. The form of reflector devised by Newton is widely used at the present day, and is considered superior to the refractor for certain lines of research, besides being enormously cheaper to construct in large sizes.

But even Newton had his enemies. It was inevitable, perhaps, that, though of such a modest, retiring disposition, he should be compelled to come forth from time to time to do battle in defence of his theories. This was extremely distasteful to him and he bitterly complains that he had made himself a slave to philosophy; "but if I get rid of Mr. Linus's business, I will resolutely bid adieu to it eternally, excepting what I do for my private satisfaction or leave to come out after me; for I see that a man must either resolve to put forth nothing new, or to become a slave to defend it."

Meanwhile, the question of the motion of the planets was still interesting astronomers. Halley, for instance, was very anxious to know what was the law according to which the force of attraction varied, in order that the planets might describe ellipses round the sun. But Halley's mathematical equipment was not sufficient for the task, and so he applied to several mathematicians for help, but got no useful reply from any except Robert Hooke, a great genius but a man of the most spiteful turn of mind. Hooke was able to say that the force would vary inversely as the square of the distance of the planet from the sun. But when Halley demanded to see his proofs, Hooke replied that he preferred to wait till others working at the same problem had tried and failed. It afterwards transpired that Hooke had not obtained a rigid proof, but had been led to this conclusion by his natural sagacity rather than by mathematical reasoning. Halley determined to ask Newton, and so to Cambridge he went. When he stated his problem, he found that Newton had long ago solved it; not only that, he had carried the matter much further, and had worked out the principal laws of motion of bodies moving under the force of gravity. But having had such painful experiences with his ruthless critics, Newton had never dreamed of publishing his results. Yielding, however, to the earnest entreaties of Halley, he now resolved to do so. And so came into being the great book, the *Principia*, upon which most of Newton's fame rests. With wonderful disinterestedness, Halley laid aside all his own work and pressed forward the printing of Newton's great masterpiece, bearing the whole of the expense himself. The *Principia* was therefore printed in 1687.

We cannot here give an account of the contents of the *Principia*, except that it dealt with the motions of bodies treated mathematic-

JAPAN'S NEW EMPEROR.

JAPANESE history is measured by *jidai*, a term signifying an era, each era co-terminus with the reign of the ruler it represents. Every era is designated by a title distinctive of the ideal set for the period; which title becomes the posthumous name of the emperor of that epoch. The period covering the reign of the grandfather of the present sovereign of Japan was, for example, designated the Meiji Era (1868-1912), *meiji* signifying Enlightenment. The Imperial House of Japan has no name as the Royal House of England has, but each ruler is given a personal name, that of the ruler just mentioned being Mutsuhitō (Mootshtō) during his lifetime, but on his demise he became Meiji Tenno, or the Emperor Meiji. The reign of his successor, the Emperor Yoshihito (1912-1926) was designated the Taisho Era, *taisho* meaning Great Righteousness; and presumably this ruler's posthumous name will be Taisho Tenno. The personal name of the new Emperor is Hirōhito (pronounced Heerōshtō), and the title the authorities have selected for the spirit of the new age is *Showa*, taken from Buddhist or Confucian philosophy, and means Radiant Peace. As the ruler of Japan has no crown, there is no coronation in the European sense, but the ceremony of enthronement is one of the greatest of all State functions, and one to which all nations with which Japan is in diplomatic relations are invited to send representatives of their ruling houses.

It may be well to point out that the name "Japan" is never used by the people of the country; in fact, it is not really the name of the Land of the Rising Sun at all, but only a European designation of the country, derived from the Zipangu given it by Marco Polo. The Japanese name is Nippon, or Nihon, which means Sunrise Land, a descriptive name used by the Chinese centuries ago.

The accession of the young Emperor, Hirōhito, to the ancient throne of Dai Nippon, or Great Japan, marks not only the beginning of a new era in the nation's history, as each successive reign has automatically done for centuries past, in accordance with the custom already indicated, but, what is much more important, it marks the rise and rule of a more modern-minded sovereign than has hitherto guided the destinies of the Far Eastern Empire. The late Emperor, Yoshihito, was rightly regarded by his subjects as the country's first ruler equipped with the advantages of a modern education and outlook. Brought up like the son of any peer of the realm, he was sent to the public school for the sons of nobles, commonly known as the Peers' School, where he took the regular courses and passed through the ordinary forms as other pupils of the institution—not,

however, in the ordinary class, but in a class specially selected from the sons of distinguished families, and he could well call himself a schoolfellow of the companions with whom he came daily in contact. He studied the usual subjects, played the same games and enjoyed the same sports, as his school mates. Though as Crown Prince he was able to qualify for promotion in the army and to be present at military and naval reviews, as well as to take frequent trips through the country, his health was never sufficiently strong for the active part in the deliberations of government that his illustrious father took, and so he was in some measure prevented from applying to practical problems the knowledge he had acquired from education and experience. The new Emperor, Hirohito, however, has not only gone through the same system of education and training as his father, but he has made still more progress in the acquirement and application of modern knowledge, especially in politics, modern languages and science. The young Emperor has evinced a particular facility in English and French, and a keen interest in British institutions and civilisation generally. Of course, he is yet more proficient in Oriental learning, particularly the classics of Japan and China. That savant among Japanese men of learning, Dr. Inazo Nitobé, once assured the writer that he had derived more benefit from his forty years' study of English literature than from all his other numerous studies; and this experience we may expect to find in some measure reflected in the life of the young Emperor who has now made Dr. Nitobé a peer of the realm.

After leaving school at the age of eighteen the Prince Imperial continued his studies under specially selected and distinguished tutors, at the head of whom as director was the famous late General Count Nogi; and after this great patriot despatched himself to follow his master, Meiji Tenno, into the unseen in 1912, the young Prince's education was placed under the supervision of the nation's next most illustrious hero, Admiral Count Togo, and he continued to hear lectures daily from distinguished scholars and professors until his departure for Europe in 1921.

The inception by the late Emperor of a policy intended to modernise to a greater degree the relations of the Imperial House with the common people has found no more admirable or facile exponent in example and operation than the present Emperor during the entire course of his career as Crown Prince and Prince Regent. There is little doubt that this policy will be maintained in even greater measure under his more immediate régime. During his father's illness, for over five years, the Prince Regent, as Imperial Deputy, had unusual opportunities to reveal a naturally warm sympathy not only with all the more permanent of the national virtues and traditions but with his country's institutions and aspirations,

no less than with the hopes of the masses for improved conditions of life and work.

The Emperor Hirohito ascends the throne at a very vital moment in the nation's history, when the process of extending the franchise and realising constitutional government in more than name becomes paramount. Japan to-day stands at the parting of the ways. The Imperial Cabinet will have to choose between relying wholly on the *Genro* (Elder Statesmen) or on the advice of parliament. That the Imperial Diet will effectually succeed the *Genro* in national affairs is obvious from the course things have taken in the last few years. Even ten years ago the *Genro* was still the final court of appeal in times of crisis, and the Emperor invariably deferred to their decisions. But then they were notably a very distinguished and reliable authority, of maturer wisdom than any other body in the empire. They were men of incomparable political and international experience and reputation: in fact, the greatest men of the nation, living in retirement after having lived history; and having lived history they were still prepared to make history. And they often did make history by their deliberations and judgments. There is little doubt among those familiar with the inner working of Japanese history that the Elder Statesmen often kept the nation out of trouble when immature advice would have proved fatal to the nation's interests. But now the Elder Statesmen have almost disappeared, and this mainly through death rather than through political elimination. The remarkable thing is that as they depart they leave no successors. Prince Saionji and Viscount Kiyoura alone are left, and the Imperial disposition is still to defer to these for advice for the sake of old times. With their decease the *Genro* will be no more, though for the sake of so illustrious a tradition they may yet exist in name. But modern Japan will be governed by the Imperial Cabinet, and that body will be obliged more and more to abide by the opinion of the Imperial Diet, and the Diet in turn will become more and more an instrument of representative government. The franchise, though recently extended, is yet seriously restricted, for how can eleven million voters give truly representative government to sixty-five millions of people? But the reforms in process of realisation indicate a great improvement on conditions even a decade ago when the Government in power seldom if ever lost an election, and bureaucracy was supreme.

Now in all these changes towards a more modern and democratic working of the Imperial Constitution there is no more interested observer and promoter than the young Emperor. But the widest breach with tradition in pursuance of more effective modernisation is seen in the Imperial attitude toward Occidental civilisation and institutions. Just as hitherto the tendency of

government in Japan has been to follow tradition rather than law, to be constitutional in name rather than in reality, but is now rapidly approaching more constitutional methods, so the attitude of the Imperial House toward the common people and toward the world in general has become of late remarkably frank, open and modern. The death of the Emperor Meiji was not announced for some time after it occurred; and the demise of the Empress Dowager Shoken some years later was not announced until the Imperial remains had been brought back to Tokyo where all Imperial personages were expected to depart this life. But the illness and death of the late Emperor, Yoshihito, were announced according to western custom; the Emperor was allowed to die outside of the capital and the Imperial casket was brought to Tokyo in the same manner as that of any distinguished subject.

It is obvious that the young Emperor's policy will be in closer touch with the modern world than that of his predecessors. Not only did he, while Prince Imperial, freely and unostentatiously mix with the common folk, after the manner of the Prince of Wales, especially during his numerous occasions of progress through the rural parts of the empire, but, like his father, he visited Korea and other outlying portions of his dominions; and he initiated the most unprecedented break with tradition of all when he resolved to visit England to learn more of the life and civilisation of the Occident before succeeding to the throne. Accordingly the Prince embarked on a warship of the Imperial navy and proceeded to England by the eastern route, where, on his arrival, he was met by the Prince of Wales at Portsmouth, and his cordial welcome from the Royal Family and all the leading statesmen and scholars as well as industrial magnates and the people generally afforded him the opportunity he desired to see what England was and what English civilisation had achieved. After the return of Prince Hirohito to Japan he was pleased to have a visit from the Prince of Wales. Nothing could have been more in accord with the Imperial policy of promoting closer association with ordinary life than the way the Prince of Wales showed delight in going about in public with Prince Hirohito, even in torrents of rain, when the Prince of Wales surprised the public in disdaining the use of a waterproof coat.

Soon after the Prince's arrival home from England in November, 1921, there occurred one of the most striking incidents yet seen in connection with the execution of his new policy. An early duty after setting foot safely on the sacred soil of Japan after so important and risky an adventure, was to repair to the old capital at Kyoto and pay respect to the ancestral shrines. While staying at the ancient palace there the undergraduates and other young men of the city resolved on some spectacular demonstration

of their loyal welcome home to the Prince Imperial; and in a crowded but orderly procession they marched down the principal thoroughfares bearing paper lanterns inscribed with patriotic devices. At last they arrived in front of the Imperial palace and duly halted, stood at attention, saluted and made obeisance. On rising, to their overwhelming surprise and delight, there was the Prince himself on the palace balcony acknowledging their welcome in the most respectful attitude. So overcome were they with pent-up awe and pleasure that they could not restrain a cheer: *Banzai, Banzai*, which means: May the Imperial House live for ever. But it is as the law of the Medes and Persians in Japan, that silence shall always be maintained in the Imperial presence. On hearing the cheers, the police-guard began to multiply in numbers and the young men were soon surrounded and ordered to disperse. Silence was resumed but the young men were slow to move. They had been welcomed by the Prince whom they had come to welcome. The chief officer seemed determined to enforce his order, and it looked for a moment as if there might be trouble and someone arrested; but just at the vital moment even the police were seen to stand suddenly at attention and salute, and everyone was profoundly impressed and amazed to see the Prince making his way among them, lifting his hand to restrain the officers no less than the rest. The Prince thanked the officers and students for their dutiful presence and then said good-night. Still obsessed with awe, the crowd began to disperse and the incident ended in delight to all but the police; for the next day the chief of police and the lord mayor of the city sent in their resignations to the government. The Emperor, however, refused to agree to their resignation and asked them to continue in office. In the old days they would have committed suicide in apology for such an incident. But the late Emperor and the present ruler alike have done everything possible to discourage suicide in this way. The custom thus failing to receive Imperial recognition or approval, nevertheless goes on, though it occurs much less frequently than of old. The most conspicuous examples in recent times have been those of General Count Nogi in connection with the demise of Meiji Tenno, and of Baron Ikeda in connection with the death of the late Emperor. And a pointsman on the railway committed suicide some time ago because by a mistake he delayed the Imperial train two minutes. A chauffeur also committed the happy despatch because a tyre burst on the Imperial motor-car, while he was taking the Emperor to the station. But these extreme exhibitions of loyalty are happily decreasing through Imperial disapproval.

The new ruler of Japan made what many regard as a still greater departure from tradition and precedent than any that

have been mentioned, when he resolved to marry a princess of his own choice even though he had to go outside the sacred circle of the five *kugé* families, from which the Imperial consorts have been taken for more than a thousand years, to find her. From the eighth century when the Fujiwara house became dominant in national affairs, their position was maintained by insisting on the reigning sovereign uniting with a daughter of the famous family which regarded itself as scarcely less than Imperial, a mode of exploitation in political affairs that later developed into the shogunate, though the shogunate in time became a family office too. But even after the Fujiwara ceased to exercise political influence, the custom of taking the empresses from that family was so ancient that it became a sacred tradition that none dare break. For this departure from age-long precedent Prince Hirohito was ready to make himself responsible, though according to Japanese law and tradition the Emperor and the Imperial House are never responsible for anything except for what is good. The Prince's choice of a consort fell upon Princess Nagako, the beautiful and accomplished daughter of General Prince Kuni, who represents a family only in the second line of Imperial descent. The mother of the Princess is not of Imperial lineage, being a daughter of the greatest house in Japan outside that of Imperial descent, the house of Satsuma, of which Prince Shimadzu is the head. To this radical departure from age-long precedent there arose much opposition, doubtless fomented mainly by the relatives of the five *kugé* families and their friends or clans, but the Prince persisted in his choice; the Princess was duly taken from her home and established in a beautiful mansion where she could prepare for the greatest event in life, when she became espoused to the Crown Prince. The Imperial nuptials were to have been celebrated in the autumn of 1923, but owing to the great earthquake they had to be postponed to the beginning of 1924. As the Imperial Constitution of Japan, notwithstanding the famous female rulers of the nation's history, does not permit a woman to ascend the throne, the nation awaits anxiously the birth of an Imperial prince, but the only child of the marriage so far is the little Princess Shigeko, born December 6th, 1925.

That Japanese conceptions of the Imperial House, and its closer relation to the common people, have become more modern in sympathy and outlook must not be misinterpreted to imply that there is any decrease of faith in the divinity of the ruler; he is still no less the Son of Heaven in the eyes of the nation than were his ancestors. Japan is still, and, for some time to come, must remain, a theocracy. The first Emperor of Japan was a divine ruler, as have been all his successors ever since. The Emperor is the centre

BEETHOVEN.

THE centenary of the death of Beethoven affords again occasion to reflect that the steep road, which humanity is called upon to climb towards perfection, is paved with the grave-stones of men of genius. Throughout the course of history such men have intermittently arisen, whose personalities have acted as weirs to its steady-flowing stream. Resisting its divergent currents, filtering it from flotsam, drawing it into concentrated channels and renewing its vitality, the genius of individuals has made it to progress where otherwise it would have dissipated its force in idle floods. In politics, in science, in philosophy, and no less in art, the "periods" of history are demarcated by the action of these master-minds, which, by sheer power of will and singleness of intent, have reduced to order the varying tendencies of their age, and have given new life and energy to the evolution of thought.

In music, this progress through genius is perhaps more noticeable than in any of the sister arts, although the criteria by which such progress can be judged are more obscure. In sculpture and in painting there is, in spite of any idealisation, the necessary existence of a concrete subject; and in architecture, perhaps more akin to music than these others, there is an inseparable element either of utility or of symbolism on which the faculty of reason can fasten criticism. But in music the subject is impalpable, elusive, ethereal; and the form in which it is presented cannot be appraised upon any practical standards of judgment. Rudolf Otto, in his *Idea of the Holy*, accords to music a place upon the "wholly other" or "numinal" level of religion; and many now recognise that it is the essentially spiritual nature of music which transports it beyond the grasp of reason. Thus Beethoven wrote to a young pianist friend: "Do not only practise art, but get at the very core of it. This it merits, for only art and knowledge raise men to the Godhead." And again: "So does art ever represent the Deity, and man's relation to it is religion." If beauty is the consummation and the ultimate aim of every other art, it is not of music. Beauty is an attribute of both religion and music; and, as such, is a phase at once of perfect rest and of perfect movement—the two antitheses which, between their poles, embrace the whole phenomenal universe.

Beethoven was the first of all composers to recognise the spiritual essence of music, and to make of music the medium for expressing the profundity of human emotional feeling. The history of his artistic life is the history of a soul. To follow the development of his work is to watch the accession of his spirit to greater and ever more complete dominance over his body and its material resources. During the century which has gone by since his death, Beethoven's

work and personality have been subjected to the most searching criticism; and he has been in and out of popular vogue, like most artistic geniuses, according as favourable or adverse views have been the latest to attract attention. Yet, however inconsistent may have been public opinion, the allegiance of musicians has never wavered in its loyalty. There has arisen no great composer since Beethoven's death a hundred years ago who has not, either by word or in music, avowed his indebtedness to the example of Beethoven. Trivialities and trite passages, it is true, are to be found here and there in his work, but they have only served to demonstrate the more clearly his transcending superiority as a composer. In such diverse styles as those of Berlioz and Mendelssohn, Wagner and Gabriel Fauré, Meyerbeer and Gustav Mahler, there is perceptible the spiritual heritage of Beethoven, the common inspiration of his genius, which defies criticism. There are those who would regard Beethoven as a transitional stage between Bach and Brahms, and if they do so for mere chronological convenience no objection can be raised. For the work of Beethoven marked only one transition, namely, the passage of music from an intellectual craft to a medium of spiritual expression.

Beethoven, then, inaugurated a new era in art when he created music as the expression of pure spiritual emotion. It is this spiritual essence of his music which makes so difficult the work of the critic, for, from Beethoven onwards, music becomes the exteriorisation of specifically musical feeling, which has no counterpart in normal life. In any attempt to find analogous emotional terms in which to interpret music, the critic has always been faced with the difficulty that the same feeling-content will not persist in whatever form it may be presented. Hasler's Chorale, "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden," for instance, which Bach uses with such pathos throughout the Matthew Passion, was in its popular origin a love-song; and again it appears in new dress at the close of the Christmas Oratorio to words of triumph. Form and content, clearly distinguishable in the plastic arts, are in music the woof and warp of an indissectible texture. If the form be changed, the content changes too; and the content is incommunicable without the form. In other words, musical content cannot be abstracted; it is music, nothing else.

It would perhaps be unjust to say that this idea of the absolute nature of music occurred to none of Beethoven's predecessors; and it is very certain that, since the Church was music's nursery in Europe, the many great composers in the line of Palestrina, Byrd, Orlando Gibbons, Bach, were sensible of the intimate relationship between their art and the spiritual worship which it served. But they fell short of comprehending that spirit and music are mutually intrinsic. Mr. James Steuart Wilson said of Byrd: "If you ask me how I know that the Heavens declare the glory of God, I reply,

and head of the organisation of the empire. The distinction between ruler and subject remains vital and permanent. The sovereign is sacrosanct, infallible, and inviolable, and obedience to him and his government is implicit. To him is due the same worship and obedience as to his ancestors, the gods of the nation. That the Emperor rules by virtue of his divine descent in unbroken succession from the Creator is the foundation of government and national polity. And this proposition is maintained notwithstanding that in Japanese history emperors are represented as being seized, murdered, or left to die in exile. But, perhaps, in its basis and practice no faith or political theory is found wholly consistent. The new Emperor, like his predecessors, will rule, not in his individual right, but as the incarnate representative of the Imperial ancestors. These ancestors are worshipped and obeyed as the national deities, not because they are the ancestors of the reigning sovereign, but because they are the real rulers and ancestors of the Japanese people. This is why the Japanese regard themselves as the most democratic nation in the world; for the Emperor is father and the nation his family. The ruler is the incarnation of the race. To some minds such a system may look like mere self-worship, as all democracy must in some measure prove to be; and when one looks at a Shinto altar and sees nothing but a mirror the assumption of self-worship is confirmed.

But the whole system in its practical working out is very human. Man naturally turns with awe and reverence to his Creator, whose Being, by the logic of reason and religion, must extend back to the original Father of mankind. To the Japanese mind there is no dead space between the original father and the children of to-day. Just as the Hebrew theory of religion made God a Jew, and all Jews his chosen people, so the Japanese theory makes the Creator a Japanese, and the Japanese his family, of whom the Emperor is head; since in Japan there can be no family without a head, and the family is the unit of society. Whether such a theory has any historical or scientific basis is not the question; the fact that the millions of Japan believe it and act upon it makes it true to them for all practical purposes.

It is, of course, very difficult for the Occidental mind to appreciate fully the sanctity and significance of this unique relation between the Japanese people and the Imperial House. Without sufficient grasp of it, nevertheless, no one can understand Japan. As the young Emperor faces his people he knows that they believe their relation to him to be the most intimate that the human mind can conceive. To say that the Japanese believe in the divine right of the ruler is to put their theory of religion and government only in the mildest form. Charles I of England suffered for

insisting on the divine right of kings, but what would have happened had he claimed to be God incarnate? To convey clearly to the western mind any adequate conception of the place occupied by the young Emperor of Japan in the hearts of his subjects, and the degree of reverential awe with which he continues to be invested, even in these days of doubt and materialism, is a task that cannot well be attempted in words. The most convincing proof of faith is conduct. One has to live in the midst of this mystic loyalty and breathe its esoteric atmosphere for years, as the writer has done, to understand what it means. What then must it involve for the sovereign himself to realise that he is not only the vice-gerent of the ancestral gods, but is a god himself by virtue of his divine descent and office: a god who rules, guides, guards, and keeps his people with unbounded compassion and infallible wisdom, a task possible only to one who has divinely inherited it, as well as the attributes of omnipotent and benevolent ancestors in heaven? Certainly there is no other potentate on earth who receives such devoted veneration and service as the ruler of Japan.

Doubtless to the more modern-minded West such a view of monarchy, and especially of deity, will appear fanciful if not antiquated and even preposterous. That the Emperor should be the nation's actual heavenly father, present in the flesh to share his people's joys and sorrows, and to whose sympathy and support all achievement is due, appears to us incredible. But to the Japanese the ruler is more of a heavenly father than Jehovah is to the Jew or indeed to any Occidental mind. He does for his people as much as the gods of other lands for theirs, and in Japanese eyes a great deal more. One of the most interesting aspects of Japan for the next few years will be to watch how these ancient principles will operate under the new sovereign who is so anxious not only to have his government and civilisation modern, but also sound.

J. INGRAM BRYAN.

definite associative ideas, his design would be non-musical; and, since mental associations depend upon the unconscious memories of the individual, the composer might more often than not be thwarted in his purpose unless he first primed the hearer.

It is still customary to observe Lenz's division of Beethoven's work into three periods: an early period (to Op. 20) of apprenticeship to the art, during which he experimented without obtaining entire mastery either of the orchestra or of the solo instruments; a middle period (to Op. 100, and therefore including Symphonies 1 to 8), in which his personality is able to assert itself independently of any precedent, and in which he could employ with absolute control any form or medium for the expression of his ideas; and the closing period, best described as the superhuman period, when his work, unhampered even by considerations of form, surpassed in beauty of melody, in perfection of structure, in height and depth of conception, anything that has been written before or since. But such demarcations of periods cannot be insisted upon. They are useful for purposes of classification and study, but at best they can only be regarded as milestones on a straight and ever-widening road. The periods merge imperceptibly one into the other, as the mind of Beethoven evolved towards full spirituality.

It may possibly be open to doubt whether Beethoven did at first realise the other-worldliness of his mission. Thayer's biography of Beethoven, as well as the collection of his letters, shows well enough that the halo with which Victorians encircled his brow was very far from merited in his early manhood. When, for instance, he said to Anton Schindler, in reference to the Countess Guilietta Guicciardi, twenty years after parting with his "immortal beloved one," "Had I chosen to surrender my vital power and my life, what would have remained of that which is noble, better, in me?" his words seem to indicate that perhaps some element of chance played into the hands of what was "better" in the marriage of the Countess to Count Gallenberg. But whether that be so or not, his personality thereafter became more and more identified with music, his passions sublimated into a love which stretches out to infinity, his sense of self gradually modulated to a sense of spiritual universality, until his soul found in the end no corporeal resistance to the expression of its message from the other world.

The progress of his genius, from its earliest utterings onwards, shows a steady extension of the spirit over all his work, a raising to a higher and higher power of the artistic elements which constitute the musician's medium. At the outset of his career musical forms had hardened into fixed conventions, established by J. S. Bach, affirmed by Bach's son, Philipp Emanuel, and already accepted with respect by Mozart. The early work of Beethoven is marked by an adherence to this same precedent. There is evident a deeper

emotional appeal than in the work of his predecessors as well as a certain restiveness under formal restraint. But the tutorship of Haydn is apparent in his first string quartets, and the influence of Mozart is easy to detect in his early concertos. It has to be remembered that Beethoven's own instrument was the pianoforte, and that the consequence of his deafness which he most resented was the enforced abandonment of his career as a virtuoso. In later years the instrument forfeited his affection as he came to realise its limitations; but it is not surprising that in his youth his most original work was done for the pianoforte, nor that, in his early practice of orchestral forms, he should avail himself of all the instruction which he could derive from his great forerunners. As a solo performer he must frequently have played in public the works of Mozart, and he was never tired of owning his indebtedness to this example. It was, indeed, one of the noble traits of Beethoven's character that on no occasion did he ever evince the slightest sign of jealousy or contempt for any other serious composer. He encouraged those in whom he must often have perceived a lack of real talent, and his letters are full of appreciations of the work of the great eighteenth century masters of poetry and music which came within his ken.

Yet it was not long before Beethoven had not only absorbed all that other composers could teach him, but had found their forms insufficient for the great ideas which surged up within him. Forms which to others had provided ample scope for their powers, to the immeasurable genius of Beethoven were irksome and unreasonable. "The true artist," he wrote in 1812, "sees that art has no limits," and nothing could arrest the extension of his realm of expression. If he was to give voice to spiritual reality, there was no bourne which earth might impose. He was not concerned with inventing fresh devices; he acquired such consummate mastery of technique that it ceased to hold any interest for him. He did not defy law, he superseded it, and so it bowed to his will and became his servant. He did not wage war upon tradition: he stepped over it, in the same manner that Napoleon called the Pope to his coronation and then held him captive at his pleasure. He did not need to seek out new forms; the irresistible stream of life within him burst the dykes of academic form and overflowed into territories which had never been explored. The whole of Beethoven's work is in the "grand style," free, spacious, covering the entire gamut of high human emotion, animating with new life and movement every spiritual experience.

Beethoven could, therefore, found no school. Life was his school, and humanity his scholar. The Romanticists may claim him as their high priest, but he himself would have brooked no such confinement to his office. He was a Romantic, but he was a Classic too. He rose above Romanticism, and Formalism, and Classicism, and

'Because Byrd says so.' "One might with equal truthfulness reply, "Because Beethoven says so"; but Byrd says it in a very different manner from Beethoven. Sir Hubert Parry rightly insists upon the depth of spirituality in the work of J. S. Bach, and the mystic reverence which he shows particularly in his expansions upon the word "sterben." But again the principle of Bach is the principle of Byrd; it is not that of Beethoven. Around the cultivated tree-trunk of his art Bach twines his spiritual thought like ivy, and the two grow up, close knit, together reaching out towards the sky. With Beethoven, the spirit is the vital sap which rises from the roots and very groundwork of his art and pervades the whole—is the essence of the whole. While his forerunners sought, in elaborating form in music, to adapt it more completely as a means of portraying emotional states, Beethoven allowed no such objective considerations to baulk his intuition, or to intervene between the spiritual source of all creative genius and its pure expression.

Nevertheless, the lives of musicians, and of none more than Beethoven, witness to the fact that their work is produced under considerable emotional stress, and that the emotional affect often manifests itself in joy, and grief, and so forth; so that these physical manifestations are supposed to be indicative, if not symbolical, of the emotional content of the musical creation. They cannot, however, be so regarded. The content of the emotional affect, at first sub-conscious, becomes conscious musical idea by reason of the artistic predisposition of the composer; and, since musical content can assume many forms (though not any form), the choice of the form in which the idea shall be presented entails an intellectual process of a conscious æsthetic order. M. A. Fouillée, in his *Psychologie des Idées-Forces*, demonstrates this very point when he shows that, while every fact of consciousness is an idea, it is a force in so far as it involves some kind of preference; and one has only to examine the numerous rejected entries in Beethoven's sketch-books to realise how arduous to the composer this process of selection may be. But the physical emotional states are not of the content of the affect. They are accessory and subjective reactions of associative ideas, and may be engendered by the inhibition of the active and objective expression of the musical idea during the process of selecting a suitable form.*

The same is true of the hearer. The music which he hears, being the expression of purely musical emotion, should produce in him purely musical emotion too. As Beethoven wrote on the "Kyrie" of his Mass in D, "From the heart it has come; may it reach the heart again." Yet it is an everyday experience to witness audiences at concerts evincing the most varied states of excitation, due to the stimulation of associative ideas, for the reason that so few are equal

* C.P. : MacCurdy, *The Psychology of Emotion*, 567 ff. (London, 1925).

to the mental effort of directing their attention exclusively upon what they hear. As Browning says :

"Fancy with fact is just one fact the more."

It is these associative ideas which are for the most part responsible, in the first place for the bizarre and oftentimes crude attempts at realism and declamation of many composers, and in the second place for the strange and varying interpretations which people put upon the composer's "intentions." They have always served, and probably always will serve, as traducers of the true nature of music. In endeavouring to understand music we tend to turn aside from our specific music-consciousness to an introspective examination of non-musical emotions; and, in rationalising these, expect to read a meaning into the spiritual reality of which they are but physical by-products. What we actually achieve by so doing is to discover a phase of our own nature, and shut ourselves off from the possibility of receiving true musical inspiration. Programme-music is a hybrid which may be pleasurable as a stimulant of physical emotion; but in so far as its content is determined by non-musical ideas, in so far as it sets out to represent events incidental to external life, it ceases to be music and becomes tuneful poetry. *Leitmotiv* need not necessarily be based upon non-musical considerations, although at the hands of a host of composers, from Monteverdi to Wagner, it has demonstrated the incompatibility of music and drama. The fact that Beethoven left us but one opera and practically no songs may be taken as evidence that he at any rate sensed the danger to the spirituality of his art of yielding to the allurements of the "blest pair of sirens." According to Czerny, Beethoven admitted that the employment of a chorus in the finale of his last Symphony was a mistake; and whether, in rewriting it, he would have retained the human voice as an instrument in the orchestra or not, he certainly would have eliminated Schiller's verse.

While the form, and especially the rhythmic form, of musical work may be influenced by external impressions, the content of no great music has ever originated in phenomenal experience. As an outstanding exception to this one might be tempted to urge Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony, which certainly does call up associations of life in the open fields in the minds of many who have enjoyed it. But those associations are principally due to conventional modes of thought in regard to what is pastoral, and to effects of instrumentation derived from the Greeks, whose shepherds appear to have played upon reeds. The heart of the work is deeper than any of these impressions, and Beethoven indeed forestalled its misrepresentation as a "tone-picture" when he prefixed to the work the legend: "Mehr Ausdruck der Empfindung als Malerey." Furthermore, though a composer may determine the form in which to present his musical idea with the purpose of awakening certain

of this life," wrote Mr. Clutton-Brock, "he had no humour, but only high spirits." And there is nothing more wearing to the possessor than unregulated high spirits.

This nervous irritation was partially responsible for his extraordinary outbursts of passion. His abuse could be outrageous. He called Eliza Westbrook "a blind and loathsome worm that cannot see to sting." His furies, so wearing to him, are irresistibly comic to the unimpassioned reader. "I will make the remorseless villain to loathe his own flesh," he wrote of Hookham the publisher; "... he shall be cut down in his season; his pride shall be trampled into atoms; I will wither up his selfish soul by piecemeal." He could write in similar strain to Godwin, the last man to be favourably affected by such demonstrations. It is true that his temper did not mean as much as it appeared. He would call people "most odious and filthy animals" at one moment, and write them a friendly letter before the day was out. Still the strain of the outburst must be taken into account. He must have been heartily tired of himself after such exhibitions. His childlike attitude was absurdly over-emphasised by certain critics. But at certain periods of his career he was extremely childish. It was the folly and not, as Francis Thompson suggested, the innocence of childhood which marked his progress. These are times when we can sympathise with De Quincey's verdict that he was "an angel touched with lunacy." It is true that he outgrew most, if not all of his lunacies; but they left his nerves jangled.

To the very end he was oppressed by a lack of tranquillity. He confessed this to Godwin in 1817,* and lamented it in *The Recollection*, one of his last poems. He represented Prince Athanasios as beset by "unresting multitudes" of thoughts, which drove through his mind like

"The fiends
Which wake and feed an everliving woe."

He would cry aloud for the "gentle visitations of calm thought," so beautiful, but so inevitable in their departure. Sometimes it was the conviction of failure which overwhelmed him. "I wonder," he exclaimed, "why I write verses, for nobody reads them." Even the rapture of *The Skylark* ended with a suggestion of inadequacy. Or it might be that he was depressed by his own eccentricity, as one desiring

"More in this world than any understand."

But here, through his very singularity, he could find a passing alleviation. He feared lest *Faust* should prove a harmful study

* Mrs. Shelley's note on *The Revolt of Islam*.

for one "a prey to the reproaches of memory, and the delusions of an imagination not to be restrained." "And yet," he added, "the pleasure of sympathising with emotions known only to few, although they derive their sole charm from despair, and the scorn of the narrow good we can attain in our present state, seems more than to ease the pain which belongs to them. Perhaps all discontent with the less . . . supposes the sense of a just claim to the greater, and that we admirers of Faust are on the right road to Paradise." This scorn of the narrow good and discontent with the less was a movement of escape. He was losing himself in contemplation of the Ideal. It was in such moods of ecstasy that he found release; and his ecstasies took definite forms. There was the rapture of human love; the inspiration of beauty; and, as a later development, the worship of an ultimate and all-embracing Power.

(1) There is no space here to deal with Shelley's doctrines concerning human love. Here we must regard it solely as an experience which relieved him from himself. There were times when he felt like his own Cythna that one human spirit could not contain all its riches. Prometheus also recognised that but for Asia the overflow of his soul would be wasted. But with Asia on the other hand, self was not so much given away as realised, in the process of communion. This conception of self-realisation through love was rare in Shelley. He more constantly returned to love as a giving out of self. Only what was given had to be received; otherwise it was irrecoverably lost. His experience of human love was never entirely satisfactory. He never walked safely down these paths, no matter how keen his yearning for their ultimate goal. He became haunted by the conviction that he was unfitted for human fellowships. He might dream of love and its raptures; but he would be awakened by phantom images of Death and Life

"(Who) cried, 'Away, he is not of our crew.'
I wept, and though it be a dream, I weep."

He could find no satisfying object for his affections—no vessel to receive the overflowing of his cup. He gathered his "visionary flowers," rejoicing in their beauty; and then came the chill realisation that there was none to receive his gift:

"I hastened to the spot whence I had come,
That I might there present it!—Oh! to whom?"

(2) In the direction of love his inspirations were always liable to blight; but his whole spirit pressed out for relief through other channels. And beauty never failed him. He could feel himself

"Entranced in some diviner mood
Of self-oblivious solitude."

His self faded from him like dew in the sunlight when he heard

embraced them all. Beethoven assimilated to himself and consummated everything that had gone before; and, from the Olympian pinnacle which he must occupy in all the history of music, he radiated light destined to illumine all that followed after him, some of which was caught by Schumann, some of which is reflected and in a measure intensified in the work of César Franck and Brahms. Beethoven had no need of a school to ensure the future of his music. He never doubted its endurance, for, he said, "Whoever really understands it must become free of all the misery which others bear about with them."

As, with advancing age, Beethoven's deafness and the infirmity of his eyes precluded him more and more from contact with the world of sense, his work seems to throw off its last vestiges of structural purpose, and to tremble with a brooding insight. His imagination becomes more completely free, purer, and carries him to the highest summit of conception, beyond which it appears that music must itself become a medium too restricted to express his thoughts. The overwhelming beauty of the melodies of his last quartets open up vistas to the mind which lead on and on towards eternity. There is about them a supernal grace and tenderness of movement that is prophetic of apotheosis and of a stupendous calm. In these last extant works of Beethoven, in these last five quartets, pole meets pole, and music approaches to religious ecstasy. Already in the Ninth Symphony Beethoven had epitomised all his own work, and all the work that had ever gone before. Physical resources could not yield more to feed the spiritual fires. The chord of all the scale, the straining of the human voice to render, "Joy, daughter of Elysium!"—nothing more is possible. The spirit, having spoken through the frail organ of humanity, returns upon itself and calls its spokesman home.

After the Ninth Symphony had been played for the first time, a little over a hundred years ago, it was received with such an outburst of enthusiasm as Vienna had never seen before. The audience rose in mass, and alike from area and boxes shouted with round upon round of applause. Beethoven was facing the orchestra, and continued beating time; and it was not until the contralto singer touched him on the shoulder, and signed to him, that he turned to see what was happening. *He had heard nothing.* What then did he hear when, during a violent thunderstorm on March 26th, 1827, he raised himself upon his bed, and, with a clenched fist outstretched, threatened the raging heavens; and then fell back and breathed his last? What did he hear, or see? Was it that microcosm of ideal movement, the Rondo from the second Sonata of his Opus 31? Was *that* the music which heralded the whirling approach of the horses "and the chariot of fire?"

F. DANIEL WISEMAN.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SHELLEY.

"ALL Shelley's Poems," wrote Professor Dowden, "are fragments of a great confession." And in a sense this is true. But if Shelley confessed himself, it was to escape from himself. He was like a man pursued by his own shadow, haunted by the echoes of his own voice; and all through his writings he was struggling to lose these shadows and echoes of self. A man of his temperament was compelled to feel the burden of his own identity. During the "Shelley-baits" at Eton he had heard his name resounding in mockery around him—"His name would suddenly be sounded through the cloisters, in an instant to be taken up by another and another one until hundreds joined in the clamour, and the roof would echo and re-echo with 'Shelley! Shelley! Shelley! . . . ' Hundred fingers would point at him from every side, while still the outcry 'Shelley! Shelley!' rang against the walls." All through life he felt the echoes of that satiric chorus. Like Peer Gynt in the madhouse, he was overwhelmed by the sinister echoes of his own name. He had been made unduly conspicuous in his own eyes; and he shrank from that publicity. "I am sick to death," he wrote to Hogg, "at the name of self." Sometimes he sought an escape from self-contempt into self-complacency. "I know," he wrote to Miss Hitchener, "that I am superior to the mob of mankind." But these moods never lasted. He was constantly driven back to a sense of irritation with his own pertinacity. "So much for self," he exclaimed to Leigh Hunt in a letter of personal news, "*self*, that burr that will stick to one."

It is no wonder that he tired of this identity which had been thrust upon him. It is exhausting to live constantly with any person devoid of humour, even if that person be oneself. "You laugh at everything!" he reproached Hogg; "I am convinced that there can be no entire regeneration of mankind until laughter is put down." It is easy for us to laugh at his solemnities; it cannot have been so easy for him to endure their effects. He was invariably discovering himself in a society of bores. There was a Mrs. Nugent in Dublin, "who," wrote Harriet, "is sitting in the room now and talking to Percy about virtue." Or there was Miss Hitchener, the sister of his soul, eventually deposed to the position of a "brown demon." "Our friend, Miss Hitchener," wrote Harriet, "is come to us. She is very busy writing for the good of mankind. . . . She talks a great deal. If you like great talkers she will suit you." Shelley may have condemned "the withering and perverting spirit of comedy." What he required was the refreshment and insight which humour alone can give. "Since Shelley had no joyful sense of the imperfection

Constantia singing. The same image is repeated in the rapture of Earth's response to the mighty influences of Demogorgon:

"I hear; I am as a drop of dew that dies."

Poetry, quickening the emotional life, induced the same effect. Under its power, he declared, "self appears as what it is, an atom to a universe." In *The Triumph of Life* he dwelt with a peculiar ecstasy on the self-destroying potency of a great visionary figure:

"And all the gazer's mind was strewn beneath
Her feet like embers; and she, thought by thought,
Trampled its sparks into the dust of death;
As day upon the threshold of the east
Treads out the lamps of night."

The beauty of the physical world touched him in this fashion. But he also possessed the prerogative of creating beauty. In the act of composition he felt himself lifted "above the stormy mists of sensation." "The poet and the man," he wrote, "are two different natures; though they exist together, they may be unconscious of each other." He sought through creation to lose his superficial self, and find the true one in its place. In his translation of Plato's *Ion* we may find some words singularly applicable to his own case: "In other respects poets may be sufficiently ignorant and incapable. For they do not compose according to any art which they have acquired, but from the impulse of the divinity within them. . . . The God seems purposely to have deprived all poets, prophets and soothsayers of every particle of reason and understanding, the better to adapt them to their employment as his ministers and interpreters; and that we, their auditors, may acknowledge that those who write so beautifully are possessed, and address us inspired by the God." Shelley, using his own words to describe the visitations of these ecstasies, compared the human spirit to clouds, taking

"As from heaven
Hues which are not our own."

He possibly recognised in his poetry something of an apology for the confusions and errors of his daily experience. It at any rate proved that there was in him some faculty which was neither erroneous nor confused. "The difference," wrote Francis Thompson, "between the true poet in his poetry and in his letters or personal intercourse, is just the difference between two states of the one man; between the metal live from the forge and the metal chill. But, chill or glowing, the metal is equally itself. If difference there be, it is the metal in glow that is truer to itself. For, cold, it may be overlaid with dirt, obscured with dust; but afire, all these are scorched away."

Certain poems show the actual process at work. Mrs. Campbell has commented on the development from personal to impersonal emotion in the *Lines Written among the Euganean Hills*. And the same is true of the *Ode to the West Wind* written a year later. There the poem opens with invocation to some great force above and beyond the poet's personality; but the very beauty and terror of the wild wind flings him back on his own limited broken life. Then he becomes possessed with the wonder of this power moving outside of his spirit. "Make me thy lyre!" he cries, and he is at one with elemental forces. The memory of self remains, but only in relation to the great winds of the spirit; and as the music sweeps to its close, the personal interests suddenly fall away, leaving in their place the vision of universal revival. Self is not purged away so completely as in the previously written poem. For a time it struggles to predominate:

"Be thou me, impetuous one!"

But in so far as it remains, it is disinterested; and with the final phrases it is swept into oblivion.

(3) As his mind matured, Shelley seems to have contemplated another outlet of escape—and this the way of death. It is true that death had always possessed a certain magnetism for him. But it was not until he wrote *Adonais* that he definitely connected it with the conception of self-dissolution. And even there he did not regard the self as finally disintegrated. The pure spirit flows

"Back to the burning fountain whence it came;"

but it still remains a separate entity. It becomes "a portion of the Eternal." The same significant word is repeated shortly afterwards:

"He is a portion of the loveliness
Which once he made more lovely."

Similarly the voice of *Adonais* can be distinguished in the mingled harmonies of Nature's music. Even where he rises to the conception of the ultimate Unity, there seems to cling about it a remnant of separate being:

"The One remains, the many change and pass;
Heaven's light forever shines, Earth's shadows fly;
Life, like a dome of many-coloured glass,
Stains the white radiance of Eternity.—Die,
If thou wouldst *with* that which thou dost seek!"

With that, be it noted. The small word implies the existence in some measure of individual life. Towards the end of his life he

was prone to see all visible things in terms of the fundamental unity:

"Where the earth and ocean meet,
And all things seem only one
In the universal sun."

But it is a union rather than a singularity. The details do not fade away, but they fall into a perfect system. Death appealed to him, not so much as an escape from self, as an escape from the accidental encumbrances clinging round the self. He conceived the self as retaining no separate existence, in the sense that it performs no isolated functions. It does not sing a solitary melody, but mingles its voice in the universal harmony. It exists for the sake of the harmony.

* * *

Doubtless there was another way of release. No mortal has ever fully achieved the secret of self-escape. But there is open to all men some possibilities of self-discovery. It is artificial to run away from oneself. To find oneself—if only in part—is surely one of the main purposes of life. It was here that Shelley lost his way. He never really got away from his identity. He was for ever pursued by some phantom which he took for his own shadow. There is surely no other poet who, in such a short period, left behind so many self-portraits. And they do not appear to represent the entire objective truth. No self-portrait can do this; but Shelley's are quite abnormally distorted. If he had known himself better he might not have felt so haunted.

It is of the utmost importance that the portraits do not remain the same. The poet in *Alastor* and Laon in *The Revolt of Islam* are in a sense representations of Shelley. In an idealised form they stand for what he at any rate hoped to become. Laon did in a heightened way what the poet had hoped to achieve in Dublin. Similarly, Prince Athanase is a dreamer like Shelley—apart from evil, and pitying men from his solitude. The same type is more prosaically set forth in the figure of Lionel. Here also we see appearing the first traces of bitter disillusion. In *Alastor* the poet remained apart, but he died tranquil. Lionel was chafed by the blindness of a world which would not recognise his ideals. Next came Julian—a definite attempt at self-portraiture; and it has a remarkable resemblance to the young man who had scandalised Oxford some years before. We cannot help feeling that the portrait is retrospective. The Shelley who wrote *Julian and Maddalo* in 1818 was already touched with doubts of human perfection. He was no longer "a complete infidel," in so much that he had received into his soul the Spirit of Intellectual Beauty. Julian seems to represent Shelley's more or less conventional estimate of

himself. But what are we to make of the maniac who does not speak at all like a madman—but like the poet himself? Shelley had always been frenzied by the imperturbable world. Was he beginning to have a lurking suspicion that madness lay in the path of the disillusioned idealist? He himself was completely unlike other men. Was that difference a matter of superiority, or of an unbalanced mind? Some people could only account for Shelley's behaviour on the ground that he was mad. He may not have actually doubted his own sanity, but the horrid suggestion would rankle. At that time he seemed to have been driven back on his own enigma. For in the same year (1818) he wrote a sonnet describing the bitter pain of the disappointed dreamer:

"A splendour among shadows, a bright blot
Upon this gloomy scene, a spirit that strove
For truth, and like the Preacher found it not."

All these poetical studies exhibited his soul rather than his body. In the prose fragment, *The Coliseum*, there is a portrait which is said to have been a precise description of Shelley's physical appearance. About the same time apparently he was writing to Hunt, "I have confidence in my moral sense alone; but that is a kind of originality."

Up to this point there has been no realisation of error on the part of the dreamer. He is flawless, and the evil world is breaking his heart. Some people will have it that to the very end Shelley remained in this delusion. Yet there are signs which point to a change coming over him. He was developing on other sides of his nature. His art was maturing. His character was more controlled. In the solemnity of youth he had been a prig, saved, as it were, by a remarkable personal charm. As he grew older the charm remained, while the priggishness had vanished. In the crude arrogance of his early days he had said many ungraceful things about the "mistaken man," his father. At the end of his life he could use a quite wonderful tact in his negotiations between Byron and "Claire." In his youth he had been a raving enthusiast; towards the end he acquired a distinct moral dignity which impressed the most unlikely people. "Shelley," said Trelawny, "loved everything better than himself." Byron declared him the least selfish man he had ever known. All this is not without its meaning. It is hard to believe that Shelley should have been maturing in his art, in his self-control, in his sympathy, and yet remain atrophied in the single direction of self-knowledge. How could he have come to this grace unless he had grown in humility? And there are other evidences of a more definite kind. One is an undated jotting in a notebook: "True knowledge leads to love. The meanest of our fellow-beings contains (*sic*) qualities which,

if developed, we must admire and adore. The selfish, the hollow, and the base alone despise and hate. To them I have erred much." We have no evidence when this was written. But the fact remains that in his later poetry there is comparatively little denunciation of the selfish, the hollow, and the base.

There are other evidences as well. Shelley admitted that he had made a mistake in his attitude to human love; and he diagnosed his error with absolute precision. He had sought "in a mortal image the likeness of what is, perhaps, eternal." That was written in June, 1822—a few days before his death. He had found the disease. He had no time to apply the remedy. In *Adonais*, a year before, he had said something even more significant. There we have his last and most finished example of self-portraiture; and it appears more like truth than his early studies. He is more ethereal and solitary. He is no longer persecuted by evil men, but by his own thoughts which pursue him "like raging hounds." Before, the agony had come chiefly from without; now it is centred within his own mind. More than that, there is a suggestion of inadequacy,

"A Power
Girt round with weakness."

The early, almost bumptious confidence has completely disappeared. Wherever Laon made an appearance, he swayed men with a magnetic power; but this being stands apart, singing new sorrow

"In the accents of an unknown land."

Even Urania fails to recognise him; and he satisfies her question with a startling gesture:

"He answered not, but with a sudden hand
Made bare his branded and ensanguined brow,
Which was like Cain's or Christ's—oh! that it should be so!"

If this has any meaning at all, surely it proves that Shelley was faltering in his self-sufficiency. In the wild heat of youth he was convinced that he was like Christ. Now he is at least ready to admit the possible alternative of resemblance to Cain. He hovers between the highest and the lowest which man has ever known—the Saviour and the destroyer of men. An extremist, no doubt; that was always Shelley's way. But it does prove that if he was moving to anything like a conviction of his own failings, he was going to take it very sorely. Like Christ or like Cain—no half-way house between. One wonders what would have happened to him and to his song. This most drastic of spiritual experiences loomed up before him; but he died within a year. It is a matter for great reticence. As Trelawny reported, he died expecting to find a secret; and he expected to find it in mercy.

MARJORY A. BALD.

DOES BACKING PAY AS A PURSUIT?

AN INTERVIEW WITH AN EX-"BOOKIE."

UNTIL his death a year or more ago I had the pleasure of numbering among my friends a fine old bird, indeed a plump old bird, who had viewed life from the resting-place of many twigs—moreover, a jolly old bird whose sole interest in the world in those days was the honest service and guidance of those who were so happily environed as to be able to make him the pivot of one of their cheerful circles. One of the earliest of the twigs was an inventor's workshop; another near by was a manufacturer's enterprise; the next he sought in the open country—in the shape of a prolonged experience upon the turf; in the last of his days he looked down from a twig to which he had intermittently betaken himself in the past—the twig of journalism and authorship. Upon all he had done himself credit and none had need to blush on his behalf.

It was upon the last-named twig I caught him hopping a short time before his death, and having just read a new novel of his, *Her Ladyship* (Sampson Low), in which he had intermingled vivid pictures of the race-course and its auxiliaries with appealing impressions of country life and country-house scenes, I could not resist the opportunity to tackle him upon the attitude as to betting on horse-racing which he therein maintained, inasmuch as his somewhat surprising utterance was clothed with an authority undeniable. This attitude, in fact, brought pronouncedly to the front a question of deep interest and importance to untellable thousands of English men and women.

In the novel, the hero, young Jack Swynfern, visits Ascot for the first and presumably the last time. Here is the scene at his departure from home. The Squire: "I beg of you not to dabble in betting." The Mother: "You won't gamble, will you, Jack?" The Son: "No, mother dear, I will not!" and "his honest eyes looked straight into hers, and his honest heart meant what he said." But in London he is introduced to a group of young "bloods" and well-seasoned men-about-town, and he returns to Swynfern Manor owing a Jermyn Street money-lender thirteen hundred pounds upon a bill on which he had failed to add "Junior" to his name. Into the episode, too, had been worked the suggestion that rascality was associated with the running of a winning horse and the lending of the money. In short, *Her Ladyship* is an arresting indictment of betting. But this is not all—far from it: it is indictment by a man who knew his subject as few men know it. It is the indictment by a veteran who went to the chief race meetings over many years as a bookmaker

in a good way of business, a bookmaker, further, who had acted as commission agent for well-known people, including a famous Lord Chief Justice of England.

Now, Mr. Dyke Wilkinson was very much more of a sinner than a saint. It is true that he was once in the way of becoming a saint. One of the chapters in a volume of gripping reminiscences which he published in 1912, *Rough Roads* (Sampson Low), tells how he and a famous Birmingham preacher, Charles Vince, forming an acquaintance by accident as the young minister newly arrived was searching for the locale of the chapel which he was to make prominent in the public eye, became almost as David and Jonathan when they were growing into manhood together. Although they had, by Wilkinson's change of views, been parted religiously and socially for many years, when Vince died amid universal mourning, the survivor, "one of the world's hardened sinners, and, shocking to relate, a professional betting man," left his business that he "might stand once more, and for the last time, beside" his "old friend and master," and so standing, "many bitter tears" burnt his face "and many a bitter thought tortured" him as he "watched them ever hide from view all that remained of one of the sweetest and noblest of men." But Voltaire and "Tom Paine" (a much-maligned Rationalist of great ability scarcely remembered to-day) and a determined search for an easy way to fortune led him into associations whose chief interests were lively pleasure and purse profit; and he recited graphically the penitential emotion engendered in him now and again by bitter reflections. Though the deflections of his compass led him on to this all-too-worldly course he was without the slightest scorn or denunciation for his long-time comrades.

Mr. Dyke Wilkinson, in years gone, suspected occasionally sharp practice on the part of owner and trainer and had little doubt that now and again young jockeys had been coerced by a group of senior jockeys. But concerning the bookmakers plying their occupation between the 'sixties and 'eighties, he could, with the rarest exceptions, offer only words of praise. Physically the men with whom he mingled were commanding figures: he could not recall a small, puny bookmaker. Mentally, too, they were big. Quite a considerable proportion were illiterate and most were uncouth, ill-dressed, and rough in language. He had a wonderful story of a South Staffordshire collier who, though he could not write, never made a mistake in his accounts; a man with a great head on thick square shoulders and a voice in which a policeman's rattle intermingled with the roar of a lion, who, though never other than a pitman in appearance and utterly ignorant of the usages of civilised life, was soon hob-nobbing at Newmarket

with dukes, earls, and the like and even attempted to inveigle Edward, Prince of Wales into a bet; a man who in time, by a succession of runs of ill-luck, lost a substantial fortune amassed through a succession of runs of good-luck, admitting defeat in the pathetic words: "I'm dun, lads, I mun goo 'um; you'll never see me i' th' ring again," and ultimately drifting down by a series of misfortunes into the direst poverty—an amazing man with an amazing career. A number of the bookmakers, however, were men of exceptional acuteness and capacity who had either started with, or rapidly developed, the instincts and manners of gentlemen. The chief distinction of all these "bookies," however, was their straightness, their promptness in payment, their downright integrity. In fact, without these prime qualities, they could not have held their ground: they would speedily have been buried under suspicion, if not certainty. "I have seen," Dyke Wilkinson noted, "all kinds of transactions—huge as well as small—carried through at Tattersall's and elsewhere on the basis of good faith, each party to it simply setting a little cross opposite a name in his book, and if there be disputes, they are chiefly disputes over the price at which the bet was offered and taken—rarely about the entry or its payment." Some of the bookmakers among whom Wilkinson mingled attained to huge fortunes, and one who started life as a hawker of fried fish ultimately became the proprietor of a great steel works, with a big floating balance always at command. Further, they were, as a crowd, exceptionally witty, exceptionally merry, exceptionally friendly, and exceptionally generous.

This being our friend's honest account of a sphere of life with which he was for many years identified, how account for his counsel against betting as a pursuit?

"Well," he used to answer, "the explanation is at once simple and forcible. Before I became a bookmaker, I had some experience as a 'punter' which sharpened my wits. Resolving that I would no longer submit to be bitten, I became a biter, much in the same spirit as Dan Lawrence, the collier of whom I have been telling you, with similar experiences, entered the ring. The uncertainties in racing, the handicaps, as compared with the bookmaker, under which the backer labours, the high price he often pays for his chief chances: all these cry 'No' with great emphasis.

"What were my experiences as a backer?" you ask. They were special, peculiar, memorable, and they are interwoven with my career in a way which, if I were unable to take broad views of life, could be justly classified as tragic. When I was in the heart of the opening years of a business in Birmingham as a maker of cheap jewellery which offered solid promise of a speedy fortune—a landmark in my memory is the way I bought up all the

black jet in stock at Whitby the instant the death of the Prince Consort was announced—a lifelong friend of mine, whom I had employed as a traveller for my firm, brought to me one fine morning a scheme for backing horses on unerring mathematical principles upon which he had been working for months. At first I thrust the thing from me, declining to visualise it as a permanent practicability; but as I was seeking fortune quickly—honestly, not for the sake of personal pleasure or distinction, but for the sake of the high causes which then inspired me and inspire me even to-day—I soon succumbed to the temptation. So my friend and myself gave ourselves up,” continued Dyke Wilkinson, “to the actual trial of the plan in the betting rings of the race-courses. It was, in brief, the working of the principle of backing the first favourite in each race in increasing amounts; the theory being that the victory of a favourite brought back all your outlay with a substantial profit. The scheme worked successfully at several race-meetings in succession; then followed a couple of losing weeks; and in the ensuing week the York meeting witnessed my ruin, a ruin the worse because it entailed the loss of my business, my lovely home, and my religious and other social friends who had remained in ignorance of my new ‘departure.’

“Two factors contributed to my ruin: an infallible scheme demands an infallible practitioner, for a fallible man can fall into the blunder of mistaking a second first favourite, so to speak, for a real first favourite; and, secondly, an infallible practitioner, whatever his knowledge, his vision, and his mathematical accuracy, could not have anticipated what happened at York, not a single first favourite getting home during the whole four days of the meeting. So you cannot be surprised if, when people ask my opinion of ordinary ‘tipsters’ and I read newspaper accounts of ‘infallible’ systems, I smile the broad smile of the man who has been there. Let me add, as I must in fairness, that though the breakdown of the plan was for me most grievous in its consequences, I cannot bring myself to blame the friend who introduced it to me: for on paper it was plausible to the point of fascination, and my eagerness for fortune ‘weighed in’ to my disaster.

“But I declined to recognise the episode as a ‘knock-out’ from the turf. Sharp, definite reflection upon ‘the game,’ in the midst of a further short experience as an ordinary ‘punter,’ indicated that ‘the trenches’ of the bookmaker were a haven of assured safety in comparison with the bare and bleak position of the backer in the open. In matters of prices the backer of horses was in a decidedly worse position in those days than he is to-day; yet even to-day it is difficult to deny that the enterprise of the ‘bookie,’

with all regard for his risks, offers rewards which are far from despicable. With the good chance of snatching thirty shillings at the risk of the loss of a sovereign, the ‘profession’ in the ‘sixties, ‘seventies, and ‘eighties was distinctly inviting; and though the ratio is not now anything like so steep, it is still good to be a ‘bookie.’ So I set up along with a partner, with stool, blazoned satchel and strap, books, and pencil, along with what was known as a ‘judy’ enclosure, with a big green gingham umbrella over all. I did not learn the business without suffering, and the most thrilling moment I have ever experienced in life I realised in the early stages of my apprenticeship. Through a mistake due to failing to recognise a well-known horse under the cognomen of a colt, I landed myself over one race in a very deep pit, and a picture of misery, sitting on my stool in place of standing upon it, I advised my partner fixed in the ‘judy’ that I must now rely upon him for fifty pounds he had promised to provide. When the number of the winner went up, I whispered to the ‘judy,’ ‘Fred, you must give me fifty; we are dead broke’; but I got no answer and then I found my partner had ‘cleared out.’ There followed perilous minutes, with myself a spectacle of terror upon a stool, to be developed later into a figure without a hat, a coat nearly torn off, and other signs of the ill-humour of a surging crowd kept off by a couple of constables. Happily, my partner had only rushed off to seek the aid of a more fortunate brother of my own, now a prosperous bookie, whose speedy arrival hot-foot with the funds for immediate use provided us with capital, which, indeed, in the end proved a form of advertisement as honest ‘bookies’ who would ‘pay up’ unfailingly. And now within little more than a decade of a century, I am finding in life, moving freely as I do, among men of all types in several circles, as in this Club, where, as you have just heard, I am known as the ‘G.Y.M.,’ more satisfaction and pleasure than most men can have discovered at my age.”

“Clearly,” the interviewer observed, “you are an Expert of Experts in that controversy which has so long waged as to the profit to be gained from betting followed as a business, rather than as a rare fling at a moment when an outstanding race is in the offing. What do you say? What counsel do you offer?” “So besought,” replied the unmistakable authority, “I cannot fail to offer you as impartial and helpful a counsel as my experience and capacity permit. I have no wish to detract from the delights of the turf; I recognise them fully and joyfully. I have loved the horse from my earliest boyhood, when escapades thereon were recorded to my discredit, and I have enjoyed many an hour in the saddle. Being a bit of a poet, or if you are critical, a bit of a versifier, all my life, the colour and movement which attach to a race-meeting make a

Yet that policy, as distinct from the precautionary military measures, was consistent and clear enough. It was the first object of the British Government to reach a pacific understanding with China. In pursuance of that policy, the Government had announced its willingness to abrogate the whole existing Treaty System on which the relations of China with the outside world had rested. Sir Miles Lampson had been sent to Peking to discuss the British proposals with Mr. Wellington Koo and with Marshal Chang-Tso-lin. From Peking, Mr. O'Malley, Counsellor of the British Legation, had been sent to Hankow to begin parallel discussions with Mr. Chen. It was unfortunate that the extreme delicacy and brittleness of the negotiations that were being carried on in Peking and in Hankow made it impossible for the British Foreign Office to issue any news about the progress of the major element in its policy, viz., the reaching of a diplomatic agreement. It was equally unfortunate that, coinciding with the silence of the Foreign Office on the important matter, the War Office made much stir and much noise over the sending of its small contingent of precautionary troops to China. The double misfortune gave a wholly distorted impression of what the British Government was aiming at. Those who considered the matter dispassionately could see, however, that there was nothing inconsistent with the pacific intentions that had regularly been proclaimed by the British Foreign Office.

Shanghai is five weeks from London. The events which took place in Hankow on January 3rd proved that neither General Chiang-Kai-shek, nor any other authority in Southern China, was either able or willing to control the mob. At Hankow the mob did over-run the British concession. Catastrophe was avoided by the pacifist front offered by the British Marines, who refused to shoot under provocation. By the critical day of January 3rd the number of British residents in Hankow had been reduced to one hundred and seventy. Those few residents had been concentrated in one building near the Quay. As a last resort it would have been possible for the British forces on the spot, small as they were, to protect the lives of those one hundred and seventy people. At Shanghai there was clearly a corresponding danger, but the resultant problem was completely different. The number of British residents in Shanghai is eight thousand : the number of Chinese residents in Shanghai is a million and a half. Labour conditions there are bad, and discontent reacts quickly to the oratory of agitators. A population of one and a half million can produce a mob of at least three hundred thousand men of active age. The contingent problem, therefore, in Shanghai, was not only to protect the eight thousand British people, but to protect them against a potential mob of three hundred thousand. The British Government had decided that if the Chinese authorities

were unable to keep order and to protect life, it would be the duty of the Government to protect British life. The actual number of troops sent out was less than a division, i.e., less than twenty thousand—not an excessive force by military criteria for the purpose.

People in general seldom think. The mere fact that the British forces had started out for China created an impression that Great Britain was beating the big drum. Such an impression was mistaken. It was obvious that if the British Government had decided in the last resort that it must protect British subjects from massacre, it would be necessary that the troops for the purpose should be somewhere near Shanghai, and not in Great Britain, when the crisis arose. A whole army in Great Britain would be useless to defend British subjects in China in an emergency. By sending the troops to Chinese waters the British Government was merely placing itself on an equal footing with the Japanese. That is to say, the British Government was in a position to take action if and when protective measures should be decided on. For the Japanese Government it was not necessary to make a decision more than twenty-four hours in advance of any threatened emergency.

There must always be divergent views about the wisdom of military protective measures. There are those who maintain, with a good deal of historical justification, that armies never did anything but produce war, never saved but only sacrificed life, and that as a precautionary measure military forces tend to precipitate the very results they are intended to prevent. It is true, however, that no government in the world has yet reached the stage of philosophical evolution where the truth of that argument is made a basis of its national policy. Granted the policy which the British Government had set itself to pursue, namely, in the first place to conciliate China, and in the second place, if that failed, to protect British life, the measures taken were reasonable. They were, of course, misunderstood, as everything in the world's history always has been, and always will be, misunderstood. Mr. Wellington Koo issued a protest from Peking against the sending of British troops to China. Mr. Chen issued a similar protest from Hankow, and General Sun in his turn followed it with a protest from Shanghai. It seemed not to be recognised by any section of Chinese thought that it is reasonable for foreigners to expect not to be murdered. To prevent the landing of British troops in China, all that was necessary was that China should be convincingly safe for foreigners. There was no excuse either for Peking or for Hankow in delaying to come to an agreement.

On February 3rd the British Government published the text of the proposals which had been submitted to the Chinese authorities

powerful appeal to me; and I never tire of the thrills, however reminiscent they may be, of which the race-course is so often the locale. But, confronted with your question, here is my answer: I had never made a bet for twenty years until this last Derby, when under the 'chivvy' of young men around me I bet on the winning of the winner a couple of pounds which had come unexpectedly into my hands. We must never fail to remember that in betting on a horse winning a race we are betting against forces which are in the main a sealed book to us. The book-form of a horse, of course, is helpful; but take note of the things outside of this of which the 'punter,' or, indeed, any outsider, can know little or nothing—the food, the treatment which the animal has lately received, the state of its health, the measure of its sensitiveness to its environment, the desires, designs, and devices of owner, trainer, and jockey, incidents at the weighing-in and upon the course: can anybody guarantee the favourableness of all these factors? No: I revert to an old theory of mine, that in backing a horse we have entered upon a fight with an occult force, perhaps a series of occult forces, against the power of which we are utterly helpless. And if we persist in fighting the force or forces continuously, our defeat, insignificant or severe—sometimes, I can never forget, our ruin—is as inevitable as the rising of the sun or the arrival of the moon."

So ended the lesson. The jolly old bird betook itself to the twig of chess.

WILLIAM HILL.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

CHINA AND THE WAR-MONGERS.

THE worst contribution that China makes to contemporary history is that she gives the congenial opportunity to those whose intellectual speciality is to discover "menaces to civilisation" and to advocate war as the only remedy. During the first days of February such specialists burst out in many sections of the British Press by representing Bolshevism as the next object for the military crusades in which they believe. Certain articles that appeared in the British Press in February, 1927, were the unmistakable re-hash of the diatribes against Germany with which we became familiar during the Great War, the only essential difference being that "Russia" was substituted for "Germany." The perplexing thing is that those whom the Gods wish to destroy should be affected with a madness which leads not only to their own, but to more general destruction. "Unless we crush Bolshevism by force of arms, we shall be crushed by Bolshevism," is the cry we hear within ten years of the end of the Great War. Such is the fertility of the war-monger and such his power of appealing to the public sense of fear, that his drivel is printed and read.

The actual events that took place in the triangular diplomacy of Great Britain, China and Russia during January and February were of less importance than their effect on the perverse people above-mentioned. So far as the British Foreign Office was concerned, its diplomacy won the respect and the gratitude of all sane people. The restraint, patience and far-sighted resignation with which Sir Austen Chamberlain did his best to meet what China wanted was as good an illustration of his statesman-like quality as we have had. Moreover, he carried the Cabinet with him in spite of the wayward discontent of one or two of his colleagues.

Towards the end of January, the nerve centre in China moved from Hankow to Shanghai. The danger was that disturbances might break out in Shanghai as they had in Hankow on January 3rd. The British Cabinet deliberately weighed that contingency. It was decided in the third week of January that protective military measures should be prepared. The Cabinet had made it clear that its policy was to give China substantially what she wanted by abandoning British privileges in China. It was regarded as a matter of the first importance that military or naval action with any of the forces operating in the Chinese Civil War should be avoided at almost any cost; but that British lives, if in danger, should be protected. The publicity that was given to the embarking troops and to the concentrating cruisers led to a widespread misunderstanding, not only abroad, but in Great Britain, of the Government's policy.

in Peking and in Hankow. The proposals amounted to an offer to restore Customs autonomy in China; to put an end to the extra-territorial system, and to give up the Concessions. What policy could go further in meeting the demands of China? Yet those proposals have not yet been accepted. It is not surprising that many people suspect Mr. Chen's good faith. He has been offered all that he ever asked for, yet he has not seen fit to clinch the agreement. It is undoubtedly true that he has behind him extremists who deliberately do not want an agreement, who are happy only when they see the world toppling about their ears. So far as the British Government is concerned, Chinese acceptance of its pacific proposals was all that was wanted. The British Government would gladly have seized any pretext for recalling or deflecting the troops.

It will be important historically to have clear the steps whereby the British Government formulated its offer to do what China wanted, in so far as there was any such thing as China, or any such thing as what China wanted. The voluntary offer made by Belgium in the middle of January to surrender her Concession in Tientsin was merely symptomatic of the sort of change in the foreign attitude to China which had already been announced as the British policy. The Memorandum of December 18th was the foundation stone of what was destined to be a quick process of constructive British policy. The Belgian method of simply surrendering a system built on definite treaty arrangements and of surrendering it to whatever Chinese adventurer happened to have won the upper hand in the district, was not regarded by official British opinion as the best method, or as one calculated to achieve harmonious results with the maximum of certainty: but there was no difference in kind between the object of M. Vandervelde and that of Sir Austen Chamberlain.

Towards the end of January there appeared certain signs that the boiling point in China might be further away than was anticipated, and that it might never be reached at all. Official quarters in London began to feel that an amicable settlement was possible, although a doubt hovered in the background about Mr. Chen's sincerity or, in the alternative, about his effective authority. The Government's precautionary measures for the protection of life at Shanghai were a matter quite distinct from its policy of meeting more than half way any competent Chinese authority. Already by the third week of January it was clear that the British Government contemplated the formal abolition of the Concessions as such. At that time the diplomatic object was defined exclusively as the safeguarding of the legitimate commercial interests of all parties concerned. There was a disposition to accept the force of an argument used by Mr. Chen that the Concessions in China, with the exception

of the Belgian Concession in Tientsin, had in practice already lost their original meaning. Although the business premises of the foreign firms in Hankow and in Shanghai were situated in the Concessions, their homes were situated outside. Mr. Chen in effect asked this question: "If your Nationals can sleep and eat under Chinese jurisdiction, why should they not also work under that jurisdiction?" That was a reasonable question, and it was clear that the British Government was acclimatised to the reasonable answer. The transitional problem of revising the treaty basis of China's relations with the Powers without bloodshed or other atrocities was the only practical problem, unpleasant as were its possibilities.

It became clear from the discussions Mr. O'Malley had had with Mr. Chen since January 11th that Cantonese and British policies were beating about the bush. Sir Austen wanted to give up the Concessions in form but to retain legitimate commercial interests: Mr. Chen wanted to retain the substance of commercial relations but to win some form of Chinese "independence" which he could wave in the applauding faces of his supporters. Was there any reality about which to quarrel? There was not. In essence Great Britain and China, both North and South, were agreed. On each side however there was the mob to be dealt with. Mr. Chen's mob were the extremists and Bolsheviks on whose political "support" he was dependent. Sir Austen's mob consisted of the Tory die-hards whose one desire was to rush like a bull into a china shop. Those die-hards, helped by the professional keenness of the War Office and the Admiralty, did in fact make too much noise, and the Foreign Office, which for some time had been embarrassed by the propagandist handicap of what the War Office with unnecessary pomp called the "Shanghai Defence Force," decided that the balance must be somewhat redressed. On January 21st, therefore, the Foreign Office issued a statement (dailies of January 22nd) which ran thus:

"The Naval and Military dispositions which have been made in connection with the Chinese situation are precautionary. Sensational announcements regarding them are to be deprecated and disregarded. Their sole object is to enable His Majesty's Government to fulfil the elementary duty of protecting the lives of British subjects whose safety is in their charge, if such protection is proved necessary. Undertakings to that effect were given during the last Session of Parliament by the Prime Minister and by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. There has been no modification whatsoever of the conciliatory attitude towards the legitimate aspirations of Chinese Nationalism so clearly laid down in the Memorandum upon Chinese policy, issued by His Majesty's Government last

Christmas. On the contrary, conversations are in progress at Hankow and Peking which, if successful, will go far towards implementing the concessions which His Majesty's Government are willing to make with the object of placing our relations with China upon an equitable and, it is hoped, mutually profitable basis. It is the hope of His Majesty's Government that these conversations will lead to a friendly settlement of all questions in dispute."

Such a statement, published though it was by most newspapers, stood a poor chance in propagandist value by contrast with the departure of the Coldstream Guards and other contingents, tin hats, drums, fifes and cheering crowds and all. The popular Press mobilised its big head-lines and picture pages to show the popular enthusiasm with which for instance the Coldstreamers swung over Westminster Bridge en route for Waterloo Station, Southampton and China. Certain descriptive writers used their imagination more effectively than their common sense by drawing picturesque parallels between the cheers of January, 1927, and of August, 1914. That rubbish was promptly telegraphed and reproduced in all the Chinese papers, of which, in these days, there are many. Most people who disbelieve in democracy are mainly influenced by the consideration that the empty-headed people vastly outnumber the rest. In this instance we had the paradox that the Government was attempting the wise and pacific policy, but abroad was receiving all the odium of an alleged other policy, precisely because the popular Press in Great Britain was feeding the world with misconceptions. The serious English journalists were a voice crying in the wilderness.

In one matter the Foreign Office itself missed an opportunity. When the hullabaloo about the "British Armada" reached its height in the last week of January, it would clearly have done much good if the Foreign Office had published the text of the proposals that Mr. O'Malley was discussing with Mr. Chen in Hankow and Sir Miles Lampson with Mr. Wellington Koo in Peking. The view of the Foreign Office was that the Hankow discussions were of a highly delicate and brittle nature, and that a premature publication of the proposals might frighten the rabbit-like instability of Mr. Chen. There was moreover some reason, so we were told, for expecting that Mr. Chen would that week sign what might be called a Hankow instalment of the general agreement. On January 29th Mr. O'Malley did indeed telegraph to London that Mr. Chen had agreed to sign, and that the signature would take place on the following day. The Foreign Office thereupon prepared for a simultaneous publication of the general proposals. Mr. Chen, however, scuttled at the last moment. The Hankow agreement was not signed, and the Foreign Office suspended its issue of the proposals

to the Press. Thereupon the empty-headed people waved the Union Jack for a few more days.

It was on the day before Mr. Chen's scuttle in Hankow that Mr. Koo issued his protest from Peking against the sending of British troops to China. Mr. Chen used the like pretext for his scuttle, although the British troops had been well on the way to China when he first promised to sign. There followed, as we have seen, the third protest on the part of General Sun in Shanghai. Obviously, there was some competition going on between the leaders of the rival factions in China for Kuomintang applause. The British troops offered no menace whatever to Chinese independence, and the simple expedient for preventing the landing of those troops would have been the acceptance of the British proposals.

It now became apparent that the Foreign Office was concerned about the way in which the game was going. It therefore decided on an intensive enterprise in propaganda which it might, with advantage, have started sooner. On the evening of January 31st Sir Austen Chamberlain made a public speech in Birmingham in which he explained British policy in detail. It was an admirable statement of pacific temper, which must have dismayed the die-hards. On February 2nd the Foreign Office issued the text of the so far abortive British proposals (dailies of February 3rd). On February 8th, in the House of Commons, Mr. Baldwin spoke at length in the same pacific spirit. On February 9th, in the House of Lords, Lord Balfour made his contribution. On February 10th Sir Austen Chamberlain, in the House of Commons, made another long speech in reply to the debate on the Address, and dotted all the i's again. On February 11th the Foreign Office issued the text of a letter dated February 8th which Sir Austen Chamberlain had sent to Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary-General of the League of Nations, explaining the nature of the British proposals, and asking that it be circulated among the members of the League for their information. One result perhaps of that determined, if belated propaganda, was a renewed hope that Mr. Chen would sign, and that the various sections in China would have the sense to accept from the British Government an offer which in effect conceded everything that any authority in China had ever demanded. That hope too at the time of writing was still in suspense.

The content of Sir Austen Chamberlain's speeches on January 31st and on February 10th, of Mr. Baldwin's and Lord Balfour's speeches on February 8th and February 9th were variations of the same commendable theme. Sir Austen's letter to Geneva was a more interesting historical document which ought perhaps to be recorded here, as perhaps ought the text of the British proposals.

The proposals communicated to the Chinese authorities at Peking and Hankow on January 27th and 28th read as follows :

" 1. His Majesty's Government are prepared to recognise the modern Chinese law courts as the competent courts for cases brought by British plaintiffs or complainants and to waive the right of attendance of a British representative at the hearing of such cases.

" 2. His Majesty's Government are prepared to recognise the validity of a reasonable Chinese nationality law.

" 3. His Majesty's Government are prepared to apply as far as practicable in British courts in China the modern Chinese Civil and Commercial Codes (apart from Procedure Codes and those affecting personal status) and duly enacted subordinate legislation as and when such laws and regulations are promulgated and enforced in Chinese Courts and on Chinese citizens throughout China.

" 4. His Majesty's Government are prepared to make British subjects in China liable to pay such regular and legal Chinese taxation, not involving discrimination against British subjects or British goods, as is in fact imposed on and paid by Chinese citizens throughout China.

" 5. His Majesty's Government are prepared as soon as the revised Chinese Penal Code is promulgated and applied in Chinese courts to consider its application in British courts in China.

" 6. His Majesty's Government are prepared to discuss and enter into arrangements, according to the particular circumstances at each port concerned, for the modification of the municipal administrations of British Concessions so as to bring them into line with the administrations of the special Chinese administrations set up in former concessions or for their amalgamation with former concessions now under Chinese control or for the transfer of police control of the concession areas to the Chinese authorities.

" 7. His Majesty's Government are prepared to accept the principle that British missionaries should no longer claim the right to purchase land in the interior, that Chinese converts should look to Chinese law and not to treaties for protection, and that missionary, educational and medical institutions will conform to Chinese laws and regulations applying to similar Chinese institutions."

When communicating these proposals to Mr. Chen at Hankow on January 27th, Mr. O'Malley prefaced them with the following paragraph : " When a satisfactory settlement has been reached in respect to the British concessions at Hankow and Kiukiang, and when assurances have been given by the Nationalist Government that they will not countenance any alteration except by negotiation of the status of the British concessions and international settlements, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to concede at once and on the lines indicated in the enclosure hereto a part

of what is desired of them by the Chinese Nationalist party. So liberal and generous a step cannot, in their view, be regarded otherwise than as an earnest of the fair and conciliatory spirit with which they are animated."

In the course of his letter to Sir Eric Drummond (February 8th) Sir Austen wrote : " Since 1922 British policy in China has been based on the letter and spirit of the agreements then reached at the Washington Conference. The principal Treaty Powers there agreed among themselves, in conjunction with the representatives of the Chinese Government, that their future policy should be guided by certain general principles designed to safeguard the integrity and independence of China, to promote her political and economic development and the rehabilitation of her finances. It was agreed that she should obtain certain increases on her treaty tariff in order to provide the revenue required for these purposes. It was further agreed that a commission should examine the question of extra-territoriality with a view to amending the system now in force by the elimination of abuses and accretions and by the removal of limitations on China's sovereignty, no longer necessary.

" 2. Such is the Washington Conference policy of His Majesty's Government and of the other Washington Treaty Powers, as defined in the statement communicated by the British Chargé d'Affaires to the representatives of the Powers at Peking on December 18th and published on December 26th, 1926. As regards general principles, His Majesty's Government still adhere to this policy ; but its complete success depended on co-operation between the Powers concerned and a single Central Government in China. Unfortunately, since 1922, China has become more dis-united than ever. For instance, the Canton Government was in 1922 confined to the city of Canton. Even then it was in revolt against the Central Government at Peking, and did not consider itself bound by the undertakings entered into by the Central Government's representative at Washington. That Canton Nationalist Government has now increased its authority over the greater part of the country south of the Yangtse river, and claims to be recognised as the only Government of all China. This fact has modified the hypothesis upon which the Washington policy was based.

" 3. Further, the extremists of the Canton Nationalist party have singled out the British people for an implacable campaign of calumny and boycott. Indeed, enmity against Britain has been deliberately and persistently cultivated by this section and their advisers in order to promote the solidarity of the Nationalist Party and stimulate its aggressive spirit.

months has proved that, when organised agitation and intimidation are absent, friendly relations between the Chinese and British people remain as excellent as they have been in the past.

"8. The policy of His Majesty's Government is therefore a development of, not a departure from, the Washington Conference policy, as defined in the first paragraph of this statement. In accordance with Article 7 of the Washington-China Treaty, they have communicated fully and frankly to the Governments of the other Washington Powers their views regarding the situation, both as concerns the defence of life at Shanghai and the proposed steps towards Treaty Revision. It is for them to determine to what extent they feel able to associate themselves with the policy of His Majesty's Government in both its aspects.

"In any case His Majesty's Government have felt it right to make this communication to the League of Nations so that its members may have before them a full statement of His Majesty's Government's policy in China and may understand how completely it is in accord with both the letter and the spirit of the Covenant. His Majesty's Government deeply regret that there does not appear to be any way in which the assistance of the League in the settlement of the difficulties in China can be sought at present. But, if any opportunity should arise of invoking the good offices of the League, His Majesty's Government will gladly avail themselves of it."

In one paragraph the text of the proposals delivered to the Peking Government differed slightly from that communicated to the Canton Government, which contained a few additional words. The paragraph runs as follows, with the additional words in the communication to the Canton Government given in italics:

"His Majesty's Government are prepared to discuss and enter into arrangements, according to the particular circumstances at each port concerned, for the modification of the municipal administrations of British Concessions so as to bring them into line with the administrations of the special Chinese administrations set up in former Concessions *at Hankow* or for their amalgamation with *neighbouring Concessions* or former Concessions now under Chinese control or for the transfer of police control of the Concession areas to the Chinese authorities."

THE AMERICAN "SETTLEMENT" AT SHANGHAI.

Some surprise was caused in London at the beginning of February by a statement of Mr. Kellogg's that the United States had no concessions in China. The fact is that America has a "concession" at Shanghai in as full a sense as has Great Britain. Originally there were three concessions, or settlements, at Shang-

hai—namely the British (which was granted in 1845), the French (1849), and the American (1862). There was no difference in the nature of those concessions or in the way in which they were conceded. The British and American Concessions were later amalgamated. The French at first took part in the amalgamation, but quickly seceded.

The British-American settlement gradually developed into an international settlement, and the position now is that there are two settlements at Shanghai, the international and the French. The international settlement is administered by a municipal council, consisting of six British, two American (of whom one is the chairman), and one Japanese. America's part in the Shanghai Concession is as categorical as Great Britain's. So far as the defence of foreign interests is concerned, America has as much responsibility as Great Britain, and if her interpretation of the position leaves to Great Britain the exclusive burden of protecting life and property within the settlement she thereby assigns to the British Government the honour of defending American as well as British lives. Elsewhere, as, for instance, at Hankow, America has no formal concession, but her nationals enjoy the privileges of the British Concession. The Hankow Americans, for instance, not only use the British Concession for their business, but in cases of dispute use the English, not the Chinese Court.

A statement was made by official quarters in Washington and published in the American Press of February 2nd, of which the object was to justify Mr. Kellogg's statement, and to combat the impression made by the London argument that Mr. Kellogg was wrong. The whole point of the new American statement was that London quarters apparently confused the meaning of "concession" with that of "settlement." The United States, it was said, had no "concessions" in China, although she took her full part in the "settlement" at Shanghai. The argument proceeded that "a concession is on ceded ground, like the British Concession at Hankow, where the land titles proceed from the British Government. On the other hand all land titles in Shanghai proceed from China." Mr. Kellogg's distinction between "concession" and "settlement" was an excellent, if surprising, piece of research work. Its interest, however, is more archæological than practical. In practice there is no difference between a concession and a settlement, and till Mr. Kellogg disturbed their composure in the matter, diplomatists had always used the two words interchangeably. The land leases in all Chinese concessions and settlements must, in the first instance, have come from China, but there are so many strata of sub-leases that it does not much matter whether one investigates back to a secondary British lessor or to the early

" 4. The events of 1925 provided the anti-British propagandists with the kind of material most useful for them. The Shanghai International Settlement is governed by an elective municipality which was at that time presided over by an American chairman. This municipality has its own police force. In consequence of an outbreak of mob violence the police opened fire. His Majesty's Government have no control over these police, but the fact that they had British officers was seized upon by the propagandists to represent the incident as an act of British aggression. Similarly, when an armed procession of Chinese fired on the Anglo-French Concession at Canton and the troops in the Concession were obliged to fire in self-defence, the fact that a part, though only a part, of those troops were British was again seized upon as material for anti-British propaganda. The extremely friendly and considerate attitude of His Majesty's Government towards China, as shown at the Washington Conference and on many other occasions, was contemptuously brushed aside. A boycott of British goods was put into force throughout China, and long after the boycott had ceased in the north, it was continued at Canton.

" 5. The Nationalist Government at Canton have now extended their authority to Central China, and with it has spread the current of anti-British agitation fomented by the extremists. At Hankow, on January 3rd, a large and threatening mob attempted to break into the British Concession. For a whole afternoon it was kept at bay by a handful of British marines, whose admirable discipline and self-control under the most trying circumstances was beyond all praise. The marines were pelted with bricks and stones. They had every justification for firing in self-defence, but they did not fire. Some of them were knocked down and injured, and, in the course of bayonet charges to rescue them, two Chinese were injured. The statement that Chinese were killed is not true. It was clear, however, that the mob could not be held back indefinitely except by firing, and there could be no doubt that such action besides the immediate loss of life involved would lead to an attack by force on the British Concession and in a massacre of British subjects. On January 4th and 5th the rioting continued. The Nationalist troops undertook to keep order. But without firing on the rioters this was impossible, and no firing was permitted by the Nationalist Government. In the result, the Concession was occupied by the mob, the British troops withdrew, and then the National Government took the Concession over. It has not been returned.

" 6. The seizure of the British Concession was an unjustifiable attack on the long-established rights of the British commercial community. It was followed by a similar event at Kiukiang. It was clear from these episodes that there is no guarantee for the

safety of British lives or property in Chinese cities under the authority of the Nationalist Government in the present revolutionary state of affairs. Any incident might have led to bloodshed. It was equally clear that the British forces on the spot were insufficient to protect British subjects. It was obvious that, with the advance of the Nationalist forces towards Shanghai, similar danger threatened the large British community residing there, and the immense interests which British enterprise has built up in that city. Further whereas the comparatively small communities at Hankow and Kiukiang could be safely evacuated to Shanghai at short notice, there could be no speedy evacuation of the much larger British population at the latter town. In these circumstances, His Majesty's Government decided, as a precautionary measure, to send such troops to China as they were advised were required for the protection of the British community at Shanghai. The composition of this force is in itself a guarantee that it can only be utilised for the defensive purposes for which it is exclusively intended. It is hoped that it will soon be withdrawn, or better still that it may never have to land in China; but His Majesty's Government are determined that what has happened at Hankow and Kiukiang shall not be repeated at Shanghai, and that the lives of the British community there shall be protected against all danger.

" 7. The determination to defend the lives of British subjects, is, however, only one side of the China policy of His Majesty's Government. In their statement of December 18th, they declared their readiness to negotiate on Treaty Revision and all other outstanding questions as soon as the Chinese themselves had constituted a Government with authority to negotiate; and pending the establishment of such a Government to pursue a constructive policy so that ultimately, when Treaty Revision became possible, it would be found that part at least of the revision had already been effected on satisfactory lines. His Majesty's Government therefore at once proceeded to investigate what measure they could take by unilateral action without revision of treaties to meet the aspirations of the Chinese people. These measures have now been formulated, and were laid before the Chinese authorities in the North and the South on January 27th in a statement, a copy of which is annexed hereto. They imply an immediate and radical modification of the old Treaty position, so far as His Majesty's Government are concerned, and are an earnest of further modifications as soon as conditions permit. But before this can be successfully attempted, it is essential that the official stimulation of anti-British propaganda must cease. The comparative peace of the greater part of Southern China during the last two or three

Emperors of the Manchu dynasty. Mr. Chen would no doubt regard the distinction between a concession and a settlement as a quibble: but even if full scope were given to the technical distinction drawn by Washington, the main point at issue is not affected. At Shanghai the extra-territorial arrangements have been precisely the same as those at Hankow. American citizens are on precisely the same extra-territorial footing as British, French, or Japanese. Even if there be a technical distinction between settlements and concessions in China, the distinction has no bearing on the argument.

NAVAL DISARMAMENT.

President Coolidge has at last taken the plunge in his well-known project for a second world naval disarmament conference. A formal proposal in that sense was delivered at the Foreign Office in London on February 10th by the American Ambassador, and was concurrently delivered to the Foreign Offices in Paris, Rome, and Tokio. "The American Government and people," said Mr. Coolidge in explaining the step to Congress on February 9th, "are convinced that competitive armaments constitute one of the most dangerous contributing causes of international suspicion and discord, and are calculated eventually to lead to war. A recognition of the fact, and a desire as far as possible to remove this danger, led the American Government in 1921 to call the Washington Conference. . . . Unfortunately, however, it was not possible to reach agreements at Washington covering all classes of naval ships. The Washington Treaties provided a specific tonnage limitation upon capital ships and aircraft-carriers, with certain restrictions as to size and maximum calibre of guns for other vessels. Every nation has been at complete liberty to build any number of cruisers, destroyers and submarines; only the size and armament of cruisers were limited. The signatories of the Washington Treaty have fulfilled their obligations faithfully, and there can be no doubt that that Treaty constitutes an outstanding success in its operation.

"It has been the hope of the American Government, constantly expressed by the Congress since the Washington Conference, that a favourable opportunity might present itself to complete the work begun here by the conclusion of further agreements covering cruisers, destroyers and submarines. The desirability of such an agreement has been apparent, since it was only to be expected that the spirit of competition, stifled as regards capital ships and aircraft-carriers by the Washington Treaty, would sooner or later show itself with regard to the other vessels not limited under the Treaty. Actually, I do not believe that competitive building of these

classes of ships has begun. Nevertheless, far-reaching building programmes have been laid down by certain Powers, and there has appeared in our own country, as well as abroad, a sentiment urging naval construction on the ground that such construction is taking place elsewhere. In such sentiments lies the germ of renewed naval competition. I am sure that all Governments and all peoples would choose a system of naval limitation in preference to consciously reverting to concentrated building. Therefore, in the hope of bringing about an opportunity for discussion among the principal Naval Powers to ascertain whether further limitation is practicable, I have suggested to them that negotiations on the subject should begin as soon as possible."

Mr. Coolidge then went on to review the work which has been done by the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference at Geneva since last May, and ended in this way: "The problem of the limitation of naval armaments, while not regional in character or susceptible of regional treatment, has been successfully treated in part by an agreement among the five leading Naval Powers, and, in my opinion, can be definitely dealt with by limitation of naval armament. Pending the formulation of the plan for such a general conference, however, I believe that we should make an immediate and sincere effort to solve the problem of naval limitation, the solution of which would do much to make the efforts toward more general limitation successful."

President Coolidge has consistently maintained that the two main objects of American foreign policy should be the funding of the European debts and the holding of a naval disarmament conference. He put the debts first in importance on the ground that when Europe as a whole followed the British example, the appeal for economy in naval expenditure might have more chance of success. Such, at any rate, was his argument. He made it clear two years ago that his project of a naval disarmament conference had two chief objects in view: (1) To liquidate the problems of naval disarmament left unsettled by the Washington Conference of 1921-1922; (2) To consider the difficult problem of chemical warfare, and incidentally to review the problem of land disarmament. President Coolidge has taken the view that land disarmament is a peculiarly European problem, but his desire for a conference on naval disarmament has never been understood wholly to exclude land problems. In his message to Congress in December, 1925, he said that land disarmament "is peculiarly European in its practical aspect. . . . If that can be settled we may more easily consider further reduction and limitation of naval armament," and added that the United States were already in effect disarmed on land. "Our standing army (he said) has been reduced

to around 118,000, about the necessary police force for 115,000,000 people."

President Coolidge's next step was to accept the League of Nations' invitation to the preliminary League Disarmament Conference. On January 4th, 1926, he requested that a sum of \$50,000 be voted for the expenses of a United States delegation, a request which was granted in the House and by the Senate in the same month. The President, it is interesting to recall, took the unusual step of accepting the League's invitation without referring the matter to Congress. When the preliminary Armament Committee began its work, the United States became a direct party to it, and not a mere observer. Mr. Coolidge was known to develop a certain impatience over the delays which took place at Geneva. In his Memorial Day address last year he stated: "Out of that conference we expect practical results. We believe that other nations should join with us in laying aside their suspicions and hatreds sufficiently to agree among themselves on methods of mutual relief from the necessity of the maintenance of great land and sea forces."

In the autumn of last year some surprise was caused by newspaper reports (September 3rd) of the alleged statement of "the White House Spokesman" (who was assumed to be Mr. Coolidge himself) that if Europe did not show herself more inclined towards disarmament the United States would build an invincible air fleet. On September 7th Mr. Coolidge denied that his words could be made to bear the construction put on them, and added that American policy was opposed to the building of either air or naval forces which might stimulate competition. According to the *New York Times* he stated that: "Even if the 5-5-3 ratio applied to aircraft and other auxiliaries as well as to capital ships, or if there were any other treaty limitation on the relative strength of the powers in auxiliaries, he would be disposed to keep the American strength in each case below the ratio in order to avoid incitement to competition." That statement was construed as a promise not to build cruisers, submarines, aircraft or other auxiliaries to an equal degree with Great Britain or to the extent of two-fifths more than Japan.

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.*

Those who have admired and profited from the previous writings of the late Baron von Hügel and look forward to the more systematic work that is shortly to see the light, will give a warm welcome to the Second Series of his *Essays and Addresses on the Philosophy of Religion* recently published. The ten chapters of the book deal in succession with Official Authority and Living Religion; the Place and Function of the Historic Element in Religion; the Place and Function, within Religion, of the Body, of History and of Institutions; Certain Central Needs of Religion; the Idea of God; Morals and Religion; Suffering and God; the Facts and Truths concerning God and the Soul which are of most importance in the life of prayer; the Catholic Contribution to Religion, and the difficulties and degrees of Nationalism. Of these, the most important are the two articles on "The Idea of God" and on "Suffering and God."

As might be expected, all these subjects are treated with the spiritual insight, the breadth of outlook and the generous sympathy that so highly distinguished the lamented author. While

* *Essays and Addresses on the Philosophy of Religion. Second Series.* By Baron F. von Hügel, L.L.D., D.D. J. M. Dent. 15s. net.

thoroughly loyal to the Roman Catholic Church, this loyalty was part of a loyalty to truth, as he saw it, which both constrained and enabled him to recognise elements of truth wherever he found them. The truthfulness of his insight and the generosity of his sympathy made him go out to find such elements, and to establish points of contact with all those who shared the recognition with him. Hence Baron von Hügel combined complete faith in the Christian Creeds and in the Roman Catholic Church as their authoritative exponent with appreciation of the deep and widespread roots of Religion that history has shown to be vital in human nature itself. His ceaseless endeavour was to bring together the spiritual, rational and institutional interests and elements of Religion as a whole, and of Christianity in particular. He pursued this task with almost unrivalled serenity and gracious elevation of spirit, as well as with sensitive delicacy and discrimination of thought. He was conscious of persistent "tensions" not only between these three outstanding interests and elements, but also in the widest sense between the Divine and the human, between God and man. Yet he held that these tensions, so far from being harmful, are not only inevitable, at the present stage of human life, but even serviceable. Thus, to him, the difficulty of reconciling these various elements, still more of bringing them into complete harmony, brought no internal discord, but rather the joy of sustained effort after unity, combined with the peace-bringing assurance that such was the essential method employed by the Truth in this imperfect life. Hence the combination of courage and reverence, of intensity and serenity in his thought.

As the Editor says, "The address to which Baron von Hügel himself would probably have attached the most importance is the seventh, 'Suffering and God'." This was prepared for the London Society for the Study of Religion, although only certain portions of it were actually read at the meeting. In his carefully elaborated treatment of this subject Baron von Hügel deals with the view expressed by Dr. J. Estlin Carpenter, the Bishop of Manchester and others that the sympathy of God involves, according to the first, companionship in human woe, and, according to the Bishop, the sacrificial suffering of God Himself. He extends his criticism to the still more far-reaching view of James Hinton, which, while attributing such suffering to God, gives an account of suffering which goes far to deny that it is, intrinsically, either real or evil. Founding himself upon the conviction that "the Otherness of God is, in the long run, as essential to full powerful religion as any and all conviction of the Likeness of God," Baron von Hügel reaches the conclusion that there is "sympathy, yes, indeed, overflowing sympathy—a sympathy which we cannot succeed in pictur-

ing vividly without drawing upon our own experiences of ourselves, where sympathy and suffering are so closely intertwined; but no suffering in God; and suffering, indeed overflowing suffering in Christ, but as Man, not as God" (p. 205). As to this, it may be remarked that it is somewhat difficult and rather daring to attribute any absolute incapacity to God, as do those who insist upon His impassibility. Yet most of our suffering, whether personal or sympathetic, is both sensory—thus acting both as a protective and an incentive influence—and apprehensive—that is due to the interplay of our ignorance, our imagination, and our fears. Moreover, the sense of comparative, or even entire, inability to overcome calamity for ourselves or for others deepens all serious human suffering. All these elements are obviously inapplicable to God. Hence even if suffering be a "moment" in the Divine sympathy, it is so subsumed by the eternal perfection as to be not discordant with, but an element in, the Blessedness of God, whose exaltation above contingencies, whose eternal wisdom and boundless resources make all and every experience of human suffering inapplicable to Him.

The limitation of space precludes any further reference to the contents of this volume. It is marked by certain difficulties of style, which, while mainly due to the author's mode of thought, are increased by the fact that most of these articles were, in the first instance, addresses, and that some of them apparently did not receive his revision for publication. This difficulty, however, will cause only a trifling abatement of the delight with which these latest contributions of one of the most enlightened and saintly teachers of our time to the discussion of the gravest subjects will be read by all serious thinkers.

J. S. L.

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COBDEN'S FOREIGN POLICY.*

Mr. Dawson has never written a more important or arresting work than this study of Cobden's foreign policy. In these vigorous pages the figure of the great Victorian lives again, and his interpreter adds to the impressiveness of the message by an outspoken analysis of the problems of our own time. The book is thus not only a valuable historical treatise but an essay on the present discontents. The author has read widely and thought deeply about foreign affairs, and he possesses the merit of daring to say exactly what he thinks about individuals, nations, and policies. Though the text of his sermon is taken from Cobden, its deeper theme is the present and future of the British Empire.

* *Richard Cobden and Foreign Policy*. By W. H. Dawson. Allen & Unwin. 12s. 6d.

No untempered eulogy even of the greatest and wisest men is worth reading, and Mr. Dawson is well aware that his hero, like other mortals, had his limitations. He was too sanguine; he sometimes made up his mind too quickly; he spoke too positively about the future; he occasionally over-emphasised the importance of material prosperity; he pushed the doctrine of isolation a little too far; and he often asked of human nature more than it seems at present able to give. But such criticisms are as dust in the balance compared with the value of his gospel of the interdependence of mankind. If ever there was a "Good European," it was Cobden; and it is his glory that throughout life his thought was directed not only to the well-being of his own country but to the common interests of civilisation. In an historic sentence President Wilson declared that interest divided the nations, and that the only real bond of union was the common pursuit of right. Cobden's emphasis on the place of conscience in national policy failed to please the cynics and super-patriots, but has been vindicated by the tragic experiences of recent times. "The mere study of a character and a public career so steadfast, wholesome and clean is a moral tonic."

After introductory chapters on *The Man* and *The Times*, the author summarises Cobden's teaching under different heads—the case against intervention, the case against war, the case against armaments, the Eastern Question, Anglo-American relations, colonisation and maritime law. Though he, alone of Victorian statesmen, had thought out a complete system of foreign policy, he was less of a doctrinaire than ill-natured or ill-informed critics maintained. He detested wars both with his conscience and his reason; but he never ruled out an appeal to arms. He hated armaments; but he was determined to frustrate any attempt by France to deprive us of our security at sea. At the opening of the American Civil War he regretted that the bloodless secession of the South had not been allowed; but he came to share Bright's conviction that the slavery issue was great enough to justify a continuance of the murderous struggle till the stain was removed. He was a good Englishman as well as a good European, and in his blend of practical shrewdness with lofty idealism he represented the national character at its best.

The most important and the most difficult problem discussed in this book is that of intervention, to which Mr. Dawson devotes his fourth chapter, and to which he returns in his remarkable closing chapter on "Cobden and Our Day." Both men detest the doctrine, of which Palmerston was the most celebrated exponent, that it was our duty to interfere in the quarrels of the Continent, and to thwart or support the ambitions and aspirations of its

peoples—a policy which in certain cases involved the disappointment of hopes which rash promises had encouraged. That Cobden's disgust at the performances of Palmerston and the needless calamities of the Crimean War led him too far is admitted by Mr. Dawson. "Perhaps few of those who are most in sympathy with his general principles of foreign policy will be prepared to go further with him on this point than to concede that intervention of any kind is defensible only over issues of supreme importance affecting the common interests of nations and when the absence of intervention may lead to still greater evils. The principle of intervention, like some other political principles, is neither all right nor all wrong."

Though Cobden was always busy with plans for the preservation of peace, he opposed the idea of a permanent tribunal, preferring *ad hoc* arbitrators, and rejected the motion of international machinery on the ground that it would be constantly tempted to intervene. Yet he was none the less one of the spiritual fathers of the League of Nations, with which, as Mr. Dawson reminds us, "a new heaven has entered the life of the world." Our author's picture of Europe after the war and of our own position is deeply shadowed, for both our membership of the League and our obligations under the Locarno Pact are bound up with the Treaties of 1919, which he denounces as radically unjust and therefore transient. He condemns the entanglement which led us into the Great War, and, indeed, in his opinion, helped to produce the catastrophe; and he implores us to return as soon as possible to the doctrine of non-intervention. "I do not hesitate to say that the interest and the very security of Great Britain and her world-wide dominion lie in the practical application of that doctrine to the utmost limit of possibility." We cannot, he explains, suddenly leave Europe in the lurch, "in the midst of its appalling disorder"; but we should make it a condition of our co-operation that the nations concerned shall "be ready at the proper time to face all such readjustments of political and territorial conditions as may be necessary to a real and enduring all-round settlement."

G. P. G.

* * *

THE WRITING OF HISTORY.*

Every serious student of history and all who study history as a background to life or science or literature should possess Sir John Fortescue's admirable and judicious book on the writing of history. The careful perusal of it should enable the man of the

* *The Writing of History*. By John Fortescue. Williams and Norgate. 2s. 6d.

world to estimate history at its true values, while for those who are undertaking historical composition of any kind—and not least in the history of science—the views here put forward will secure a sane outlook. History in its broadest sense is defined as “the record of all that the senses of man can perceive and all that the intellect of man can apprehend,” while in the parlance of the day it stands for “the story of the relations of men, or of certain groups of men—whether the people of a tiny parish or of a vast empire—with each other and with other groups of men.” Sir John Fortescue illustrates the definition by an examination of the task of writing the history of a rural parish. To the making of that history there must come—and the fact is well illustrated by regional surveys now being made in many parts of England—knowledge of the geology, soils, flora, fauna—here old records help—field names, local remains, pre-historic and historic, buildings, record office documents, manorial rolls (sometimes on the spot), registers (always on the spot), boundaries, roads, rivers, religion, personalities. Much learning goes to writing, in any true sense, the history of a parish. And yet “the history of all the parishes in England and Wales would not be a history of England.” The task of writing the history of a period, whether it be for a limited area or of a people or indeed (as the Cambridge Modern History attempts) of the whole world, may well discourage the most determined student. Yet the historian who writes this book does not discourage such efforts and, indeed, believes that the composite history in which many minds are employed has grave disadvantages from the point of view of the reader. However learned and skilful the editor who co-ordinates the various efforts, such a work has not the stamp of one personality and Sir John Fortescue rightly insists that in the writing of history the personality of the writer is of fundamental importance. Amazing things can be done by one mind. Edward Gibbon’s *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* is the work that immediately leaps to the memory in considering what an historian can do. It is true that Gibbon had definite prejudices, but to-day we can discount these prejudices and still see the work as a whole and as something very great. It is true that Gibbon wholly underestimated the ultimate value of the Eastern Empire but in the light of Professor Bury’s work we can set the estimate right and realise that the Eastern Empire was the wall that saved Europe from the Barbarians. But it is right also to realise that had Gibbon had Professor Bury’s material he would have made no such mistake, and knowing this we still see the wonderful proportions of his work. In many ways we can correct Gibbon to-day and say, for instance, that he did not realise that the Roman Law of the

Western Empire was, in the period with which he dealt, at least as important as the work of Justinian, but that, from the point of view of the whole structure, is capable of readjustment. The miracle that Gibbon performed remains a miracle as the foot-notes in Professor Bury’s monumental edition show. Other instances might be given. We can go to the Greek, to the Roman historians, even to the mediæval historians and find that one personality can provide a mirror—no doubt with some definite distortions—of a whole age.

If this miracle was in a wonderful measure performed in the past when the historian was hampered by many inhibitions, what of the future when the material on which historians depend is being wrought out by hundreds of workers, dispassionate workers providing the material from which the historian is to fashion his mirror? In the past it was a question of a personality being able to make, through his imaginative faculty with poor material, a mirror that could give a more or less real image of the past. In the future something greater than this may happen, given the imagination of a Thucydides or a Selden or a Gibbon. The mirror will attain scientific accuracy and the real image that it gives will stand out not only as a work of art but as a work of science.

Sir John Fortescue sums up the requirements of a modern historian. He must be able to go to original documents with a certainty of understanding their language. He must be able to interpret what he has read. In other words, he must have a judicial mind capable of weighing evidence of often intense complexity, evidence that perhaps had been weighed often before but must be newly weighed and tested by the new evidence that new discoveries will provide. He must, moreover, interpret these documents, perhaps these stones (for stones are documents) not merely as *vestigia* but as scraps of human nature. “The study of history is the study of human nature, or it is naught.” It is possible that Sir John exaggerates the difficulty of interpreting human nature as exhibited in the vestiges of a year, or of ten thousand years, ago. It is profoundly difficult, but such interpretation does not baffle all men. The secret of human nature is open to great minds. The judicial and the critical faculty combined enable a man humanly to interpret the vestiges of human nature. The great poet, the great dramatist, the great novelist can achieve this interpretation and why not the great historian?

But how can the critical faculty be acquired? Well “an historian must be above all things human,” he must have what Walter Bagehot called “an experiencing nature.” He must have, in fact, imagination, that is to say “the power of bringing back to the mind the impression that objects might give or have given.” He

must also have literary art. "His business is to recall the dead to life; and it is the spirit, the literary spirit, that maketh alive." With all these great qualities he must have the power of research. If he touches the original documents he draws the spirits from their vasty deep. He must have a sense of proportion: Gibbon had it, Macaulay had it not. He must know and feel how to put his material together, know what are the organic relationships, know the limits of his subject and the relationship of research to his knowledge. If a piece of work is out of date slay it, do not patch it. All this means that the historian must make his concave mirror with such art, imagination and skill that it will give a real image of the past. It is, perhaps, only the one or two immortals that can do all this but the efforts of many can make the work of the one or two possible. The writing of history is a goal that many will seek and few achieve. And yet what an ambition: to mirror an age and give all future ages standards to live by!

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

WILLIAM BLAKE.*

The inclusion of William Blake in the revised English Men of Letters Series, edited by Mr. J. C. Squire, is an act of justice, for Blake not only played a determinate part in the literary and artistic life of the second half of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth century—but survives to-day in the steadfast mystic vision which linked the Middle Ages with modern times. Blake was essentially a Londoner. He was born at 28, Broad Street, Carnaby Market, Golden Square, on November 28th, 1757, and he died in Fountain Court, off the Strand, on August 12th, 1827. "I cannot think of death as more than the going out of one room into another" he had told Crabb Robinson just a year before his death. That was his characteristic attitude towards the mysteries of life and death. To him it all appeared very simple. He was working in bed to the last on his Dante drawings. One of his last works was a sketch of his wife to whom he had been married for forty-five years, "Ever an angel to me." On the day of his death he was singing songs to his mother and told his wife "My beloved, they are not mine," and added that death would not prevent him from taking care of her. The very practical mystic "died like a saint." And so he had lived, a practical tempestuous saint and mystic.

His father, a hosier, was a dissenter with Swedenborgian tendencies. He was christened, however, at St. James', Westminster. As a child he was full of mystic imaginings. He was

* William Blake. By Osbert Burdett. Macmillan. 5s. net.

taught to read and write at home and he wandered much alone in the villages where now South London swarms. By the age of ten he showed capacity for drawing and was sent to Par's excellent drawing school in the Strand. He haunted auction rooms in his passion for collecting prints from Rafael and Michael Angelo, Heemskerck, Dürer, Julio Romano and others. Langford, the auctioneer, called the boy "the little connoisseur" and the child spent his pocket money in threepenny bids. Blake studied under Pars till he was fourteen and from the age of twelve he was composing. His earliest poem contains the striking lines:

How sweet I roam'd from field to field
And tasted all the summer's pride,
Till I the Prince of Love beheld
Who in the sunny beams did glide!

Mr. Burdett, in his excellent biography, writes of this early period:

This story and its companions might almost belong to an Elizabethan song-book were it not for a mysterious gleam that makes the poem more than a song and less than a hymn by some supernatural note of ecstasy. Already the Elizabethan directness, its natural innocence of eye, is shot with something from afar, an eerie hint of magic more subtle than the simpler wizardry of Spenser's time and without Donne's metaphysical grotesquerie. I find a suggestion of this transfiguration in the third stanza:

With sweet May dews my wings were wet
And Phœbus fired my vocal rage;
He caught me in his silken net,
And shut me in his golden cage.

The enchantment here hints at more than the whole magic of childhood or Elizabethan faucy. It is a shadow in the sunlight of a mysterious presence from the void beyond his beams, the poet is already possessed and distraught by a dæmon.

In 1771 Blake was apprenticed to an engraver and during the period he wrote many of his *Poetical Sketches*. His master, Basire, sent him to draw Gothic monuments in Westminster Abbey and elsewhere and in his work the youth became dominated by the magic of the Abbey. His work as an engraver was excellent. When his apprenticeship was ended in 1778 he studied for a time in the antique school at the Royal Academy while earning his living by engraving designs for various booksellers. He got to know Stothard and Flaxman. He married Catherine Boucher, the daughter of a market-gardener of Battersea, on August 18th, 1782. "He taught her to read and write, to draw, to help him to print, and even to colour his engravings. Like that of many wives, her very handwriting resembled her husband's. She was his complement in every way, and as obedient as he was imperious." She was "reliable, sympathetic and adaptable" and made the life of

her genius of a husband as practical and sensible as was possible with such a man. In 1783 Flaxman paid the cost of printing the *Poetical Sketches*. The next year Blake set up as a print-seller in Broad Street next to his brother, who carried on the old hosiery business. In 1785 he exhibited four water-colours in the Royal Academy. In 1789 he published his illustrated *Songs of Innocence* from his own press.

In these songs Blake sings neither of love, nature, religion, nor sorrow, but of the imagination, which, to be communicable, sees itself reflected, especially on the faces of children, in experiences such as these: the lamb, the shepherd, the infant, the cradle, the laughter of childish voices at play, are pretexts for a music as fresh, tender, awkward, soothing, merry as their original selves. For the first time in nursery poetry we feel that the grown-ups are listening, and that it is the child who is telling its mother about the lamb of God. The way in which the simplicities of feeling are conveyed and false sentiment is avoided is miraculous. There is nothing quite to equal "Infant Joy" anywhere!

"I have no name:
I am but two days old."
What shall I call thee?
"I happy am,
Joy is my name,"
Sweet joy befall thee!

"The Lamb," the "Laughing Song," the almost monosyllabic lines to "Spring," which seem as if they issued from a cradle, the lovely "Nurse's Song," in which the nurse becomes the eldest of her charges for a moment and the voice of play seems naturally to sing, are absolutely childlike. All poetry becomes young again in them, and artless utterance for the first and last time finds its proper music. . . . Perhaps only a poet who had read no fine literature but as a child reads could have written such things. There is in them an innocence of heart that is not to be found in Shakespeare.

Of course there is much intellectual effort in all the lyrical poems but the art is that only the imagination appears in the greatest of them. The baser metal has been purged away. He approaches, indeed, in words to a language which is nearer to symbolic music than to communicated thoughts.

But Blake was a practical man. He could sympathise, as Wordsworth did, with the apparent principles of the French Revolution but he did not mix himself up with revolutionary politics. He was essentially a Christian and a Christian could have no part in revolutionary madness. But he was courageous enough with his sympathy, and boldly helped Thomas Paine, at the very time he was issuing his Prophecies. From 1793 to 1800 he was pouring out prophecies and illustrations to his own *Songs of Experi-*

ence and to Young's *Night Thoughts*, from his new home at 13, Hercules Buildings, Lambeth. It was at this time that the poet-artist was offered the post of drawing-master to the Royal Family. This offer he refused, and as he parted with his pupils at the same time and engraving work had ceased, he seemed to be faced with want. At this crisis Thomas Butts appeared and became his patron and brought enough work to keep him going. Other patrons appeared, the genius was saved and the mystic could go his own noble but erratic way. Mr. Burdett calls him, with considerable intuition "the Wesley of the Arts." "To him religion was an artistic activity, so that he was always offering one in terms of the other, and instead of pleasing either party he offended almost all. When he states that the Old and New Testaments are the two great codes of art, neither artists nor Christians feel at ease with him." But then, of course, Blake was both.

The story of his friendships, and not least with Hayley, is well brought out and Blake, for all his vigorous ways, had the gift of friendship. From first to last, in his work and in his life, this book gives a true conception of the great man that Blake was, as tempestuously great as Whitman but in his conception of art infinitely greater. His work became richer as the years went on. His Virgil wood-cuts have all the freshness and youthful inspiration combined with the subtlest art of the engraver. Blake never grew old and his hand never forgot, but daily and yearly increased its cunning. The full virtue of Blake's work in line and of his mystic literary utterances have not perhaps been wholly grasped yet, a century after his death. But he has many disciples to-day and many who draw from him social, artistic and religious inspiration. He, perhaps, after all will be chiefly famous in the perspective of things as the man who linked up once again mysticism and practical life and made the marriage a thing of beauty and everlasting inspiration.

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ENGLISH WOMEN IN LIFE AND LETTERS.*

This book describes the lives of past English women. The material is in the main historical, but the authors have drawn freely from English fiction, and in consequence the lives are sometimes caricatured and the fashions highly coloured. The younger generation of to-day will laugh and deride the foolishness of their ancestors, and belaud the utility and charm of the present fashions, both in dress and manners, little thinking that their grand and great-

* *English Women in Life and Letters*. By M. Phillips and W. S. Tomkinson. Oxford University Press. 10s. net.

grand-children will echo their derision as they turn the pages of *Punch* and the fashion-plates of 1927. The past, and especially the near past, is generally ridiculous in the eyes of the present. The fairy Fashion is an elf that knows full well that change appeals to human nature, and as there is nothing new under the sun, the ages must be ransacked for novelty, whether it be in dress, music, or in art. Barbarian seems to be the cult of the present, and utility the order of to-day when fashion has to suit itself to the activities of life. Motoring, out-door games, and aerial flights forbid flowing garments.

Turning to the more serious side of this interesting book, namely English women in *Letters*, we find that in all periods of England's history there have been women of learning, and of exceptional powers. Notwithstanding the educational difficulties and disabilities of their time there always have been "Judges in Israel." English women of the late Middle Ages were possibly behind their sisters abroad in the matter of education though the Bower Schools gave the women of good feudal position a sound education. "The Paston Letters" give a very good idea of the life led by women in the troublous times of the middle fifteenth century. Margaret Paston must have excelled in housewifery, and proved a model wife and mother; she could write a good letter, and keep her husband well informed of all that went on in their home at Norwich, and out of it also. Religion was the only profession outside the home that women could adopt in the Middle Ages, at any rate women of good social standing: but they often took refuge in nunneries, not alone as a vocation for God's service, but as an escape from home service and other difficulties. Whether they bettered their state is a matter of opinion, having, as they complain, "such hard and intolerable restrictions" imposed upon them, whilst, "the men who made these statutes sat well at their ease when they decreed these things against us." Women will ever protest in or out of nunneries. Divine discontent makes for a better order. The education, or want of it, for women in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is dwelt upon at length by the authors of this work. They are unreasonably hard on the private schools of those days, many of which were excellent (especially the Quaker Schools) and were the pioneers of better things. One is liable to forget, that before the time of higher education for women came in, there was no educational thermometer in the shape of examination and university degrees to gauge the result of the best of these schools.

The chief value of this book is the opening of the eyes of the general reader to the vast improvement in the social conditions of England from the early days of the nineteenth century. About

1780 John Howard began his tour of inspection round the prisons of England and Wales, and published the appalling facts throughout the country. Anything more dreadful than the dirt, drunkenness, and general demoralisation of the prisoners can hardly be conceived: men and women huddled together in rooms no better than cellars, often without windows, and no separate accommodation for the sexes. Elizabeth Fry, born in 1780, of a Quaker family, early in life devoted herself to good works, and at the age of thirty-four years paid her first visit to Newgate. The horror of it fired her with zeal for the amelioration of the terrible conditions under which the poor prisoners existed rather than lived. In April, only four years after her first visit to Newgate prison, she writes in her diary: "I have found in my late attention to Newgate a peace and prosperity that I seldom remember before, a way has been opened for us to bring into order the poor prisoners. Already from being wild beasts, they appear harmless and kind." Mrs. Fry formed a school for the children of the prisoners, also for young criminals, and strove in every way to improve their condition physically, mentally, and morally. The debt that civilisation and humanity owe to John Howard and Elizabeth Fry is incalculable.

The account of "Women's Industry in Home and Factory" is most interesting and enlightening. The domestic system in 1722 was in full swing, women and children working in their own cottage homes with the men of the family. Spinning and weaving were the chief trades. Defoe's book describing his tour at this date gives a happy glimpse of these homes, but, in fact, later in the century their condition was by no means happy.

The first and oldest of these industries was centred around Norwich, for wool and silk weaving. Secondly came "the West of England tweed district," and thirdly the West Riding of Yorkshire. Health, employment, and prosperity were the result. "Not a beggar to be seen, and not an idle person, all employed from the youngest to the oldest." Farming was another occupation in which women took part, also dressmaking and millinery. The apprenticeship system of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as long as it was regulated by Act of Parliament, was a real thing, and the apprentices in the earlier days were well taught and cared for by their masters and mistresses; but the industrial revolution (as the Act of 1802 shows) altered all that and in 1814 "The Statute of Apprentices" was repealed, and new abuses quickly followed. Mrs. Gaskell gives a vivid picture in her novels *Mary Barton* and *Ruth* of the horrors of the dressmaker's room. That trade was one of the worst, the girls worked fifteen hours a day, and often longer, under wretched conditions, and the life

was little less than slavery. The invention of machinery in 1769 brought about what is known as The Industrial Revolution, riots followed, but nothing stemmed the tide created by the new discoveries. Factories sprang up everywhere, children were apprenticed to the factory owners, or more truly speaking *sold*. Bound over from the age of seven to twenty-one years, they were lodged, clothed, and fed, more often half-starved, and were worked sometimes literally to death. The children were sent in winter-time in open carts by the parish authorities from London to the North. In 1834 the first Factory Act was passed for improving the condition of children and young persons under the age of eighteen years, but this did not make things better for married women. Factory girls were totally unfitted to be wives and mothers and home-life deteriorated to an appalling extent. The authors of this book again quote Mrs. Gaskell from *Mary Barton* giving the best and worst side of factory-life; in the latter, she describes a "Cellar Dwelling" in Manchester, of as late a date as 1848, too sad for words. Evil conditions for children in the silk mills lasted into the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

Much has been done, and more needs doing in this ever-growing population of the twentieth century, though international legislation passed under the Treaty of Versailles has done much for women workers while the Education Act of 1918 was, in fact, the children's charter. The Housing Question, on which rests the morality and well-being of the country and cities of which we boast our citizenship, still remains, in many areas, unsolved, but it is only fair to say that efforts are being made on every side, and the women of England may reasonably look forward in days to come to homes that are worthy of English Womanhood.

S. DE M.

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A FRENCH VIEW OF ENGLAND.*

After publishing three volumes of his *Histoire du Peuple Anglais au XIXe Siècle*, Professor Halévy has interrupted the even flow of his great enterprise by issuing an Epilogue on the years 1895-1914, the first volume of which, covering the decade of Unionist rule, has just appeared.* The Victorian era, he explains, virtually ended in 1895, and the succeeding period does not enter into the British nineteenth century "as I understand it." Every author has the right to fix his milestones where he will; and the reader, while patiently awaiting the completion of the larger

* *Histoire du Peuple Anglais. Epilogue. Les Impérialistes au Pouvoir. (1895-1905).* Hachette.

narrative, which has only reached 1841, will turn with interest to the survey of the last twenty years of peace. While writing mainly for his fellow-countrymen, who should be grateful for such a panoramic survey of their long hostile and now friendly neighbours, Professor Halévy has many readers in the land which he has made his second home and to the interpretation of which he has devoted his working life.

The main attraction of the new volume is to discover the judgment of a friendly though critical observer on the events and tendencies which we have witnessed and the statesmen whom we have followed or opposed. Far from obtruding his opinions, however, the author is impartial and almost impersonal; and, indeed, some readers will wish that he had been less sparing of comment. As in the preceding volumes he presents the whole life of the nation—its domestic controversies, its foreign policy, its economic life, its religious development. We hear of the birth of the Labour Party, the foundation of the *Daily Mail*, the influence of such different preachers and teachers as Kipling and Mahan, Sidney Webb and Hugh Price Hughes. The sub-title of the book is the "Imperialists in Power"; but the thoughtful Preface, in which we come closer to our author than anywhere else in his handsome volume, argues that it was also a period of decadence—a word which he proceeds to define by illustration. A feeling of *malaise*, a notion that we were being passed in the race, leading to the transition from "splendid isolation" to continental entanglements; the decline of religious belief; the decay of economic individualism, and the rise of Socialism which, whatever may be said in its favour, appears to the author to be the antithesis of the spirit of productivity—such are some of the signs of a new psychological atmosphere. Yet while recording these profound transformations, Professor Halévy looks without undue apprehension on their actual and potential results. British Socialism, he explains, which aims at more than the satisfaction of purely economic needs, is moderate and constitutional. The reaction from Protestantism tends to the compromise of Anglo-Catholicism, and stops short of Rome. England, to-day as yesterday, is the classic land of empiricism, of toleration, of mutual adjustment—a standing rebuke to the Continental extremists of the Right and the Left who profess and apply the detestable philosophy of violence. No Englishman could wish his country to be judged, his virtues to be praised, and his faults to be indicated, by a more skilful and friendly pen.

G. P. G.

secondary schools with a predominantly literary or scientific curriculum it is suggested should, in future, bear the ancient name of grammar schools. Two groups of central schools—selective and non-selective—should be known as Modern Schools while post-primary classes in the existing elementary schools should be called Senior Classes. The curriculum of Modern Schools and Senior Classes should, it is suggested, have a practical bias, determined by local conditions, in the third or fourth year. The Committee are in favour of legislation raising the compulsory age of school attendance to fifteen after the year 1932. Presumably this ideal will be realised long before that date as the local authorities have power now, with the consent of the Board of Education, to raise the age to fifteen. The Committee advocate a voluntary leaving examination in the case of Modern Schools and Senior Classes, and declare that adequate arrangements should be made for the transfer of children of ability from Modern to Grammar schools at the age of twelve or thirteen years. On the other hand the Committee does not condemn (and the fact is very surprising) the competitive Free Place examinations held by some local authorities to determine the children who shall enter the secondary schools. "Under present conditions it is necessarily competitive." It is also necessarily evil since it almost invariably involves the "cramming" of likely children almost from the time that they leave the infant school. One of the great educational evils at the present time is that certain elementary schools in many areas have a reputation as successful cramming establishments and to those schools ambitious and ignorant parents send their children if possible. No doubt it is difficult to devise a method that would fit in with the present deficiency, in many areas, of free places in the secondary schools. But the Committee have not at all solved the problem by the recommendation that "arrangements for organising and conducting examinations for admission to schools of different types should be left to the Local Education Authorities." The practice of cramming children for competitive examinations in the past has been the subject of acute adverse comment by inspectors of the Board, and the question was clearly within the reference to the Consultative Committee. Possibly the subject will receive the vigorous attention of the various organisations that represent the teaching profession. It is strange that the Committee should not have recognised that competitive examinations at the age of ten or eleven years are wholly uneducational.

J. E. G. DE M.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

*The Legacy of the Middle Ages** edited by Mr. C. G. Crump and Mr. E. F. Jacob is a striking summary by specialists of the significance for our own time of the mediæval period in its relation to Christian life, art, literature, philosophy, education, law, the position of women, the economic activity of towns, royal power and administration and political thought. The editors are fortunate in securing a remarkable essay on mediæval architecture from Mr. W. R. Lethaby. Professor Claude Jenkin's essay on some aspects of mediæval Latin literature will attract many students. The important subject of customary law is dealt with by the late Sir Paul Vinogradoff and must have been one of his latest labours as he did not live to see his article in proof. This learned jurist takes the view that "the formulation of legal rules and the determination of vested rights in the Middle Ages was connected in the last resort with habits and considerations of business life and social intercourse." The customs of the folk were determining factors. The recent edition issued by the Vatican of the Canon Law gives special interest to the essay on Mediæval Canon Law by Professor le Bras of Strasbourg, while Professor Meynial of the Sorbonne has placed English students under a debt by his paper on Mediæval Roman Law. Professor Adamson's essay on Education should be widely read, while students of mediæval manuscripts will be grateful to Mr. E. A. Lowe for his paper on Handwriting. The editors point out that the chapters fall into three divisions. "The first five deal with the things of the mind and the spirit. In the centre and heart of the book come three upon law, the most fundamental and characteristic of mediæval bequests; the remainder are concerned with with fabric of society and government." That is as it should be. Science is left for a later volume, and it is to be noticed that art is restricted to architecture, sculpture and decorative and industrial art. The early paintings of England, for instance, are not dealt with. A bibliography would have added greatly to the value of the book, and the index is not as full as a work of this value deserves. It should be widely read by the general public, as few realise how great a part of modern life has roots in mediæval times.

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The latest series of lectures delivered at King's College and edited by Professor Hearnshaw, entitled *Social and Political Ideas of some Great Thinkers of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*,† is fully up to its predecessors on the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and the Reformation. The Editor's admirable survey of the social and political problems of the period is followed by lectures on Bodin, Hooker, Suarez, James I, Grotius, Hobbes, Harrington, and Spinoza. Of these the most novel to ordinary readers is Archdeacon Lilley's scholarly presentation of Suarez, the Spanish Jesuit, whose celebrated treatise, *De Legibus*, is still used as a textbook in the Catholic seminaries. Bodin is more familiar, but we are glad to learn Professor Allen's views on the founder of the Doctrine of Sovereignty. Dr. Norman Sykes writes with justifiable admiration of Hooker, and the

* Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 10s. net.

† Harrap. 7s. 6d.

Editor pays homage to Grotius. Miss Chew's study of James I naturally owes much to the work of Figgis and McIlwain, but it is good to be reminded that the king was a scholar and a thinker, and that his claim to Divine Right was quite as much a defence of the State against Catholic encroachments as it was a vindication of the royal power against constitutional aspirations. Miss Levett's lecture on Harrington is a little grudging, but we are grateful to her for her digression on the little-known but remarkable Thomas Traherne. Mr. Woodward's study of Hobbes and the picture of Spinoza by the Master of Balliol offer a striking contrast between the so-called realist and the idealist; but Dr. Lindsay argues that the Dutch Jew was, in fact, the better realist of the two. This instructive and very readable volume, dealing with problems which are never out of date, should be widely read.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

M. Vladimir Poliakoff in "The Empress Marie of Russia and Her Times,"* gives an interesting account of her home and upbringing in Copenhagen, her marriage and life in Russia and elsewhere down to the present day when after many and troubled years she once more lives in Denmark, the land of her birth. The biography gives an insight into the life of the Russian Imperial family and shows something of the troubles and trials which continually beset them as well as their glories.

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Gypsy lovers and all who are interested in the Romany race will welcome Miss M. E. Lyster's delightful little book, "The Gypsy Life of Betsy Wood."† The memoir written by an actual friend of Mrs. Wood's gives a realistic and fascinating picture of gypsy life as led by members of the famous Welsh clan still known as "Tenhr Abram Wd." The head and tailpieces by John Garside give the finishing touch to a really interesting book.

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The addition of one of Anthony Trollope's best novels, "Framley Parsonage,"‡ to the "World's Classics" Series will be welcomed by admirers of this great nineteenth-century novelist. Published in book-form in 1860, "Framley Parsonage" first appeared in the previous year as a serial in the *Cornhill Magazine*. As a merciless critic of political and social country life Trollope is hard to rival, and the passing of time has not by any means taken the bite out of his work.

* Thornton, Butterworth. 21s. net.

† Dent. 6s. net.

‡ Oxford University Press. 2s. net.

TRADE UNION REFORM.

THE Government has undertaken to introduce a Bill dealing with the legal position and powers of the Trade Unions. Even if its proposals are inspired by the somewhat nebulous benevolence of Mr. Baldwin, they will assuredly meet with fierce opposition, not merely from the Parliamentary Labour party, but from the whole Trade Union world. For the great majority of Trade Unionists are (justly or unjustly) convinced that the Conservative party in its heart hates the Trade Unions, and would gladly weaken their power. They cannot believe that a Bill introduced in a House with an overwhelming Conservative majority, and on the heels of a big Trade Union defeat, is likely to be either just or generous. However innocent it may be, a Bill introduced in such circumstances is bound to be regarded with alarmed and hostile eyes, and to be honestly but angrily misrepresented. Nor is it only the Trade Unionists who are perturbed by the proposal to legislate at this moment. The saner kind of employers (and they are to-day the majority) have been feeling for some months that the temper of their workpeople is more favourable than it has been for a long time, and that some of the great Trade Unions are ready to enter upon experiments in organised co-operation for the improvement of output such as certain American Trade Unions have successfully carried out. They deplore the possibility that this promising moment may be spoilt. Even if they feel that there are parts of the law regarding Trade Unions which are badly conceived and ought to be recast, they also feel that now is not the moment for such an attempt. There is no prospect of another general strike. The class-war sentiment is weaker than at any time since the war. To-day, they feel, the thing to do is to let well alone, to cultivate cordial relations, to explore every possibility of frank and mutually respecting co-operation. If Trade Union law needs revision, as it doubtless does, let it wait until the work can be done by agreement, and in an atmosphere not of embitterment but of understanding.

In these circumstances the Government's action will be a piece of wicked folly unless it can be established, beyond all reasonable challenge, (1) that the present condition of Trade Union law is such as to offer real and imminent dangers, and (2) that these dangers can be removed by clear and intelligible provisions which will not impair, and cannot be represented as impairing, the power which Trade Unionism has long been accustomed to wield, and which it regards as essential for the defence of the workers. It will not be enough (for anybody but pedantically-minded lawyers) to prove that Trade Union law is confused, and needs

THE EDUCATION OF JUVENILES.*

It was as far back as May, 1924, that the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education had referred to them for consideration and report the vast subject of the organisation, objective, and curriculum of courses of study suitable for children remaining in full-time attendance at schools other than secondary up to the age of fifteen. The Committee was to have regard to a good general education suitable for varying tastes and abilities on the one hand and on the other to the probable future occupation of the children in commerce, industry, and agriculture. The Committee was also asked to advise as to the arrangements which should be made for testing the school career and for facilitating admission of pupils to the secondary schools at an age above the normal age of admission. In the lengthy report on these difficult subjects the Committee first traces the course of post-primary education in England from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the present time, a valuable piece of work for which the Secretary of the Committee, Mr. R. F. Young, is entirely responsible. The facts of the present situation in respect to post-primary education are next faced. The Committee broadly speaking concur with the general view of the witnesses before them: that "marking time" in the upper standards has been to a great extent overcome in the large urban schools but that it remains a serious evil in the small rural schools creating lack of interest in school life. But there was also a consensus of opinion as to the importance of developing facilities for post-primary education everywhere. The Report comments on this growth of educational outlook:

Such agreement, which would not, we think, have been so noticeable even as recently as ten years ago, is partly the result of the practical successes in coping with the problem, to which we refer below, achieved by teachers and administrators. It affords grounds for a reasonable hope that the difficulties surrounding it may be overcome. But the difficulties, both of principle and of the practical application of principles, are real, and it would be a mistake to under-estimate them. Their solution can, at best, be only tentative, and while mere empiricism is to be deprecated, premature systematisation must not be allowed to close the door to experiment.

This is a very important point. The progress that has been made in the effort to put in force the principles of the Act of 1918, that all children capable of profiting by higher education should have it, has been made by a series of experiments, mostly in town but sometimes in the rural areas, and it is certain that much experimentation must go on if we are ever to fit our national machinery

* Board of Education: *Report of the Consultative Committee on the Education of the Adolescent*. His Majesty's Stationery Office. 2s. net.

to the nation. Any attempt to fit the nation to the machinery is bound to fail. The present examination system of transfer is open to this criticism.

The Report indicates in some detail many of the experiments in post-primary education that have been made by local education authorities, though we do not notice any detailed account of the famous Carlisle experiments. The material thus reviewed, the lines of advance become almost obvious. For years critics have clamoured for the abolition of "elementary" education as such on the grounds that it represents a very displeasing and wholly unreal class distinction while it shuts out many children from the higher education to which their abilities, and what is more important, their potentialities, entitle them. The idea has been widely canvassed that it would be well to convert the upper standards of existing elementary schools into junior secondary classes from which there would be an automatic transfer, after certain non-competitive tests, to the secondary schools and technical schools. The one thing to avoid, in the view of experienced educationists and administrators, was the continuance of a system which aims at giving a carefully calculated modicum of truncated knowledge to a class of children destined for manual labour, after sifting out a certain proportion of apparently (but often not really) more intelligent children. The whole idea of "the ladder of education" in that sense has been condemned as socially and educationally unjust. Education is a great high road broad enough for all in their different capacities. The conclusions reached by the Committee (except in respect to competitive examinations for secondary school places) in fact adopt this view: "A universal system of post-primary education should be held clearly in view." The term "elementary education" is abandoned. Primary education should be regarded as ending shortly after the age of eleven.

A second stage should then begin, and this stage, which for many pupils would end at 16+, for some at 18 or 19, but for the majority at 14+ or 15+, should as far as possible be regarded as a single whole, within which there will be a variety of types of education, but which will generally be controlled by the common aim of providing for the needs of children who are entering and passing through the stage of adolescence. All normal children should go forward to some form of post-primary education. . . . It is desirable that education up to the age of 11+ should be known by the general name of Primary Education, and education after that age by the general name of Secondary Education.

Thus the Committee advocate secondary education for all. This grade should fall, for the present, into four types. The existing

recognised as an indispensable factor in the smooth working of large-scale industry—to be effectively carried on. There has been much debate as to whether the provisions of the Act formed the best way of dealing with these difficulties. No doubt they could be improved upon. But nobody who has seriously thought about the problems which had to be solved can deny that there was justification for even the most disputed clauses in this famous Act, which, when all is said, only restored the Unions to the position which they had been universally supposed to hold under the Conservative Act of 1875. Mr. Balfour, as he then was, admitted that “the law, which stood for nearly thirty years from 1875, was very much in the condition in which it would be left if this Bill were placed on the Statute Book”; and he went on to say that “he had listened in vain during these debates for any specific case in which harm was done by the fact that the law was supposed to be what it was going to be made.” It is easy to pick holes in the Act: to criticise the immunity afforded to Trade Union officers, conferred by Clause IV; or the permission of “peaceful persuasion,” conferred by Clause II (subject to the stringent prohibition of terrorism contained in an unrepealed Act of 1859); or the legalising of “sympathetic” strikes embodied in Clause V. But it is much more difficult—Mr. Balfour found it impossible—to say how these clauses could be amended without gravely impairing the “right to strike” which the Trade Unions had long regarded as essential for the protection of their members, and which the law had fully recognised since 1875.

The piecemeal legislation of Parliament about Trade Unions has always, in fact, been confined to the removal of disabilities in the way of the legitimate powers of the Trade Unions; it has never attempted to define or even to enlarge these powers. But in all this legislation there has always been implicit a view of the functions of a Trade Union which will, we may hope, gradually become less important as the powers of the Unions increase, and as they pass from merely negative and defensive to positive and constructive work. Trade Union law thinks of the Trade Union primarily as an organisation of defence and attack, a quasi-military organisation where the primary duty is to wrest from more or less hostile employers more favourable conditions for their members. Hence one Act after another has turned mainly upon the question what methods are legitimate in this incessant war; and the strike, the picket, the risks of legal restriction, the legitimacy of mutual aid between different unions in a common war, are the themes with which they deal. These may have been the main functions of Trade Unionism in the past. They may still be so conceived by some of the leaders of Trade Unionism to-day: those who

deplore that this should be so ought not to forget that the law of the land has assumed that it is so, and has perhaps intensified and stereotyped it. But these have never been the only functions of the Trade Unions. Not only have they performed highly important and beneficent work as benefit societies, leading the way in tackling the tremendous problem of unemployment: not only have they been called in by the State as indispensable and invaluable partners in the administration of the schemes of social insurance which are the greatest contribution of our generation to the improvement of social conditions: they have also played a part whose value cannot be exaggerated in establishing decent standards of life, and in training working-folk in the high arts of loyal co-operation: they have become so indispensable an element in the adjustment of wage-rates and conditions of labour that, if they had not been created by the loyalty and devotion of their members, something like them would have had to be invented in order to make the complex system of modern industry workable at all: they have established for the working men of England a real partnership in the regulation of the industries in which they are engaged, and if this partnership is at present exercised mainly in conflict, by the threat or the reality of war, it is capable of being transformed into a far more fruitful partnership of co-operation, and it is being so transformed, in many fields to-day, through the working of Whitley Councils and other modes of organised co-operation.

The picture to which all Liberals must look forward, unless they are to despair of our industrial system, is one in which these powerful bodies, which, in spite of their blunders, have earned because they have deserved the loyalty of the great mass of sober English working-folk, and which are potent for ill only because and in proportion as they are also potent for good, will form a vital part in the structure of a healthier economic society, recognised and trusted not by their own members alone but by every element in the State, and using their mighty power to ensure first that we create the maximum of wealth consistent with the well-being of the producers, and, secondly, that the wealth thus created is justly distributed. That is the state of things—not easy to achieve, only achievable at all by infinite patience and good-will—towards which we should all be looking, and for which we should all be working. When that time comes, we shall have to recast the law of Trade Unions, because it will no longer reflect the facts. It will have ceased—if I may borrow a happy analogy from Sir John Simon—to be like the kind of international law that concerned itself only with the rules of war, and will come rather to resemble the kind of international law which has constituted the League of Nations as an organised fellowship for the creation of well-being,

tidying up, or even that it opens the possibility of abuses should the power of the Unions fall into the hands of reckless or foolish men. These might be sufficient reasons for legislation in a time of assured peace and on the part of a government regarded as impartial. They are not sufficient reason for legislation in a time of gradually returning, but still insecure, peace, when the Trade Union world is still sore from defeat, but hates to be reminded of the blunders of which it is ruefully aware, and which it is not likely to repeat; nor is the Government which has to its discredit the record of last year's handling of the coal problem the right government to undertake this task.

Undoubtedly the law affecting Trade Unions is confused, obscure and unsatisfactory. It does not even contain an intelligible definition of a Trade Union—being content to say that a Trade Union is a body which has the statutory rights of a Trade Union: a definition which recalls the famous definition of an archdeacon as an ecclesiastical functionary who performs archidiaconal functions. Even the Trade Union officials would admit that the law ought to be recast, if they were not afraid of the possible consequences of this admission. The lawyers who have given most attention to the subject are at cross-purposes. They cannot even agree as to whether the general strike of last year was, or was not, illegal under the terms of the Acts. No doubt a purely political strike (a strike, for example, against the despatch of troops to China) would be illegal or extra-legal in the sense that, as it would not be a "trade dispute," the officials of the Union would not be covered by the immunity conferred upon them by the Act of 1906, and could be proceeded against in the Courts on various grounds. But was the general strike of last year so definitely political in character that it could not be said to have arisen "in contemplation or furtherance" of a trade dispute? To the great majority of those who took part in it, it was certainly a "sympathetic" strike, designed to "further" the cause of the miners, though there was probably a small minority whose aim was purely political. If an action had been brought on this, the jury would have been called upon to determine the motives of the persons charged, and in the then heated state of public opinion, many juries might have found that their motives were political. Plainly, as it affects the question of general strikes, the law is unsatisfactory. It is unsatisfactory to both sides: to those who fear the Trade Unions, but also, and equally, to the Trade Unionists themselves, who are exposed to the danger that any sympathetic strike on a large scale may be declared by excited juries to be "political" in character, with the result that Union officials will lose the protection extended to them by the Act of 1906.

That is only one illustration of the ambiguities of Trade Union law. Another is the precarious position of the contributor to Trade Union benefit funds, who has, in law, no sure remedy against unfair treatment, or even a partial deprivation of Union benefits, at the hands of his officials. But this danger has never matured. There has been no complaint about it; and men who have been illegitimately expelled from their Unions have been able to obtain restoration of membership from the courts, though they have not been able to call their officials to account for the handling of benefit funds. No doubt this is a question which ought to be dealt with. But now is not the moment for dealing with it—in an atmosphere of mutual distrust; and, when the moment comes, the subject ought to be treated with the help of the advice and knowledge of Trade Union officials of long experience. In the same way, now is not the moment for dealing with the illegality or otherwise of general strikes. That problem, also, never came into the light until yesterday. Nothing is more certain than that there is no likelihood of another general strike for a long time to come. And the real way of averting this possibility is, not to embark, in an atmosphere of mutual exacerbation, upon the impossible attempt to define when a "sympathetic" strike arising out of an "industrial dispute" becomes a "general" strike inspired by "political motives," but to create the conditions of confidence and good-will which will make the folly of a general strike unthinkable. The folly of a general strike is not greater than the folly of throwing away a real chance of advance towards that happy conclusion.

The ambiguities of Trade Union law arise from the circumstances in which the Acts that embody it were passed. Parliament has never attempted to define the powers and functions of Trade Unions, or to assign to them a definite position in the body politic, with definite responsibilities. All its legislation on this head has been devised to deal with particular unforeseen difficulties which had emerged at particular moments. The two Acts of 1871 were due to the inconveniences which arose from the fact that the Unions as such had no status in the common-law courts, so that their agreements could not be enforced, and their defaulting officers could not be punished; while the obviously useful functions which they performed were being frustrated by the fact that the courts treated them as bodies existing for "the restraint of trade." The Act of 1875 (passed by a Conservative government) was due to the fact that the Acts of 1871 did not give sufficient protection to the Unions in their legitimate work. The much-disputed Act of 1906 was rendered necessary by a series of decisions in the courts, culminating in the famous Taff Vale decision, which would have made it almost impossible for their work—by that time universally

looking forward to peace, not war, as the normal condition of human society. But we shall not forward this end by niggling and grudging attempts, inspired by fear and jealousy, to abridge here and whittle away there the powers of the great bodies whose help the nation needs. It is hope, not fear, mutual confidence rather than suspicion and distrust, which will alone create the atmosphere wherein a real recast of Trade Union law, profoundly different in temper and outlook from the present, can be framed in partnership and good-will.

RAMSAY MUIR.

THE LABRADOR BOUNDARY.

THE Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in a long and elaborate judgment have decided in favour of Newfoundland the extremely interesting question of boundary remitted to them by the Crown at the joint request of the Governments of Canada and Newfoundland. To anyone expert in international boundaries no other decision was possible on the law or on the facts. And in a question between two portions of His Majesty's dominions there was not the same temptation to compromise as almost inevitably occurs when the dispute is between two different nations. At the same time, it was matter for satisfaction that amongst the eminent judges who formed the Court there was included one—Viscount Finlay—who had had practical and intimate experience of the two great arbitrations over the boundaries of British Guiana.

Certain articles in the daily press on the announcement of the award spoke of "Newfoundland's new boundary." Such a phrase is altogether erroneous. The award simply declared what had always been, without question up to 1896, the boundary of the Labrador territory placed under the jurisdiction of Newfoundland. On almost any map after 1825 or thereabout the boundary of the Labrador proper is delineated very much as it has been declared by the Judicial Committee. Only recently with a view to bolstering up the claim of Quebec have certain special maps been issued with a different suggestion. How then, it may be asked, could a legislator get up in the Quebec House and talk about the loss of territory which had always been considered to belong to Quebec? Clearly through youth and the infirmity of his knowledge. Many who nowadays talk about the rights of Quebec doubtless cannot go back further than 1898, when that government suddenly without warning, without notice, and without apology, passed an Act* limiting the Province only by the very shore of Labrador. Strangely little notice was taken of it at the time: to those who knew, the claim probably seemed too ridiculous. Yet the new line was placed on maps, and gave rise to blunders. It appears for instance on the map attached to Mr. Gosling's work on Labrador: he thought the line near the coast indicated the height of land: but such a suggestion does not bear examination. On the map attached to many numbers of the magazine of the International Grenfell Association the same line appears; but this is possibly due to reliance on Canadian sources: for Dr. Grenfell has great leanings towards Canada. As soon, however, as one goes back thirty years or so there is scarcely a trace of the error.

But evidence of reputation is not nearly so important as

*Quebec Acts—sess. 1897-8—assented to 15th January, 1898.

of Newfoundland to do his duty in the way of visiting even the remoter outposts of the Colony, to say nothing of its great dependency. The *Fiona* had gone: no yacht or steamer was available. However, there was the ordinary coastal boat doing its periodical trip: small and crowded though it was, the Reid Newfoundland Company would endeavour to make suitable arrangements. Yet this touched only the ports and for a very limited time. How could the visit to North-West River be arranged? One exceptional method was open. The steamer coming down from the north would not be tied too closely to schedule: why not commandeer her for the service? Ministers shook their heads and doubted. But the big merchants of St. John's are always only too ready to help the King's representative, and the late Mr. Baine Grieve was no exception. He telegraphed to his steamer on the northern route to take in fresh coal and time herself to meet the Governor at Rigolet. So the Governor, with a very limited staff, took passage on the *Sagona*, and after calling at the southern ports of Labrador and inaugurating a new era at Cartwright,* ran into Rigolet on a fresh September evening, with the western sky reddening behind the little settlement in a manner worthy of that land of glorious sunsets; to find the stout little steamer *Seal* all ready for her unwonted diversion. Almost the only passengers on the *Seal* were certain American ladies who had been working as volunteers at the Grenfell stations in St. Anthony or elsewhere and had taken the run to the north as a holiday after their work: to them it came as a thrill that they were to be carried off into something like the interior of Labrador.

As time pressed, it was necessary to hold the meeting of inhabitants at Rigolet the same evening: and very weird it was to see them assembled under dim lights in the cookhouse of the Hudson Bay Company's station (for they were mostly the Company's employees) not far from the tiny quarters in which for some years the late Lord Strathcona lived and worked as a young man. Early next morning the *Seal* was on her way up the inlet. Neither captain nor crew had ever been there before: few steamers find their way past the narrows at Rigolet. Fortunately a first-class pilot was available in Dr. Paddon, Dr. Grenfell's able lieutenant: dividing his time between North-West River, where he has one hospital, and Indian Harbour, where he has another, he is constantly covering the intervening waters in his little yacht and could correct the deficiencies of the Admiralty chart—a great comfort for that fine seaman, Captain Randell, who was responsible for the *Seal*. Dr. Paddon had heard of the official visit on his way to Indian Harbour and decided to stand by the *Seal* for orders. It was pretty bad weather when the ship got clear of the island of St. John. "I wish we had Grenfell here," said Paddon, "he's always going on about our

* He laid the corner stone of the new mission school organised by the Rev. Henry Gordon to deal with orphaned children.

peaceful lake—I should love to see the old Strathcona tumbling about in this." For the Hamilton Inlet in its pride defies the Canadian contention that it is merely an inland lake. When late in the evening the *Seal* anchored off the mouth of the North-West River, landing was practically out of the question. The Governor and party, including his daughter, who for the time was acting as châtelaine at Government House, made the attempt, but the boat was swept back three or four times and it was wiser to postpone the shore visit. Yet from the southern shore a boat reached the ship: the little child of the agent of *Revillons frères* was lying very ill. The boat was sent for a doctor, little expecting their old friend Dr. Paddon. With much difficulty, dropping far down under the shore, they took him to his "case."

Early next morning an official landing was possible. On the banks of the river the party had just time to meet Goudie and his son, as they started with canoes on their long journey into the interior for the winter trapping. It was Goudie who brought out Wallace after his disastrous attempt at exploration on the Michikamau.* Then came inspection of the settlement and an address to the Indians and half-breeds of the district: there was no time to go up the Grand Lake nor yet to collect the settlers from further points. Before the day was over the *Seal* was on her homeward route with the great mass of Muckamee to port and the snow lying white on the ranges behind, while to the southward stretched the unbroken forests of fir towards the Grand Falls of the Hamilton River and the rusty chimney-stack of the sawmill erected there some years previously and abandoned through the uncertainty produced by the Quebec claim.

Now, though some stress has been laid on it, this was merely an ordinary administrative journey by the Governor: it was in no way different from journeys to other parts of the Colony, and as a matter of fact not so arduous as one taken a year later to the northern settlements of the island itself.

Against such official acts Canada had, of course, nothing to set. It has on occasion been suggested by advocates of the Quebec claim that inference might be drawn from the geological survey of Mr. A. M. Low, or from the presence of the Montangais Indians on the coast of Labrador. But on a geological survey, however official, no more claim can be founded than on an Everest expedition. And the practice of the mountaineer Indians to come down yearly to the Hamilton inlet for supplies and meet the Roman Catholic priests from Newfoundland surely supports the contention of the Colony. Indeed, the main line of argument on Canada's behalf at the hearing made no appeal to law or to facts: it laboured to inquire what

* *The Lure of the Labrador Wild*. 1905. Revell and Co. It is fair to record that if only the two adventurers had taken the advice of men who knew the country well Hubbard's life need not have been sacrificed.

the due application of the law. And in this case the law was entirely on the side of Newfoundland. Almost the first test in any question of disputed boundary in a large area of unoccupied or only partly occupied territory is the position of the watershed. For many years in International law the statement of the law was vague; yet it was appealed to with confidence, from the Oregon case downwards. When the question suddenly came up one day in the long sittings at Paris over the Venezuelan arbitration it proved quite impossible to find, or construct at short notice, a reasoned statement as to the principles involved in the law of the watershed. Not a single authority had marshalled the facts. In that case the pressure went over and the matter did not come to precise argument; partly because the evidence for the occupation of the Essequibo basin was so overwhelmingly in favour of Great Britain. But when it came to the arbitration with Brazil in 1902-4 the matter was altogether different. That acute critic, Sir Alexander Swettenham, who at the time happened to be Governor of British Guiana, had remarked several years previously on the difficulty of the Schomburgk line as against Brazil because it went beyond the watershed. So the British case in that arbitration was bound to devote itself especially to the law of the watershed—(in Chapter IX). For the first time the question was examined chronologically; the resulting statement, drafted with special care, was finally settled by the then Attorney-General. It lays down the law for all time. Broadly the principle established is this: the possession of the lower course of a river, or of a coast drained by rivers, will as a rule carry the possession of the whole basin of the river, or the hinterland of the coast, up to the watershed. Certain special exceptions do not affect the general rule. There is one general principle which materially modifies the rule: if there has been for a sufficient period continuous adverse occupation within the basin of a river, such occupation may override the *primâ facie* right of the other party to carry their boundary up to the watershed. In the particular case just referred to the statement of the law was followed by an elaborate and convincing argument based largely on Portuguese documents which proved beyond reasonable doubt the occupation required to establish the British claim to the material part of Schomburgk's line.

Just about the time that this chapter was drafted the Canadian Government were in the throes of their arbitration with the United States of America over the Alaska boundary; and the chapter was communicated to their counsel and used with effect.

Now, as between two portions of the same empire, it is hardly possible to invoke a principle of law differing from that which is applied as between nations. Indeed, the international rule should

be more strictly upheld where both parties are amenable to a common jurisdiction. As between a Canadian province and the neighbouring Colony the undisputed title to a long stretch of coast with many inlets raised a presumption that the basins of all rivers watering that coast should be reckoned as under the jurisdiction of Newfoundland as far as the watershed or height of land. Only very definite evidence of occupation by the province to the east of the height of land would avail to defeat the *primâ facie* right of the Colony. And such evidence was not forthcoming.

In fact, the evidence of occupation was all the other way. Such control as was exercised over those vast uninhabited and often inhospitable spaces came from the coast. The livyers who had their fishing establishments near the sea in the summer turned inland to the shelter of the forests in the winter: thence in the autumn the fur-trading settlers set out for their winter trapping. For protection and support, so far as it could be obtained at these distances, these men looked to the Governor of Newfoundland. Still more did they rely on the missionaries and medical men who had their base in Newfoundland—of late years mainly on the ever ready help of the Grenfell organisations. It is true that the officials from Newfoundland never got far into the country: it was hardly necessary: but from 1863 onwards there had been an honest effort at administration both as regards collection of revenue and enforcement of law.

Hardly less important were the occasional visits of the Governors of Newfoundland. Sir Hugh Palliser as far back as 1764 took a lively interest in the Labrador, but there is nothing to show that he ever went there. He was long before the days of the regular Governor, and communication at that time would be exceedingly difficult. Mr. Darling in 1856 arranged to make a visit in one of Her Majesty's ships, but beyond the Straits of Belleisle the ice, packed for miles in front of them, forbade any further progress. It was not till more recent years that a Governor actually made his way into the remoter districts of the dependency. The first to do so was the late Sir William Macgregor about twenty years ago. At that time the steam yacht *Fiona* could be made available for the Governor when he required her. Things were quiet in the Colony. So Sir William was enabled to make a long tour on the Labrador coast, going up to Cape Chidley and visiting all the Eskimo settlements under the Moravian missions. He also found his way up Hamilton Inlet as far as the outlet of the Hamilton river itself.* It was reserved, however, for a later Governor to visit officially the north shore of the inlet, and for the first time satisfy the loyalty of the Indians and half-breeds of North-West River.

It was not too easy in the years following the war for the Governor

* Sir W. Macgregor's report can be seen in the journals of the Newfoundland Legislature for 1906-7.

precisely was in the minds of the British Administration when they placed Labrador under the jurisdiction of Newfoundland, and sought to show that its ideas were absolutely vague and open to any interpretation which any party chose to put upon them. It was a clever attempt to confuse the issue; but it overlooked its own inherent weakness. Clearly, if the official mind of 1825 had left a vague definition it was necessary to cure that vagueness by resort to sound principles of law. And if at a given moment the government lay stress on the word "coast" and was primarily concerned with the regulation of fishing, it could not be assumed that it left the inland areas open to the claim of any casual newcomers. Naturally the tribunal brushed this contention aside.

An interesting aspect of a case like that of the Labrador Boundary is the amount of cartographical investigation which it entails. There has always been a tendency in such questions to rely unduly on ancient maps. But in comparatively few cases is the ancient map of any geographical value. It is doubtful whether before the maps of D'Anville in the middle of the eighteenth century there is any example of scientific cartography. The Canadian case, adopting the course sanctified by precedent put in evidence a crowd of maps which could with difficulty be brought into any relation to the issue. In boundary discussions as in other things it is well to concentrate on the relevant matter. The judgment of the Judicial Committee appreciates this, and even though the best maps of the Labrador may need adjustment on a proper survey, the line declared by the Committee, following physical features, such as lakes and streams, will abide even if latitude and longitude are slightly changed hereafter.

Behind the question which has just been decided lies that very practical question of the future development of the great territory. The idea that extensive developments are possible was indeed behind the claim of Quebec. Two great natural assets were there: one was the enormous water power concentrated in the basin of the Hamilton River, the other was the area of fir forests capable of satisfying the growing demand for more paper. The country seemed peculiarly adapted for paper-making on a large scale. Various attempts had been made to acquire concessions from both parties to the dispute. Naturally applications were first made to the Government of Newfoundland and certain areas were actually granted by them. Then Quebec began to object: they went further and began to offer concessions. The Government of Newfoundland blocked these. But the removal of the bar to obtaining a good title does not make things plain sailing. The Labrador is naturally a difficult country, the long winter is a serious handicap. It is true that Dr. Grenfell always cites it as a country of the future: but he is a remarkably enthusiastic personality, basing himself on ideals

which not everyone can attain. He has found the natives respond in a remarkable degree to sympathetic instruction, and he is enraptured by the wonderful air and exhilarating keenness of the climate. With two such factors the future seems to him assured. But we may have these factors and go on improving the one and harnessing the other; yet the frost far into the soil and the ice along the coast for some eight months of the year will tax the energies of the most enterprising concessionaires. It will take time and money to overcome difficulties of transport and ensure that regularity of output which is the life of a well-managed business.

There is another consideration which is of the first importance to the empire if an attempt is made to exploit the forests of Labrador. It will be bad economy, and it may be a serious danger, to clear large areas of forest without a proper scheme of re-forestation. In Newfoundland itself this is already a matter of anxiety: the experts of the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company (the Harmsworth administration) are finding it hard work to keep their arrangements for replanting up to a standard proportionate to the annual consumption of timber. The problem in Labrador will be still more exacting. For growth is slow: the trees ready for cutting have had many years to mature. It will profit little to denude a vast area of country for the sake of the press of Europe.

It is better to say little about minerals. There are known to be rich deposits in Ungava under Quebec; and something similar may lie buried in Labrador. But hitherto nothing is known: a deaf ear may be turned to such reports as those of three years ago: no one on the spot was deceived by them.

When development begins the question of administration becomes important. It would perhaps have been in the best interests of the Empire if in the past the responsibility for the territory had been placed directly on the Governor of Newfoundland much in the way in which the Governor-General of the Union of South Africa has been High Commissioner for certain colonies and protectorates. But the time for this is gone by. The Secretary of State for the Dominions is scarcely likely to favour the transfer of a responsibility which is or should be inherent in responsible government. So Newfoundland will do well to concert with the Home Government the wisest measures for administering on a larger scale a territory for which they have hitherto made but scant provision. Their experience in such matters is not great, but it is in their favour that their Ministers have usually been ready to accept the advice of the Home Government. They rightly prize their independence: but nowhere in the Empire is there on the whole a stronger feeling for the old country or a deeper attachment to the person of the Sovereign.

C. ALEXANDER HARRIS.

CHANGED ASPECTS OF CHINA.

IT is only during the last fifteen years that the phenomenal changes which have occurred in China have commanded the attention of the world. This is a very short time in the annals of any nation. The effect on political conditions has not yet borne the good fruit anticipated by the authors of the Revolution, but this surprises no student of history. Success, indeed, would have occasioned both surprise and admiration. Nevertheless, a new world is in process of evolution, and it is by no means merely represented by "political" activities, from which, in point of fact, the "four hundred millions" have, so far, reaped little but discomfort. Worse off than before, they still go on patiently and industriously, ploughing and sowing, marrying, breeding, dying, as of yore. But from the ports, where in restricted quarters the West has touched the East, a tonic has been supplied which has stirred thousands of Chinese students to go to the West, and stimulated the laudable ambition of a body of energetic men, mostly young, to bring their country into line with the other progressive peoples of the world.

Many of these students have lived in America, in England, and in various European countries, where they have been compelled to realise the backwardness of their own country; and they have returned determined to change the conditions in every part of it. Some of them have thrown themselves into political agitation, and these figure largely in the estimation of people here, who are naturally unaware of the larger number who are quietly pursuing other activities in research, education, law, medicine, industry and commerce.

We hear to weariness of China's ancient civilisation. One statesman has lately impressively told us once again that we were savages when the Chinese were highly civilised. I myself have probably erred on this side rather than on the other. But one must not lose a sense of proportion. The real trouble is that China's civilisation is still ancient. The proof is self-evident and not far to seek; for the leaders of thought in China are doing their utmost to modernise, perhaps ultra-modernise, their whole system of civilisation. Moreover, our statesman, in comparing one small part of Europe with the whole of China, falls into an error. If he were to compare one part of China with another during the same period he would find that China was civilised in one comparatively small locality, while the rest was still barbarian. When China had its early philosophers it was only in a very limited China, the vast remainder being as "savage" as the Europe of that day. During the same period Europe had its Greece; and the superior mentality of Greek philosophers gave Europe an incomparable advantage. Had the small

civilised states of early China evolved philosophers on the level of those of Greece, its whole civilisation might have equalled or surpassed that of Europe. There have succeeded ages of the darkest in China, as in Europe, when the candle of its civilisation was near to extinction and reversion to barbarism seemed assured; but the teaching of the ancient philosophers, there as here, has always reasserted itself.

Far be it from me to undervalue China's progress during the centuries. The wonder is that, with such modest material, so respectable a structure was erected. But if civilisation is to be measured by the output of the scientific mind, in its study of the divine laws and resources of nature and their application to human welfare, then the modern young men of China are right in regarding their ancient civilisation backward as compared with that of the West. This openly and almost universally accepted position is quite recent and gives promise of great results for universal welfare; for China, having provided valuable contributions to human progress in the past, will not be content to be a mere recipient in the future. Dr. Hu Shih, the most popular of modern scholars in China, recently stated that the Revolution of 1911 had failed because it was only destructive of a dynasty, and that the essential need of China was a spiritual revolution which would recognise that the progress of the West was not based on the material and mechanical as had generally been believed in China, but on a spiritual basis, by which he meant the scientific mind in its broadest sense. A similar idea was expressed by another of my colleagues on the Indemnity Delegation in China, Dr. V. K. Ting, a brilliant graduate of Glasgow University, whose work in the geological survey of China is of first-rate importance. He urged, as the prime necessity of China, encouragement for the cultivation of the Scientific Mind. He used the term in its widest connotation.

These are noteworthy evidences of the changed spirit at work in China. And in every part of the country which I had the opportunity of visiting I found instances of a similar spirit at work, together with a fine devotion to duty. Take the National University at Peking as a case in point; with an empty chest and stipends a year or more in arrear, the staff were still carrying on. It was as encouraging to see its hall crowded to overflowing with intelligent students as it was an honour and a pleasure to address them. Chinese colleges were rare twenty years ago, and those were generally founded on the models supplied by the mission colleges. For centuries there has been no real collegiate life in China. The nearest approach was the association together of a handful of students under a scholar learned in the Classics. Now schools have sprung up in every city, colleges abound, and of "univer-

rival military chiefs. The establishment of Labour Unions, despite their present rashness and truculence, may under wiser guidance become a valuable means for avoiding the black period of industrial slavery through which other nations have passed. There are thoughtful Chinese who welcome the aid Russia has brought into Canton in this respect. At present the Labour Unions harass us. This is not objectionable to many Chinese; indeed they enjoy it. To twist the lion's tail when its paws are tied by a vow of non-intervention is quite pleasurable and—if the lion growls so much greater the pleasure.

It is unnecessary here to discuss the political mind of China, for in this respect there has been no change. The aim of modern education has all along been the recovery of China's sovereign rights. That sovereign duties should come first is the teaching of the great sages of China as of the West, but it is no use quoting them, for they are mistakenly regarded as played out. That which could easily be acquired by an ordered Government, possessing the confidence even of its own people, is demanded while there is no one responsible to receive or safeguard it. But that is a long story. If we wore Chinese shoes and saw through Chinese spectacles we might see things differently. Perhaps interests and prejudices make us both somewhat astigmatic. Nevertheless, Mencius is not played out, for sovereign rights do necessitate sovereign duties, if only for their retention.

The mention of Chinese shoes brings me to the modern Chinese girl and young woman. She is the brightest spot on the landscape, and the most promising asset in the national life. I am not referring to the up-to-date fashionable, hotel-frequenting, cocktail-drinking, dancing, ultra-modern society creation, but to the cheery, happy, tripping school-girl. Twenty years ago almost the only girls with any education and with natural feet were the product of certain mission schools. Then nearly half the population of the country, some two hundred millions of women and girls, had crippled feet. The effect on carriage, happiness, and character is only made evident now that a new race, absolutely a new race of women, is being evolved. It is still in the freshness of its girlhood and young womanhood, but to those who are qualified to make comparison it is marvellous. The day will dawn when the women of China will appreciate the wonderful gift of freedom the West has brought to the East. If a sign be sought of progress in China perhaps the most felicitous is the signboard of the Woman's Boot Store; twenty years ago it was non-existent, now it is found in every city. Then, every woman made her "three-inch golden lilies" to cover what remained of her maimed feet. To-day, the boot store supplies her with beautifully made shoes in bewilder-

ing variety to wear over her flesh-coloured silk stockings. As to her raven locks, instead of being plastered back tightly from her brow, they now flow freely, what is left of them, in bobbed or shingled fashion like those of her Western sisters. So rapid indeed is the spread of fashion that through China and at every station in Manchuria and Siberia we never lost sight of shingled hair and silk stockings. If I am to look with admiring anxiety on the portentous changes occurring all too rapidly in the East, let me select with the profoundest admiration, not uncoupled with anxiety, the Chinese Woman's Boot Store. There goes the foot that may yet rock the cradle of half the world.

W. E. SOOTHILL.

sities " there are many scores, probably hundreds. About half-a-dozen of them are worthy of the name, which is high praise in view of their short life and inadequate means.

Libraries in the old days were almost unknown, except as private collections, which were extremely rare. To-day the library movement is making rapid strides. The "Commercial Press," which arose out of the Presbyterian Mission Press, and is probably the largest publishing house in Asia, recently opened to the reading public its magnificent library of Chinese and foreign books. Invited to the opening of this great, handsome, six-storeyed building, just erected at large cost to house the library, I stood amazed before the vast output of books in Chinese made during the short life of this Company. In Peking there now exist numerous libraries in addition to the National Library, which houses priceless treasures in buildings that no insurance company would insure, and whose treasures could never be replaced. The National University has also a fine library; and indeed every university, college and school has its library to-day, whereas such a thing was unknown a few years ago. The intellectual renaissance of China finds its most effective witness, to men of insight, in the extent and quality of its ever increasing libraries and the character of the books read. The greatest honour done to me in China was the permission specially granted to visit the Imperial Library in the closed and sealed Palace in Peking. The pleasure of handling volumes of the vast, famous, exquisitely-written Thesaurus of Chinese knowledge may readily be understood.

Another most significant change is the very large number of Chinese who now speak English. It is this factor which is transforming the social relations between Chinese and foreigners. Before the Revolution there was little intercourse between the two. This was not because of racial feeling, nor even because the Chinese family life prevented the freedom of intercourse common in the West. The fundamental difficulty was one of language. Most of those who spoke English in those days spoke the "pidgin" or business variety, and it is difficult to get heart to heart on "pidgin" English. Merchants, whether foreign or Chinese, were content to use it for business purposes with each other, friendly in spirit and conduct; but despite a certain picturesqueness it was no medium for adequate expression. Almost the only people who spoke Chinese were missionaries and consuls; and of course between them and the Chinese there was intelligent intercourse. The rest faced a wall of partition, which left them with little interest in each other beyond the common link of the dollar. One of the chief British bankers in China deplored to me this fact and put the blame as much on the British as on the Chinese. "The fact is we have

in the past been too damned uninterested in each other," he said with emphasis. But how could there be interest through "pidgin English"? As to Chinese, which needs to be learnt young, it is not yet part of our school curriculum! In reality, the one thing lacking was an elastic medium of expression. That has now come, less in the British business resident learning Chinese than in the Chinese learning English. The phenomenon has arisen that many of them to-day, in their own country, are as well acquainted with English literature and other subjects as many of their British and American guests. This is a change of first-rate importance and will ultimately work for better understanding, because in China there is at bottom little racial feeling on either side among the educated classes. The cleavage, where it exists, is not so much vertical, between the two races, as horizontal, similar types in both nations forming an élite in their educated tastes.

The development of large Chinese business houses, and the many and splendid modern banks that have been erected in the places that I visited, are another noteworthy sign of the times. The great increase in the number and extent of the Chinese mercantile houses tempts some people to anticipate the day when the Chinese will capture all the trade and invade the West by setting up their establishments for the exchange of commodities here. But I am not unduly impressed by alarmists, for increasing trade and the advent of Chinese wholesale houses here are not likely to eliminate the foreign merchant from China. The greater the increase in trade the greater should be the opportunity for all. And this development seems likely to result, unless or until the middleman is absorbed in the, as yet, utopian system of international barter. Certain it is that when China has an ordered Government the volume of trade will enormously increase, especially when specific economic developments take place. It will be equally to the advantage of China and ourselves that there should be the freest possible interchange of goods.

The modern industrial evolution of the country is still in its infancy and its growth has been checked by political instability, but it has already brought into being a new set of conditions fraught with serious dangers. The terribly long hours of work, female and child labour, the rising cost of living, insanitary surroundings and overcrowded dwellings, are a source of anxiety to the humane employer and onlooker. The inquiry made by Dame Adelaide M. Anderson led the Shanghai Municipal Council to attempt the amelioration of conditions, but the worst of them are outside the control of that Council. Something has been done, but nothing really effective is possible to meet the situation in China as a whole until a settled government takes the place of

GEORGE ELIOT,* 1809-1880.

<i>Scenes of Clerical Life</i>	1857
<i>Adam Bede</i>	1859
<i>The Mill on the Floss</i>	1860
<i>Silas Marner</i>	1861
<i>Romola</i>	1863
<i>Felix Holt</i>	1866
<i>The Spanish Gypsy</i>	1868
<i>Middlemarch</i>	1871-2
<i>The Legend of Jubal and Other Poems</i> ...	1874
<i>Daniel Deronda</i>	1876
<i>Impressions of Theophrastus Such</i>	1879

THE lovers of George Eliot's novels, who are to be found in their thousands scattered up and down what is left to us of the English countryside she loved so well, and the "unmarketable beauty" of which she has described with such intimate delight, cannot but feel grateful to Miss Haldane for having given them so extensive a survey of the works, both in prose and verse, of so great a writer. Amidst the clash and clangour of our modern output of novels, redolent as they are of the age, and symptomatic of so much that cannot fail to add interest and excitement to the ever-increasing horde of readers, all born in the twentieth century, —and, for the most part, despite the new actuarial tables, doomed to die in it—the appearance of so solid a book about an author so unmistakably mid-Victorian as George Eliot is at first sight a little startling and, perhaps, a risky undertaking.

The risk George Eliot runs at this moment is of being "squeezed out" between the "Classics," who have attained their centenaries, and the productions of the living crew of novelists of both sexes and great fecundity. These last-mentioned works monthly take the field in their hundreds, and whilst still in their "jackets" are proclaimed by their publishers (no longer content to wait, and why should they? for the voice of doom to be pronounced in batches of twenty, in the columns of the Press) as being veritable masterpieces destined for immortality. It is consequently not an easy task that Miss Haldane has taken upon herself. It is not very difficult nowadays to write more or less intelligently about *Clarissa* and *Tom Jones*, the *Waverley Novels*, Miss Austen, and Thomas Love Peacock, for their original admirers are all (saving the one exception of *Gryll Grange*, which was not published until 1861) either lapped in lead or otherwise disposed of, whilst in the meantime a host of critics have delivered what they think to be final judgments upon these distinguished writers. But this is not yet the case with the author of *Silas Marner* and *Middlemarch*, for there are many men

* *George Eliot and Her Times*. By Elizabeth S. Haldane. Hodder and Stoughton.

and women who flatter themselves they are still in their prime who can recall the pleasant days when the rival claims of Mrs. Gaskell, Mrs. Oliphant and of that vigorous and pertinacious author, Anthony Trollope, with those of George Eliot were hotly contested over innumerable supper-tables.

At the particular date we have in mind—say, the late sixties and the early seventies of the last century—Dickens and Thackeray were well-established fames, but without the facile charms of new ideas, whilst George Meredith, the exact literary contemporary of George Eliot, was still a murky star barely above the horizon. Miss Haldane seems disposed to believe that now in 1927 her heroine has established her pre-eminence over both Mrs. Gaskell and Mrs. Oliphant, to whom she refers as "less well-equipped authors," but that very word "equipment" makes us a little uneasy. Harness sometimes is too heavy and proves an impediment to the free action of the beast between the shafts.

And what about Trollope? In my young days, I lived in a family of novel readers, old and young; amongst those who remembered the appearances of the later "Waverleys," and were not disposed to fling even *The Caxtons* into the fire; but with us youngsters, Trollope and George Eliot were "test" authors. Did any stray visitor, in complete ignorance of the ordeal she (it was usually a "she"), was running, say, lightly enough perhaps, that she preferred *Rachel Ray* to *Silas Marner*, down she toppled into the lowest depths of Insensibility, for at that time we children all belonged to the clan Eliot. But next door our visitor might as likely as not have suffered no such humiliation, and to-day—who can decide the point in issue? Whole families are "Trolloping" at the same time, whilst George Eliot is for the moment left somewhat severely alone.

Comparative criticism, like Mr. Casaubon's Comparative Mythology, is a dangerous pastime. There are still Mr. Carps and Mr. Tenches in colleges and at editors' desks, ready to fall on hasty judgments pronounced in the absence of any code of stereotyped authority. Miss Haldane has acted wisely in giving us a general survey of all her author's works, whether good, not so good, or even bad. It is, we know, a moot point, but for my part, when once I have taken a writer to my heart, I want to read everything he is known to have written. If a good novelist, for example, is said to have written a bad novel I want to read it, and judge for myself how bad it is, and also to try and fit its badness into some chink or corner of its author's mind or character; nor should I expect to find much difficulty in doing so.

It is, however, true that a general survey of an author's work of necessity involves a good deal of biography, and biography and

criticism often get in each other's way, and sometimes trip each other up. In pure criticism you may have too much of biography; and particularly is this so in the case of poetry. The less you know of the details of a poet's life so much the better is your chance of enjoying the magic of his verse. But apart from great poets, a scanty band at best, it must be admitted that in the case of a favourite prose author, and particularly in the case of a writer who has woven his webs out of human lives, has portrayed characters that have made us laugh and weep over their loves and follies, even their absurdities and crimes, their ruinous mistakes and amazing recoveries, it cannot altogether be an ignoble curiosity to wish to find out, if we decently can, what sort of a mess this author of ours managed to make of his own life. Miss Haldane has blended critical exposition and biography with skill and judgment, and has thereby succeeded in imparting a sense of the drama of an individual life that prevents her volume being merely a book about books.

George Eliot's life divides itself easily into parts. First, a childhood spent in a genuine country-side, amidst sights and sounds, stock live and dead, farms, barns, hedgerows, parsons, veterinary surgeons, horse-dealers, doctors, auctioneers, not forgetting village publicans and parish clerks, which more than any other things or persons made and moulded the author she was destined to become; although she had to wait thirty-seven years before she wrote a line worth republishing. We are told that there is good reason to believe that her mother, who died early, had a good deal of Mrs. Poyser about her; and we may feel sure that Caleb Garth is a character-sketch of her father; whilst her brother Isaac, the weight of whose disapprobation she had to put up with for more than half a century (in fact, until the day when she was led to the altar in St. George's, Hanover Square, and became for the first time a legal wife), was without any shadow of a doubt Tom Tulliver. How much of Maggie Tulliver there was in Mary Anne Evans each of her admirers must determine for himself. If ever man or woman was dominated by "backward-going" thoughts it was George Eliot. When she is looking forwards her thoughts are dashed with gloom, for despite all her painful efforts she found faith in Humanity as hard to hold as the creed of Christendom, but when she looks back her low spirits revive—she becomes positively joyous, and "dances with the daffodils." The last book of hers published in her life-time, *Theophrastus Such* (1879) contains, among other things of curious interest which are none the worse for occasionally recalling Johnson's *Rambler*, a few pages entitled *Looking Backward* that bind up in a short compass the essential spirit of George Eliot from the cradle to the grave. It is true autobiography.

Her second part begins when in the circumstances Miss Haldane

sufficiently details she lost the rustic faith of the midland pastures and had to pack up and depart:

It irk'd her to be here, she could not rest!
She loved each simple joy the country yields,
She loved her mates, but yet she could not keep,
For that a shadow lower'd on the fields
Here with the shepherds and the silly sheep.

After a while in Coventry she came to London in 1851, and led a dim and perhaps dangerous life earning her bread by translations and magazine articles. Her companions were quasi-philosophers and dingy if not disreputable publishers, residing in or off the Strand. It was a dismal prospect. Who was to be the Perseus to rescue this middle-aged Andromeda from her barren rock? Perseus took the somewhat bizarre shape of the man to whom English literature owes much, not only for what he wrote himself, but for what he suggested and encouraged his Andromeda, released from her prison, to write for the world, George Henry Lewes. Perseus, owing to domestic mishaps, was not in a position to marry, and so in the true spirit of Browning's fine poem *Youth and Art*, he persuaded Miss Evans to give Herbert Spencer and Chapman the cut direct and "join hands and fortunes" with him; and off they went together to Germany in the summer of 1854.

Neither the one nor the other were youthful lovers, but whatever may have been their joint ages they made as well consorted a pair as ever were joined together in the bonds of matrimony. Perseus had three fine boys who found in George Eliot the wisest and best of step-mothers, and but for the missing wedding-ring a more respectable match was never made in Bloomsbury. George Eliot knew very well what she was doing, and it was not at all to her mind. She hated shocking people, and she knew that her only brother Isaac would be shocked, but "keener far to feel" she knew her father would have been shocked had he been alive. I am sure in later days if she ever read Sir George Trevelyan's amusing lines describing how young ladies of the time were

"Still by stern domestic edict, charged on no account to read
Any of Miss Brontë's novels, or to finish *Adam Bede*,"

not a ghost of a smile crossed her solemn countenance. She had nothing of the rebel in her constitution. George Henry was no doubt a very different creature, but even he, in his novel *Blanche Rose and Violet* (three vols., 1848)—a novel which we admit is not quite as good a one as we would have wished it to be, but still a novel it is quite possible to read, and one which is by no means forgotten as Miss Haldane too hastily assumes—even Mr. Lewes, in this novel of his, which George Eliot must surely have read and pondered over,

dwells with force and feeling upon the social inconveniences and moral disadvantages of "irregular relations," and rings the changes on them with the pertinacity of the period. The quarter of a century George Eliot spent under Lewes' fostering care was her *third* stage; and it was, as we all know, during this stage of her life that she produced the books which have made her famous. But for Lewes there would have been no George Eliot.

Her last stage, a very short one, begins with Lewes' death in November, 1878. In May, 1880, she married Mr. J. W. Cross in church, with the warm approval of the now aged Thomas Tulliver, and died in Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, on the 22nd of November, 1880. In the following February her near neighbour, but no great friend, Carlyle, passed into the divine silences he had so frequently invoked. It was the end of an epoch.

The careful reader of Miss Haldane's book can hardly fail to notice a slight under-current of something almost approaching irritation that George Eliot was not an ardent political or social reformer, and that even her pet radical, Felix Holt, was little better than a Liberal Conservative, and would nowadays have no chance of becoming a Trade Unionist member of Parliament. Miss Haldane's instinct is a true one. In the realm of Thought George Eliot was a daughter of the Revolution, but in the world of politics and social progress she loved stability and hated convulsions. At times in her severe self-examinations she blames herself for what she calls her "well-fed lazy mood;" but when sitting in her chair by the fireside she looks backwards and sees in the mind's eye the tiled roofs of cottage and homestead, the long cowshed where generations of the milky mothers have stood patiently, the broad-shouldered barn where the old-fashioned flail once made resonant music, why then—the spirit of repose creeps over her, and she is content like the cow to stand still chewing the cud of peaceful memories and quiet lives. It is not altogether without significance that George Eliot's favourite animal was the cow!

On the other side of the account, Miss Haldane, we think, makes too little of the revolution in George Eliot's religious opinions. Brought up as she was in the Evangelical doctrines of the Church of England, as those doctrines were understood in country places *circa* 1815, and adopting them as she at once did with all their phraseology, with pious zeal, it might well have been anticipated, considering her temperament, that she would have been found travelling the path trod by so many of her female contemporaries and becoming "High Church" and an early communicant. But this was not to be. The road to sacramentarianism seems to have been blocked by a book which she is reported to have "gulped down in reptile fashion," Mr. Isaac Taylor's once well-known Treatise in

two volumes, 1839, *Ancient Christianity and the Doctrines of the Oxford Tracts*. Many hundreds of young people followed George Eliot's example, and found in this book a powerful counterblast to the cry of "Back to the Fathers." Taylor was essentially a Christian author, and though we can well believe that his book, greedily devoured, stopped the way to "Church Principles," George Eliot's Evangelicalism fell away from her by other processes.

Miss Haldane demurs to the severity of Lord Acton's judgment, "George Eliot is a perfect atheist." But why tremble at a word! From Acton's point of view George Eliot, who found God inconceivable and immortality unbelievable, was an atheist, and hence his lordship's puzzlement as to how she came by her morality, so far above that of Popes and Cardinals. Reconciliation between opposites may be desirable in the interests of peace and quiet, but it will not be attained by too copious doses of ambiguous phrases, and any attempt to represent George Eliot as a Christian writer is to be deprecated. It may well be that George Eliot had a religious nature, but as Mr. Herbert Paul once wrote,* it does not follow that because a man's nature is essentially religious, his theology should be a matter of comparatively little moment. These considerations are perhaps beside the mark, for if George Eliot once again, like Trollope, recovers her great popularity, it will be by the strength and humour and growth of the characters she has created, and not by her efforts to explain the mysteries of Life and Being. Profundity, next to Simplicity, is the best gift of God, but has been sparsely distributed among His creatures.

Fifty years ago I was in Russia, and on arriving at Moscow I was told that the same night I was to sit next at dinner to a Finnish lady. I felt alarmed, but my fears vanished when I was introduced to a charming creature who spoke English and insisted on doing so all the evening. After a while we found ourselves talking (just as if we were in Bayswater) about George Eliot's novels, and on my asking her which of them was her favourite, and on her replying *The Mill on the Floss*, I remarked that I thought this was a little odd because I should have supposed that the three aunts, Glegg, Pullett and Tulliver, were such essentially provincial English women that no foreigner could take much pleasure in their minute differences. "You are utterly wrong," exclaimed my Finn. "In Finland I have three aunts who are only known in the family as Aunt Glegg, Aunt Pullet and Aunt Tulliver." It is by the characters they have created and not by the philosophies they have propounded that dead novelists "rule us from their urns." It may be true that no book, not even a novel, is really a good book unless it contains a philosophy within its leaves, but this necessary

* *Men and Letters*. John Lane. 1901.

ingredient is a philosophy of life and growth, and not a philosophy of the schools.

It has struck many people to-day that it was very curious that there ever should have been any doubt in men's minds as to the sex of George Eliot, for to us motherhood seems stamped on almost every page. What a fine maternal touch is that which occurs in the *Legend of Jubal*, where after telling us how all the babies born after the first murder bore upon their bodies the mark or brand of Cain, she adds the line :

"And every Mother held the little Symbol dear."

George Eliot, who was the most truthful of women, says in a letter quoted by Miss Haldane that she had never borne a child. This is conclusive, though it destroys a tradition once held by many who were not gossip-mongers ; but though George Eliot's "dream-children" are amongst the most authentic of their tribe in the world of imagination, they may be left there without further surmise. After all, was it not a man and a bachelor who wrote the essay *Dream Children* ; was it not an old maid, his sister, who wrote stories about children far beyond the capacity of most of the Mrs. Quiverfull's in our libraries of fiction ?

In bringing these desultory remarks on Miss Haldane's book to a conclusion one is almost impelled by the pressure of human imbecility to ask the ridiculous question, "Who now reads George Eliot?" just as ten years ago the question was being asked "Who now reads Trollope?" More than a hundred and fifty years ago no less celebrated a man and voracious a reader than Edmund Burke asked contemptuously "Who now reads Bolingbroke?" It ought not to be difficult to avoid such pitfalls. Great writers are not so readily dismissed, even though they may go out of fashion for a season. At this moment *Paradise Lost* in a Russian prose translation is enjoying a great popularity in that country. This we must admit is hard to believe, but there is much better authority for the statement than for many other statements about Russia that find ready credence in the House of Commons.

In French translations George Eliot had for a considerable time great popularity abroad, but her novels seem to have gone out of fashion there much about the same time as they did here at home ; but to-day there are signs of a renewal of interest. M. Albert Thibaudet lately in the *Nouvelle Revue Française* gave his numerous readers a general estimate of George Eliot's novels that attracted considerable attention ; whilst on M. Edmund Jaloux making it known that Marcel Proust had declared he found himself more at home in the novels of George Eliot and in those of Dostoeffsky than in those of any other author, and that he especially

commended both these novelists for the way in which their characters grow under their hands as the book proceeds (e.g., Dorothea Brooke and Lydgate are not the same Dorothea or the same Lydgate at the end of *Middlemarch* as they were at the beginning) why then, of course, young France woke up, and set about making inquiries on her own account.

And here in England where M. Ramon Fernandez is making a peregrination among all our universities, old and young, north, south, east and west, in order to find out for himself how intimately our young barbarians are becoming acquainted with the French language and literature, he has provided himself with a series of lectures on French and English authors, for purposes of comparison, and has included George Eliot in his list.

We congratulate Miss Haldane on her choice of subject, and commend her book both to those who know George Eliot and to those who have yet to make the acquaintance of so great a writer.

AUGUSTINE BIRRELL.

towards the end of the lease to be niggardly in his expenditure on maintenance and repairs. He knows that in a short time the property will pass into the hands of a ground landlord, and it is no longer to his interest to keep the property in good condition. There are thousands of houses in London which are absolutely out of date in design and utility. They are held under the leasehold system with only a short unexpired term, and there is no encouragement to spend money to fit them for modern requirements. Or restrictive covenants imposed by the lessor have made it impossible for tenants to develop their property in accordance with changing circumstances and new opportunities. Such covenants govern both building and user. The lessor requires that his consent shall be obtained to any alteration or improvements of the premises. Such consent is often refused, or is only granted on condition that a fine is paid as well as an increased rent, even though the landlord is going to reap the benefit of the improved building.

Lessees lack security and have no right to renew their leases at the end of the term. Buildings and improvements are appropriated without compensation at the end of a lease. Undoubtedly, the lessee made the bargain with the full knowledge that this would be the case, but in many districts owners of land will sell no freehold, and the person needing a house in which to live is compelled to take the land on lease on such terms as he can get. Many instances were given before the Select Committee on Business Premises (1920) including one where a tradesman purchased a lease with seven years unexpired, at £60 a year rent. At the expiry of the lease he was granted a renewal for twenty-one years at £85 a year rent subject to his spending £3,000 on improvements. Four years before this lease expired he asked for a renewal, but was unable to obtain one on any terms. The landlord was willing to sell the freehold, and asked £3,700. The lessee pointed out that the outside value was £1,600 or £1,700. The owner's solicitors then wrote as follows: "It must be remembered that you are not only obtaining the property itself, but are acquiring the goodwill of an old established business." (From Q.912.) The goodwill created by the lessee is not only lost to him but may be sold by the lessor to a rival in business of the lessee. The system of charging for dilapidations at the end of a lease, even when the buildings are to be pulled down, is unfair and sometimes extortionate. There are also costs and fees to be paid in connection with the many transactions made necessary by the lease. All these things together make the prices charged for leasehold premises prohibitive. It is an Old Man of

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Conditions have been improved in certain respects by recent Acts: e.g., The Leasehold Enfranchisement of Places of Worship (1920), The Housing and Town Planning Act, 1919. The various Restriction of Rents Acts have limited the landlords' powers to increase rent in certain cases, and a tenant coming within the Act, whose tenancy has expired, can retain the premises as a statutory tenant. These Acts are only temporary, and unless there is fresh legislation or an extension of time, they are due to expire at the end of the current year.

The Law of Property Act already referred to which came into force on January 1st, 1926 (Sec. 84) provides for the revision, and in appropriate cases for the removal of restrictive covenants where they have become unnecessary or vexatious owing to the alteration of the character of the neighbourhood. This only applies, however, to leases originally granted for seventy years or more of which fifty years have expired.

In reforming the leasehold system public interest and convenience must come first. Private interests must not stand in the way of public improvements. But subject to that the leaseholder of a dwelling house should have reasonable security for his home and the leaseholder of business premises should be in such a position that the covenants of his lease do not operate to fetter his trade. He should be free to exercise to the full his enterprise and initiative for the development of his business. Leaseholders should be entitled to the improvements and goodwill they themselves have created and to the renewal of their leases or reasonable terms.

Is there any demand for compulsory and universal leasehold enfranchisement? It is obvious that many tenants do not want to purchase their freehold. When the ground rents are put on the market they make no attempt to secure them. The occupiers of small property are often unable, or do not wish, to become their own landlords. Occupiers of business premises rarely desire to invest the necessary capital in the purchase of their freehold.

Would compulsory enfranchisement in a restricted sense—that it should be compulsory for the landlord to sell if the tenant desired it—be in the interests of the community? It has been suggested that a tenant's right of enfranchisement would create new evils in

LEASEHOLD ENFRANCHISEMENT.

"Proposals will also be made for an amendment of the law relating to leasehold premises so as to secure to an out-going tenant compensation for the loss of his good-will and unexhausted improvements."

(King's Speech, February 8th, 1927.)

SINCE the Law of Property Act, 1925, which came into force on January 1st, 1926, property in land is either an interest in fee simple or for a term of years. The right of a person possessing a term of years is popularly called a leasehold interest.

The fundamental difference between leasehold and freehold tenure is that under any leasehold system the lessee does not own the land and is not the owner of the buildings erected thereon, even if he himself has erected them. His interest in both land and buildings ceases at the end of the lease. The landowner resumes his interest in the land and the buildings on it. Leaseholds have always been and still are personal property and are usually called "chattels real." An estate in fee simple (freehold) is a perpetual interest in land which after the death of each tenant vests in his personal representative for the benefit of the person to whom he has devised it by will or of the person entitled to his property on intestacy. By common consent the leaseholder has a claim upon the legislature for a reasonable protection beyond that given him by the express terms of his contract. It is a very real fact that land is a monopoly. It is limited in quantity. It does not owe its existence to man but it is essential for man's existence. It is owing to these facts that landlords have been and are able to impose upon leaseholders conditions which place their efforts and their fortunes at the mercy of the landlord.

The claims of the leaseholder to the protection of the legislature are twofold: (a), he asks for a right to renew an expiring lease on fair terms, (b), he asks for a share at least in the added value which he may create in the property he holds. The leaseholder should be able to renew his lease at a fair rent. He should have a right to compensation for the value of improvements which he himself has made. He should be compensated for disturbance and removal if a renewal is not granted. He should be able to improve or assign property held on lease without being mulcted in fines or increased rent, and it should be possible for him to obtain the modification or abolition of covenants that have become obsolete or onerous, and he should have a statutory right in certain cases to purchase the

freehold. The tradesman lessee should also enjoy the right to compensation for the loss of business goodwill attaching to the premises by reason of his enterprise, if his lease is not renewed. The lament of the leaseholder has long been heard in the land, but no one has come to his aid. The reforms indicated in the King's speech are long overdue. Undoubtedly the small shopkeeper ought to be protected and the improvements and increased values which he has created should by right be his and his alone. But the small shopkeeper is not an influential factor in our social life: taken in the main his voting strength is small.

The leasehold system has few, if any, defenders. The injustices and abuses arising from it are either due to the system itself or arise from the opportunities given by the system. It is necessary therefore to distinguish between the natural consequences of the system and the harsh use of powers given by it. The latter can be remedied without abolishing; the former demands either a change in the system or its abolition. Shall it be ended or mended? Apart from the hardships to the leaseholders which the system involves, is the system on the whole for or against the interest of the community? There are certain definite advantages claimed for the leasehold system: (1), Where building leases are granted and the control is in the hands of one person or his successors he usually insists on a reasonable layout. (2), When properties let on lease revert to the freeholder simultaneously, he has an opportunity of rebuilding on a uniform plan and, thus improving his property in a way that would be impossible under separate ownership. (3), The system enables persons who wish to use land for building to avoid capital expenditure on the land itself. (4), Such buildings not only have to comply with local by-laws but they have to satisfy the surveyor of the lessor whose interest it is that they shall be well and substantially built. But these advantages can be achieved just as easily under a proper application and a rigorous enforcement of the Town Planning Acts, and in practice it is just as easy for a person desiring to build to finance a freehold scheme as to finance a leasehold one.

The disadvantages of the leasehold system as compared with freehold ownership may be summed up in one word—slavery as opposed to freedom—a century of petty, irritating restrictions and covenants, fines and licences, fussiness and interference, to set against an opportunity secured at the end of the century for a generous scheme of re-building. In one respect, however, the leasehold system militates against the ordered beauty of our public streets. The holder of a building lease has an inevitable tendency

towards the end of the lease to be niggardly in his expenditure on maintenance and repairs. He knows that in a short time the property will pass into the hands of a ground landlord, and it is no longer to his interest to keep the property in good condition. There are thousands of houses in London which are absolutely out of date in design and utility. They are held under the leasehold system with only a short unexpired term, and there is no encouragement to spend money to fit them for modern requirements. Or restrictive covenants imposed by the lessor have made it impossible for tenants to develop their property in accordance with changing circumstances and new opportunities. Such covenants govern both building and user. The lessor requires that his consent shall be obtained to any alteration or improvements of the premises. Such consent is often refused, or is only granted on condition that a fine is paid as well as an increased rent, even though the landlord is going to reap the benefit of the improved building.

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place of the old, that the haphazard enfranchisement of leaseholders would prevent such ordered schemes for rebuilding as are now proceeding on the Crown Estates in London. But is a leasehold system heavily weighted against the lessee really necessary to enable an estate to be rebuilt at the end of ninety-nine years? The Town Planning Acts can be made a far greater safeguard of the public interest when the time comes for rebuilding. There must be an extension of these Acts to enable Public Authorities to consider their future requirements as well as their present needs. That coupled with the energetic application of the powers they now possess would more than compensate for the loss of all the advantages said to be inherent in the leasehold system.

The Bill foreshadowed by the King's Speech is limited to securing compensation for the loss of goodwill and unexhausted improvements to the out-going tenants. There is no reference to the renewal of leases, restrictive covenants, enfranchisement, dilapidations.

A Bill introduced in the House of Commons by Major Goronwy Owen on February 23rd, 1927, which passed its first reading without a division, offers a radical solution of the leaseholders' difficulties. Under the provisions of the Bill the Tribunal already established by the Acquisition of Land Act, 1919, would be empowered to deal with any applications either by the landlord or the tenant for the adjustment of agreements or the settlement of disputes on the terms of the tenancy between the two parties. This Tribunal should consist of arbitrators selected from a panel drawn up by a reference committee composed of the Lord Chief Justice, the Master of the Rolls, and the President of the Surveyor's Institution. This Tribunal is wider and more elastic than the one under the Acquisition of Land Act which consists of only one person.

Subject to certain restrictions in the public interest the leaseholders of dwelling houses would have a right of compulsory enfranchisement on application to the Leaseholds Tribunal. It would be the duty of the Tribunal to make an order for the sale by the landlord to the tenant of his interest in the property if certain conditions are satisfied. These conditions are that the enfranchisement of the property would not conflict with public interest; that the property is residential and is occupied by the lessee or some member of his family or by a sub-tenant on a short term agreement. That the tenant owns the building lease or a lease for a term of not less than twenty-one years. When the Tribunal declines to order

enfranchisement, a lessee can apply for protection in the form of a compulsory renewal of tenancy. Apart from dwelling houses lessees of other kinds of property would have a right to apply to the Tribunal for enfranchisement or for such adjustment of the terms of the tenancy, whether renewal, release or otherwise, as may seem fair to the Tribunal. If the Tribunal decides to accord to a lessee the right of compulsory purchase of his freehold it may exercise its discretion as to the method of payment, and may rule that instead of a capital payment there should be a perpetual rent or an annual payment for a term of years.

In reference to improvements the lessor would not have power to impose a fine or demand increased rent. If consent is refused the lessee would be able to appeal to the Tribunal, which may authorise the alteration if it is in the public interest. Any new improvement ought to be the property of the tenant at whose expense it has been made, and he should be compensated for any unexpired value on the termination of his tenancy. The Tribunal would arbitrate in case of dispute.

On the expiry of a contract of tenancy, the tenant would have a statutory right to a renewal subject to the provision that a refusal of the renewal may be upheld by the Tribunal if the landlord requires the premises for personal occupation or for a member of his family or for redevelopment or reconstruction; also if the site is required by a public authority or the tenant has proved undesirable. If a renewal is refused on one of these grounds the outgoing tenant would have a right to compensation for loss of goodwill and the unexpired value of any improvements created by him. If on renewal an increased rent is demanded the Tribunal would have power to decide what the rent should be, to be fair to both parties considering all the circumstances.

The Tribunal would have power to disallow any claim in respect of repairs or dilapidations that exceed the actual loss sustained by the landlord through the tenant's neglect. There would be a set-off against such claims in the unexpired value of the tenant's improvements.

Whenever there is a dispute as to the assignment of a lease the Tribunal has to have power to authorise the lessee to assign or dispose of his lease to a suitable third party, notwithstanding any clause to the contrary. Where such an assignment has been carried out with the authority of either the landlord or the Tribunal the former leaseholder is discharged of all obligations under the covenant he has thus transferred without either fine or forfeit being enforceable against him. Where a tenant has inadvertently assigned a lease

without permission and thus acted in breach of a leasehold covenant the Tribunal has discretion to decide whether to release the tenant from forfeiture of his tenure and to substitute such an instruction and/or compensation to indemnify the landlord against any loss or depreciation he might otherwise incur.

Finally the Tribunal is given power to deal with all restrictive covenants by modification or annulment as it deems wise. The Tribunal would, we may hope, hold the scales of justice evenly as between the lessor and the lessee, the landlord and the tenant. In the past the leaseholder has not had a fair deal. Major Goronwy Owen's proposals would go a long way towards giving the leaseholder everything which the most oppressed or dissatisfied tenant would desire.

But the ground landlords of London are a powerful body and their objections to any such proposals will be substantial and not easily silenced.

CHARLES A. MCCURDY.

CHRIST, THE UNIVERSE AND HUMAN LIFE.

CHRISTIANITY is, in its ideal, the highest, the final, the absolute Religion. It is so for the following reasons. It is the transcendent end of a long process of spiritual development which, while special, is organically related to the religious progress of mankind. It recognises, assimilates and unifies the facts of history, the deepest spiritual needs and the intuitive deliverances of faith in a supreme satisfaction of them all. It throws out diverse factors and principles as sufficient bases for all the manifold activities of human life. It constrains every other religion with which it comes in contact to select for emphasis its points of affinity with Christianity as the condition of its surviving the contact. It so welds Divinity with Humanity as to make religion at once Mystic and Moral, Rational and Humane. In particular, its doctrines of the Incarnation and the Spirit satisfy the craving for union with God, while its doctrines of Sin, Atonement and Redemption enable it to satisfy that craving, not by the suppression, but by the heightening and deepening of those sterner demands, without which spiritual aspirations and moral veracity would fall apart. Any alternative to it that has been proposed represents either such an evacuated version of it as will satisfy religiosity, or the selection of such particular elements of it as, when furnished with a mundane or subjective foundation, may supply the utilitarian necessities of special moral and social concerns. On the plane of Religion Christianity can never be superseded, because it gives an account of Reality, of which the only criticism is that it is too good to be true. It does so under the highest conceivable doctrine of God—His Fatherhood as revealed in Christ—and under the highest spiritual principle, that of the Sovereignty of Love, as exemplified in Christ. On this foundation it rears a spiritual structure in which the highest Mysticism is combined with the widest catholicity, in which the loftiest inspiration is united with the highest standards and the most far-reaching obligations of practical life.

And yet in spite of, or rather because of, all this, the Christian Religion has never been adequately apprehended, as the differences and divisions of Christians show. Its meaning has never been fully realised and practised, and it has never become prevalent throughout the world. In face of the past history and the present conditions of mankind, those who are insufficiently aware of the inevitable slowness and costliness of spiritual progress impatiently ask why, if Christianity be true, is the result, judged by the standards set by Christianity itself, so disappointing. Is not the present situation in itself a proof that Christianity has failed to substantiate its claims?

This objection raises a much deeper and more searching question. Is the Spirit of the Universe, if the term may be allowed, Christian at all, or is not the Ascension of Christ, and with it His universal Sovereignty, an insubstantial, though a beautiful, myth? Are not the survival values, rooted in man's animal nature and physical relations, more powerful than the spiritual and moral forces that seek to transform them? Do not physical necessities, acting through the instincts and desires of man, control the necessarian action of his will? Do not the physical forces that have determined the evolution of the Universe and of man maintain the balance of the world at their own level, alike by internal domination of human nature, and by external thwarting of any illusory efforts to break free from them? Is human history, in fine, anything more than a harassed and impotent episode in the infinite and spiritually aimless activities of the Universe?

The tendency to take this view, which rests upon a materialist philosophy, is strengthened by the exaggeration of the conception of "the struggle for existence" and "the survival of the fittest" as governing evolution, accompanied by imaginative and sentimental exaggerations of the horrors that attend the process. It is assisted by the crude doctrine of the sovereign will of the Almighty, often presented by Christians as though it were the highest and last word of Theology. It has become widespread owing to the dramatic exposure of this Theology by the catastrophe of the Great War and by the chaotic disturbances that have followed it.

Associated with this general outlook is the habit of regarding the Universe as an external and self-contained whole apart from men, and, therefore, to explain and indict it without taking account of its evocative and provocative influence on spiritual and moral life. Then this abstract Universe is judged by Hedonist standards. From this standpoint its severity is condemned as cruelty, by separating it from its effect in producing character, or indeed by treating the production of character as either a side issue, or even as a disagreeable demand. Then the existing order is conceived as a static entity, and not as a process towards an ultimate ideal, which throws back the anticipation of its final attainment for the present spiritual satisfaction of those who strive to advance it. On this view all human effort, if it is to be beneficent, should be within kindergarten limits and not call mankind to the solidarity of a great, concerted and prolonged adventure, as essential to their present as well as to their ultimate well-being. Ignoring or denying man's presentiment and presupposition of immortality, the Universe is to be completely justified or condemned within the fixed yet transient limits of earthly life. Everything is evil that constrains man to realise his immortality as the goal of his existence. And, finally, the risks and acci-

dents that are inherent in any system that is to culminate in human freedom, in victorious faith and effort, and in expectations that transcend earthly conditions, are regarded not only as inexplicable mysteries, but as unjustifiable enormities.

As the impression produced by the War fades and the demand for economic reconstruction comes to occupy the foreground of men's concern, the question of the relation of Christ to economic interests and possibilities presses for an answer. Before dealing with the larger issue that has just been raised and as a preparation for considering it, brief consideration must be given to the economic problem. In regard to this, the Bishop of Durham, in a recent article on "Religion and Economics" (*Edinburgh Review*, October, 1926), declares, in criticising the point of view of C.O.P.E.C. and similar movements, "The economic factor waxes, the moral factor declines, as the history of civilised society is more closely studied. 'Faith does not remove mountains in the economic sphere. Its victories are won in the sphere of the spirit.' By multiplying good Christians society will be Christianised, and in no other way."

These statements raise three questions:

1. To what extent have spiritual and moral influences direct and effective play in establishing, and in transforming, the economic situation?
2. In so far as they have not such effective play, can the hard conditions of human life be justified on Christian grounds?
3. And, in particular, can the fact that economic well-being can only be reached, if ever, as the result of a prolonged and arduous process, instead of being guaranteed as a starting-point, be so justified?

As to the first point, it would appear that Dr. Hensley Henson makes exactly the same mistake in regard to Economics as pessimist Materialists make about the Universe as a whole: namely, he treats the economic sphere as a concrete and self-contained whole, out of any truly organic relations to human personalities. In reality, it is extremely complex and depends upon many elements, some of which are clearly modifiable, and are indeed constantly being modified, by spiritual influences. Speaking in general terms the economic situation is determined by the following factors:

- (1) The fixed, or only gradual changing, physical constitution of the Universe in general, and of the earth in particular. This includes the domains of astronomy, physics, and chemistry, of geology and mineralogy, geographical and climatic conditions, seasonal processes, the laws and limitations of vegetable and animal life, both in themselves and in their relations to the inorganic world.
- (2) The, at present unpredictable and unpreventable disturbances, caused, for example, by the catastrophic convulsions of nature, by failure of harvests, pestilences, and the like.

sphere is substantially the answer to the larger indictment presented at the outset of this chapter.

The Christian Religion can only be explained by one or other of what are commonly considered to be two alternatives. It is either the supernatural gift and creation of God or it is the product of natural evolution. Perhaps if these be adequately stated they are not truly alternative, but complementary to one another. Yet, even if the evolutionary view, in its characteristic sense, be taken, Christianity proceeds, at least for the time being, from the nature of things. Something in that nature has operated to produce the Idea of God which has established faith, hope, and love as the only fitting response to the highest and inmost Reality. If Meredith felt that he could trustfully commit himself to the Power that has fashioned the rose, how much more may men commit themselves to the Power that has given to them Jesus Christ, with the influences that emanate from Him, and the train of Saints and heroes, attended by so great a cloud of witnesses, that have drawn their inspiration from Him!

Moreover, it is becoming increasingly clear that even the preservation of civilisation and still more its extension and improvement, are dependent upon the acceptance and application of ideals and principles which, if they do not altogether owe their origin to Christianity, are cognate with it and are its raw material, that are alike justified, deepened and satisfied by it. Whether in international, in social, or in industrial relations, we must "learn or perish," and the necessary lesson consists simply in the fearless and thorough-going application of the highest Christian spirit to the whole realm of human concerns. In short, evolution, in bringing about both the world-situation and the spiritual influences that respond to it, is calling for the appearance of a new Manhood, in which what is typically Christian shall find complete and practical expression.

Nor is this all. There are signs of the appearance of this new Manhood. The evils of men's lot are not at present, objectively, worse, or even as bad, as they have been in previous ages, while the compensations are far greater. Yet those evils are more deeply felt, more sympathetically treated, and more resolutely challenged. The growing combination of sensitiveness, sympathy, courage and resource shows that out of the heart of the Universe itself is issuing the power to fulfil the promise of a righteous and humane civilisation. In other words, the Universe is both demanding and evoking the Christian spirit, with its highest ideals, its intensest devotion, and its many-sided endowments, in order that the highest may be made manifest as the indispensable foundation, the sure defence, and the eventual consummation of the secular interests of mankind. What is all this but to produce confirmatory evidence of the truth

of St. Paul's statement in regard to Christ, as the Son of God, that "all things were created by Him and unto Him"; that "He is before all things," and that "in Him all things hold together." (Col. i, 16.)

To conclude. The following are the Truths presented by and implied in the Christian Religion in regard to the relations between Christ, the Universe, and Human Life.

1. The Meaning of the Universe can only become explicit in the final issue of its evolution, and in the ordered processes that lead up to it, both by evocation and provocation.

2. This Meaning is to be sought in the unfolding content of the Spiritual Values of Truth, Beauty, and Goodness—full of inexhaustible richness and variety, of eternal and absolute reality and satisfaction.

3. In the communication of these Values consists the highest self-giving of God. In their apprehension and enjoyment through fellowship with God is the Chief Good of men.

4. These Spiritual Values, by reason of their very nature, cannot be imposed, or maintained, or destroyed by bare Will, by merely physical energy, or by mechanical arrangements.

5. The co-operation of Personality, History, and Environment is, first of all, essential to the revelation and apprehension of these Values and then to their realisation in a world-order that shall both express them and safeguard them.

6. Christ is the supreme embodiment, vindicator and communicator of these Spiritual Values.

7. Christianity, therefore, can only prevail under the general conditions that are indispensable to the revelation and prevalence of Spiritual Values—that is, by the influence of Personalities, dealing with the world-situation by means of character, with its spiritual and moral resources.

8. The supremacy of these Values is exhibited by the challenge of the Universe, which puts them on their mettle, showing them to be necessary, not only to the satisfaction, but even to the survival of mankind.

9. The sovereignty of Christ is most effectively shown by His bringing men to face this supreme challenge, and by His checking all attempts to found and sustain human life on any lower basis than that of His own self-emptying and self-fulfilling Love.

10. In the light of all this "the struggle for existence" is shown to be subordinate to co-operation for existence. This highest and universal lesson of Christianity is foreshadowed in the nests of birds, in the communities of ants and bees, and in the homes of men, as well as in the general interplay of the inorganic and the organic realms of existence.

11. The spiritual assimilates in order that it may criticise, transform and eventually subordinate the merely physical and preparatory.

12. Hence, the Universe is not anti-Christian because it arouses the spiritual to this high endeavour.

13. Through the urgency and inspiration of this endeavour

(3) The more or less permanent capacities and limitations of human nature—physical, mental, and moral—together with the differences and inequalities both of particular races of mankind and of individual men.

(4) The growth or decline, the movements and mutual relations of populations as a whole, or of their constituent parts, brought about by the foregoing causes.

(5) The comparatively stable and normal motives of mankind, endeavouring to deal with the situation by producing and distributing the material means of individual and collective being and well-being.

(6) The changing methods of such production and distribution brought about by mechanical progress and by the organisation and re-organisation of human industry.

Of these, let us assume that the first three are unalterable by human effort, though in face of recent discoveries this concession may be slightly excessive, and in regard to the third, improvements in education and environment, brought about by growing enlightenment and concerted action, may result in considerable enlargements of human capacity. This leaves three important factors of the "economic sphere," profoundly modifiable by "faith" and its practical expression. Peace, comity and good-will would indefinitely improve the conditions, the movements, and the relations both of populations as a whole and of their component parts. Human motives would be greatly and beneficially affected by higher moral standards of human satisfaction and pursuit, by the growth of the spirit and practice of partnership and sharing, and by concerted—remedial, compensatory, and counter-active—in dealing with human inequalities and hardships. Finally, human organisation would be greatly changed and human productivity greatly increased by the growth of the spirit of justice, humanity, and brotherliness. Hence, to fix *à priori* limits to the range and effectiveness of spiritual and moral influences in transforming the economic complex is as unwise as it is unbelieving. If mountains cannot be removed catastrophically they may be eaten away by erosion. The existing evils of the economic situation have been immensely exaggerated just because the view of Dr. Hensley Henson has so largely prevailed in the past owing to ignorance, lack of sympathy and want of courage. In fact, the economic mountain is, to a large extent, a monument of unbelief. Let us by all means agree with the Bishop that the primary mission of the Church is to multiply good Christians. It follows, however, that, if this effort be successful, its effects will be at once and growingly manifest in the economic sphere. And this precisely because the prayer of the Apostles will be repeated, "Lord, add to us faith" and because the answer will extend to the transformation of economic as of all other human relations.

Yet when all is said and done many of the sterner realities that condition the life of men will remain. Can their existence be justified on Christian grounds? As to this, all depends upon whether we regard this world as a "Vale of soul-making." If it be so, and this is the Christian view, then the worth of the Universe must be estimated not only by its evocative and co-operative influence, but also, in part, by the effect of its provocative challenge. Hardness and even harshness may indeed be more valuable than geniality and softness if they compel mankind, for the sake of being and still more for the sake of well-being, to realise the possibilities of human nature in personal character and social solidarity. To call out individual powers of adventure, resourcefulness and patience, to bring about fellowship and mutual service in overcoming evil both outwardly and inwardly, and in attaining good is the highest service that the material Universe, as such, can render. This on condition that it stimulates, instead of crushing hope; for "we are saved by hope." And hope is the concomitant of faith. Both faith and hope, however, would be imprisoned and would eventually be starved to death in a merely terrestrial order, even if it were a Paradise. They stretch out to a Beyond and Above. "The State of which we are citizens is in Heaven," say men of faith of every creed and age, especially Christians. To realise this eternal citizenship and to express it in the ceaseless endeavour so to transform terrestrial life that it may growingly approximate to "the Pattern laid up in Heaven" spoken of by Plato, and to the standard "as in Heaven, so on earth" of the Lord's Prayer, is the task set to men. The hostility of the Universe, tempered by the beneficent activity of men, is friendly, if it compel them to make of earth a hospitable inn, while inciting them to pass onwards in the morning towards "the City that hath the foundations whose builder and maker is God."

On this view, the answer to the third question is that to ask Why man is so made that he is compelled to seek character rather than to enjoy happiness is both unmanly and ignoble. In the present reference, indeed, it is also irrelevant, for the charge made is that the Universe does not treat man as he deserves to be treated, and this charge may, on the whole, be rebutted by spiritual considerations and, above all, by the essential presuppositions of Christianity.

Let it not be supposed that this, or any other explanation at present within reach, can so cover the whole ground that no perplexities and baffling problems will remain unsolved. All that can be done, and all that needs to be done, is to give such assurance of the main tendency of the existing order, as to enable us to await in patient, yet confident, faith till the ways of God can be completely justified to men. What has been said in regard to the economic

is growingly revealed the transcendent and eternal order of Reality, of which Christ is the sun.

14. Thus the calling of man is twofold—to seek his abiding satisfaction in this eternal order, and just because of this, to bring the earthly sphere into growing conformity with it.

15. Since the Spiritual Values as made manifest in Christ are the key to the meaning and purpose of the world, there can be no short cuts or lower roads to human well-being and happiness.

16. The highroad is the way, not only of the Incarnation, but of the Cross, and amid the thorns of the Cross there blooms the immortal rose of Joy and Peace.

Because of all this the words of St. Paul contain the true philosophy, alike of Religion, of History, and of the Universe: "The earnest expectation of the creation waiteth for the manifestation of the Sons of God."

J. SCOTT LIDGETT.

THE MANDATES COMMISSION AND THE MANDATORY POWERS.

FOR the first time in the history of the mandatory system, the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations has come sharply into conflict with the Mandatory Powers. The questions at issue are not only important in themselves, but raise by implication still more important questions of principle. Those who take the Mandates seriously will, therefore, be well-advised to keep a vigilant eye on the dispute, in which a leading part has been played by Great Britain and the Dominions.

The Covenant of the League expressly provides, in Article 22, for the establishment of "a permanent Commission to examine the annual reports of the Mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the Mandates." On December 1st, 1920, the Council decided that the Permanent Mandates Commission should consist of nine members; a tenth has since been added. They were to be selected by the Council with sole regard to their personal merits and competence. While serving on the Commission, they were not to hold any office which made them directly dependent on their Governments. The majority were to be nationals of non-Mandatory Powers. It is to the credit of the Council that in constituting the Commission it made a genuine and, as it has turned out, a successful effort to ensure its impartiality and independence.

In October, 1921, the Commission drafted and the Council approved two questionnaires "intended to facilitate the preparation of the annual reports of the Mandatory Powers." These documents, which comprised respectively forty-nine and fifty questions, related to the territories under "B" and "C" Mandates, i.e., the former German colonies in Africa and the Pacific. Similar, though less elaborate, questionnaires were subsequently framed with reference to Palestine and Syria. In 1922 the Commission had before it a number of proposed additions to the questionnaires relating to the "B" or African Mandates. In the light of later events, it is interesting to note that these additions were suggested by the present Under-Secretary for the Colonies, Mr. Ormsby-Gore, who was at that time the British member of the Mandates Commission. Mr. Ormsby-Gore's proposals were not pressed, but in 1923 the Commission decided that the time had come for the "B" and "C" questionnaires to be revised. Two years' practical experience had shown that in certain respects the original questionnaires were defective. It had also shown that the work of the Commission would be considerably lightened if the Mandatories could be persuaded to compile their reports on a systematic and uniform plan. The work

the petitioner, is invariably heard in person. It is clear that under this procedure the Mandatories and the petitioners are not on a footing of equality. But it is idle to suppose that they can be. If complaints are made against the Mandatories, the Mandates Commission is entitled, and indeed, bound, to ask and (if necessary) to press for an explanation. But this does not mean that the Commission is a Court of Law before which Mandatories and petitioners appear as litigants. Such a conception of its rôle would be unsound even in theory and would in practice make the mandatory system unworkable. There is no reason to suppose that the Commission had the slightest intention of casting itself for such a part. The utmost it suggested was that it should be permitted, in the last resort, to interview petitioners in cases in which it could see no other way of getting at the truth. There is, on the face of it, something to be said for the proposal, but the Mandatories are hardly to be blamed if they have felt unable to shut their eyes to its embarrassing implications.

The objections to the questionnaire are much less comprehensible. It is true that the questionnaire presents a formidable, not to say a repellent, appearance. If all the 118 questions had to be answered in detail every year, the Mandatories' reports would have to be of encyclopædic proportions. But the published proceedings of the Commission show plainly that nothing of the kind was proposed. On this point explicit statements were made by Sir Frederick Lugard and by his Belgian colleague, M. Orts, who actually framed the questionnaire. The Commission desired certain information, but, once it had been given, the Mandatories would merely be expected to indicate where it was to be found. It is a pity that the Commission did not make this a little clearer in its report to the Council.

It might also have been made clearer that the questionnaire breaks hardly any new ground. The British Note of November 8th roundly declares that "the list of questions far exceeds what is necessary to the Commission or what is compatible with the Covenant and the rules approved by the Council." On this sweeping statement it need only be observed that nearly every point raised has already been touched upon by the British and Dominion Governments in their annual reports. They must be singularly sensitive if they resent being asked by the Commission for information which they have in practice been freely supplying of their own accord. So far as the British Mandatories, at all events, are concerned, the main purpose of the questionnaire is not so much to extend the scope of the annual reports as to increase their utility by stereotyping their form and arrangement. Some of the questions, it is true, are rather minutely sub-divided, and there are doubtless

certain matters of detail on which information has not always been supplied in writing. It will, however, be found that these are, for the most part, matters on which the Commission has at one time or another found it necessary to ask for verbal explanations. The Accredited Representative has almost invariably furnished such explanations without the slightest suggestion of reluctance or resentment.

This is not to say that the questionnaire is beyond criticism or is incapable of improvement in detail. It is at least arguable that in the long list of questions there are some which are superfluous and others which may be embarrassing. But while France, Belgium, and Japan base their objections, such as they are, on purely practical grounds, the British Note of November 8th stands alone in challenging the Mandates Commission on a fundamental question of principle. It is laid down with some emphasis that the Council (and consequently the Commission) is not called upon "to examine every detail of administration." Its sole duty is "to see that the administration of the mandated territories is conducted generally in accordance with the ideas enunciated in Article 22 of the Covenant." There its competence ends; it was never intended that "the Mandatory Government should be called upon to submit annually for confirmation or criticism by the Council or the Commission all the details of its administrative and legislative activities." It is on these lines that the Foreign Office lectures the Commission in a tone which is in marked and unfavourable contrast with that adopted by the other Mandatory Powers. The whole burden of the British Note is that the Commission must be kept in its place and confined to a strictly limited field of inquiry.

The Mandates Commission exists to "advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the Mandates," and it is recognised in the British Note that the question which is really at issue is that of the competence of the Council. This is precisely the question which was discussed and decided by the Council at its San Sebastian meeting in August, 1920. The Council had before it a memorandum by M. Hymans in which the following passage occurs:

"The annual report should certainly include a statement as to the whole moral and material situation of the peoples under the Mandate. It is clear, therefore, that the Council also should examine the questions of the whole Administration."

The Council adopted the Hymans memorandum and proceeded to assure the First Assembly of the League that "with regard to the responsibility of the League for securing the observance of the Mandates, the Council interprets its duties in this connection in the widest manner." The British Note of November 8th is a curious

of revision was entrusted to a Committee of four, one of whom was Mr. Ormsby-Gore's successor, Sir Frederick Lugard. Progress was slow, and it was not until June, 1926, that the Commission submitted to the Council a remodelled and amplified "list of questions which the Mandates Commission desires should be dealt with in the annual reports of the Mandatory Powers." As compared with the original forty-nine or fifty questions, there were now 118, while the number of separate points on which information was asked for was well over 200.

At the same time, the Commission decided to bring to the notice of the Council certain difficulties which it had experienced in dealing with complaints against the Mandatories in the form of petitions. Its right to entertain such complaints has never been questioned, and elaborate rules of procedure were laid down by the Council in January, 1923. These rules related solely to representations in writing; they assumed, though they did not expressly provide, that petitioners could not be heard in person. It was, however, found in practice that the written evidence sometimes left the Commission bewildered by irreconcilable statements of fact. Its obvious course was to test the veracity of the complainants by a personal interview, but this was an extreme measure which it hesitated to take without express authority. On the other hand, petitioners, though consistently refused an official hearing, could hardly be prevented from stating their case unofficially to individual members of the Commission behind the scenes. It was in these circumstances that the Commission decided to include the following passage in its report to the Council:

"Experience having shown that sometimes the Commission has been unable to form a definite opinion as to whether certain petitions are well founded or not, the Commission is of opinion that in these cases it might appear indispensable to allow the petitioners to be heard by it. The Commission, however, would not desire to formulate a definite recommendation before being informed of the views of the Council."

When the report came before the Council last September, the debate was almost monopolised by the representatives of the Mandatory Powers. Their comments lacked nothing in outspokenness. Sir Austen Chamberlain was disturbed by "a tendency on the part of the Commission to extend its authority to a point at which the Government would be no longer vested in the Mandatory Power but would be vested in the Mandates Commission." M. Briand followed suit. The chorus of condemnation was swelled by the representatives of Belgium, Japan, South Africa, and New Zealand. The Swedish representative, who acted as rapporteur, stood alone in supporting the Commission. It was eventually decided to take

no action for the moment beyond formally inviting the Mandatories to inform the Council of their views.

The replies were prompt and explicit. The Mandatories were strongly and unanimously of opinion that the Mandates Commission should not be authorised to give petitioners an oral hearing. With the exception of Belgium—and even Belgium made some mild reservations—all of them were critical of the new questionnaire, though on this point neither France nor Japan felt moved to lodge as vigorous or elaborate a protest as Great Britain and the Dominions. When the Council met again in December, it decided without debate that the Mandates Commission should be asked to reconsider the questionnaire. The oral hearing of petitioners was held over for discussion at the next meeting of the Council in March, but the fate of this proposal may be regarded as a foregone conclusion.

The two questions at issue are entirely distinct and must be considered on their separate merits. A strong case can unquestionably be made out against the oral hearing of petitioners. At the recent League Assembly, M. van Rees, the Dutch Vice-Chairman of the Mandates Commission, was at pains to point out that

"So far from ignoring certain unfortunate consequences which might result from the hearing of petitioners, the Commission was keenly alive to their existence. In view of these consequences, the Commission laid special emphasis on the necessity of limiting such hearing of petitioners to quite exceptional cases, when all other means of gaining information had proved ineffective. In these exceptional cases, the procedure which might be adopted would abound in precautions to safeguard the dignity and prestige of the Mandatory Power." (Minutes of the Sixth Committee of the Assembly, September 21st, 1926, p. 12.)

M. van Rees was here referring to a memorandum buried away in the Commission's voluminous minutes and not mentioned in its report to the Council. Had greater pains been taken to make it clear exactly what the Commission had in mind, the Mandatory Powers might perhaps have been a trifle less emphatic in their protests at the Council meeting in September, and the British Government might not have expressed itself quite so strongly in its Note of November 8th. But whatever safeguards and reservations may be suggested, the oral hearing of petitioners still presents serious difficulties. It is true that, viewed in the abstract, the existing procedure is one-sided. The petitioner having stated his case in writing, the Government whose acts are called in question usually files a written reply. The reply is, as a rule, not made public until the complaint has been disposed of, so that the petitioner has no opportunity of submitting a rejoinder. On the other hand, the Government has a further opportunity of explaining itself to the Commission through its Accredited Representative, who, unlike

commentary on the San Sebastian resolution, to which Great Britain herself was a party.

The Foreign Office seeks to ride off on M. Hymans' remark that "the Council will obviously have to display extreme prudence, so that the exercise of its rights of control should not provoke any justifiable complaints." But the argument begs the question. The British Note objects to the Mandatories being asked to do precisely what the Hymans memorandum declares to be their duty—to report on "the whole moral and material situation of the peoples under Mandate," in order that the Council may "examine the question of the whole administration." If this is a "justifiable complaint," the Hymans memorandum has no meaning. The British contention is all the more surprising in the light of the "B" and "C" questionnaires which have been in use for the past five years. Both of them were expressly approved by the Council in 1921, and both of them conclude by requesting the Mandatory Powers "to be good enough to add to the annual reports the text of the legislative and administrative decisions taken with regard to the mandated territory in the course of the past year." The Foreign Office makes no attempt to explain why it has now become unreasonable, if not positively improper, to ask a Mandatory Government for "all the details of its administrative and legislative activities."

The British Note would be unexceptionable if the principle laid down were merely that in the actual administration of the mandated territories the Mandatory Powers can share their authority neither with the Commission nor with the Council. There can be no question of a condominium; if the mandatory system is to be workable, a clear distinction must be drawn between the administrative functions of the Mandatories and the supervisory functions of the League. It is equally essential that the duty of supervision should itself be performed with restraint and commonsense. But it does not follow that the Mandates Commission should leave details alone and confine itself to ensuring that the Mandatories are acting "generally in accordance with the ideas enunciated in Article 22 of the Covenant." The distinction is, in fact, artificial and unreal. Unless the Commission keeps in close and constant touch with the course of events in the mandated territories, it can speak with no authority and can render no useful service either to the Council or to the Mandatory Powers themselves. If it pursues its inquiries in detail, no serious student of its five years' work can be under the illusion that it is actuated either by idle curiosity or by a taste for captious criticism or by any desire to exceed its advisory rôle. Its thirst for information may occasionally be excessive, but the Belgian Government is clearly right when it points out, in its Note of December 7th, that "the Mandates Commission cannot give the

Council effective assistance in its work of supervision unless the Council accords it wide powers of discretion as to the questions which it may think necessary to ask the Mandatory States."

That the Commission should be given a liberal measure of latitude is all the more obvious when it is remembered what part it actually plays in the working of the mandatory system. The League's right of control is vested exclusively in the Council, which has jealously safeguarded its prerogative against invasion by the Assembly. Of the seven Mandatory Powers, Great Britain, France, and Japan have permanent seats on the Council; Belgium has at present a non-permanent seat; the remaining three are British Dominions. The Council's supervision might be plausibly represented as a sham if the Mandatories were merely invited to sit in judgment upon themselves. If the conception of trusteeship has been preserved, it is largely because the Council is advised, and—to its credit—is usually guided, by a body of independent and impartial experts. The British Mandatories have in practice been scrupulously faithful to their mandatory obligations, and in rebuking the Commission they may have been actuated by nothing more than conscious rectitude. But they have only themselves to thank if they have exposed themselves to misconstruction. That they do the right thing in Africa and the Pacific is no reason why they should be at such pains to say the wrong thing at Geneva.

LEONARD STEIN.

GENERAL GORDON'S CAMPAIGN ROUND SHANGHAI.

"**H**ISTORY repeats itself." There has rarely been a more striking confirmation of the aphorism than is afforded by the situation in and round Shanghai to-day, and that which existed there in 1861-2, or in other words, sixty-five years ago. Then there had been afoot for some years in South China a Nationalist movement, and Shanghai was the goal of its leaders. A rebel government was installed at Nanking, and for a time it was believed to have a leaning towards Christianity which inspired some observers with the hope that China was on the eve of conversion. For this reason the Taepings were regarded with considerable favour, but anxiety with regard to the safety of Shanghai was a nearer concern. A British admiral was sent up the river to Nanking and received a promise from Tien Wang, the Taeping King, that none of his forces should come within a thirty miles' radius of Shanghai. The promises of Nanking then were of as limited effect as those of Hankow are to-day. The radius was penetrated in January, 1862; many villages within it were plundered and burnt, and the city of Shanghai was attacked several times and almost captured. Their repulse was entirely due to the active intervention of European troops who lined the walls of the native city and drove them off.

At this juncture a small British force, released from service at Tientsin by the compliance of the Peking Government with the terms of the Treaty, reached Shanghai and restored a sense of security, but it soon became clear that its numerical strength was not equal to the task of enforcing respect within the whole of the stipulated radius. The Imperial authorities had not been entirely inactive in endeavouring to suppress the Taeping Rebellion; Tien Wang was in possession of Nanking but he was blockaded by forces from Hunan led by the brothers Tsêng. Another Imperial army under the control of the Governor, Li Hung Chang, was in Kiangsu to the north of Shanghai, but the military value of all these forces was small, and left to them the struggle must have gone on for years with the final result ever in doubt.

There was a third corps in the field of a totally different order about which something must be said. The merchants of native Shanghai, who had suffered greatly from an earlier occupation of their city by the Taepings in 1854, raised a fund in the year 1860 to create a European force on the suggestion of two American adventurers named Ward and Burgevine. They got together a body of one hundred Europeans and two hundred Manilla-men. With these an attack was made in July on Sungkiang, and although

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repulsed at the first attempt a second was more successful and the place was carried by storm. This achievement raised the reputation of the corps so high that the corporation provided more funds for its increase, and promised a rich reward for the capture of another town named Tsingpu. Its former good fortune deserted it, and this attack was repulsed with heavy loss to the assailants including their guns and stores. The Taepings followed up their success by making a determined attack on Shanghai, which was repulsed by the intervention of the Allies who at that moment were marching on Peking.

With these incidents the Ward force, which was entirely European, ceased to exist, and a lull followed during twelve months. In September, 1861, Ward made a fresh proposal to raise and train a Chinese corps if the merchants would provide the funds. To this they agreed, and to give it a popular start they styled it the Chun Chen Chün or Ever Victorious Army. Two regiments of 1,000 men each were raised and they did so well in several skirmishes that, in March, 1862, the force was recognised at Peking by official edict. Ward was unluckily killed in one of these minor affairs, and the command devolved on his Lieutenant, Burgevine. He was a man of fiery temper, quarrelled with his Chinese paymasters, and was summarily dismissed. An English officer, Captain Holland, was appointed his successor, and in February, 1863, he was ordered to attack the important position of Taitan, fifty miles north of Shanghai. This affair proved disastrous. It was badly executed, and besides heavy losses in officers and men the big guns had to be abandoned. At this point when the situation was critical, and when the confidence of the newly-formed force was much shaken, General, then Major, Gordon entered the scene.

During the twelve months that had elapsed since his arrival with the troops from Tientsin, Gordon had not been idle. He had taken part in several encounters with the Taepings and seen their method of fighting, but his chief task had been to reconnoitre and map the whole of the country within the thirty miles' radius. This he accomplished with his characteristic thoroughness before he assumed the command. On March 25th, 1863, he rode over to Sungkiang for that purpose. He addressed the men promising that none of them would be dismissed, and also that he would look after their interests as long as they observed the rules of discipline. In a letter to a brother officer he wrote, "I hope you do not think that I have a magnificent army. You never did see such a rabble as it was, and although I think I have improved it it is still sadly wanting. Now both officers and men although ragged and perhaps slightly disreputable are in capital order and well disposed." He had more trouble with the officers than the men, and he saw that the best way

to restore morale and maintain discipline would be to take the field without delay. The disasters at Fushan and Taitan had shaken the confidence of the force in themselves and their leaders.

Gordon had formed his own plan of campaign, but circumstances compelled its adjournment at the request of the Futai Li (Li Hung Chang). Between Fushan and Taitan but nearer the former was Changzu, held by a number of ex-Taepings who had deserted to the Imperialists. They were in dire straits, and the only chance of saving them from massacre was by means of Gordon's force. As the intervening country was held by the Taepings it was necessary to gain their rear by a descent from the Yangtse river. The expedition numbered 1,200 with four twelve-pounder and one thirty-two-pounder guns, and sailed from Shanghai on March 31st for the Fushan creek. The Taepings had made but slight preparations to oppose an attack from this quarter, and such as they were were speedily overcome. Gordon then hastened to Changzu, ten miles inland, extricated the garrison from its perilous position and was back at his base at Sungkiang within eight days of his departure. He brought back nearly a thousand good recruits in the ex-Taeping garrison of Changzu. This success encouraged the men and established Gordon's position with the Chinese. Li wrote a complimentary letter to the British Consul stating that "the people and place are charmed with Gordon as he has already given me returns of the organisation of the force, the formation of each regiment, and the expenses ordinary and extraordinary in the clearest manner wishing to drill our troops and save our money."

On his return to Sungkiang Gordon resumed the task of re-organising his force. He abolished the system of giving rewards for the capture of specified places, and he prohibited plundering on pain of death. On the other hand, he increased the men's pay. To assist him in his heavy task the services of several British officers were lent him by the commanding officer at Shanghai. He increased his artillery to four siege and two field batteries, and raised the artillery corps to 600 men. He also practised the men in pontoon-laying in anticipation of operations, in a region covered with water courses of various descriptions. To operate by water as well as on land he got together a flotilla of small steamers and Chinese gunboats, the largest of them being a paddle-wheel steamer named the *Hyson* which did splendid work during the campaign. To complete these preliminary arrangements Gordon decided to transfer his headquarters from Sungkiang to Quinsan, which was still in the hands of the Taepings. Gordon had been struck by its commanding position whilst mapping the region, and moreover it was in proximity to Soochow which he had soon discovered to be the Taepings' key position.

But this plan was postponed by a serious catastrophe which had befallen the Imperialists outside Taitan. Gordon was summoned to retrieve this second reverse. Suspending his own plans he hastened with characteristic rapidity to the scene of trouble, and within two days of the news reaching him he was before Taitan, which was held by 10,000 Taepings rendered confident by their double success. Gordon had with him four regiments of less than 500 men apiece, but he had the assistance of his flotilla which arrived shortly after the land forces. Having subjected the place to a heavy bombardment, and a breach being declared practicable, two of the regiments were ordered to carry it by storm, but they made little or no progress. A check seemed more than probable when Gordon discovered that another part of the wall had been left undefended and promptly sent his third regiment to scale it. This was accomplished whereupon the defenders of the breach, finding their flank and rear threatened, hastily took to flight. In all his operations Gordon was ever on the look out to turn his opponents' flank and to threaten their rear. The capture of Taitan established his reputation as an able commander in the field, and strengthened his position with the Chinese authorities. Four weeks after this affair Gordon was able to prosecute his own plan of securing Quinsan. This was the most brilliant episode in the campaign, but it would require too much space to give the details. It must suffice to say that Gordon attained his object in fixing his future headquarters in this advantageous position. In the centre of the town there is a lofty hill—the only one of its kind in this part of the province—commanding a wide stretch of country, including the important city of Soochow.

The strength of the Taeping position lay in the Grand Canal which was entirely in their hands from the port of Hangchow to Chinkiang on the Yangtse. The strategical points on that great water-way were, and still are, Kashing in the south, Soochow in the centre, and Changchow in the north; of these Soochow was, and still is, the most important, and in 1863 its defences were even formidable. It had been as already stated Gordon's objective from the first, but patience in reaching it was still necessary on account of the insubordination prevailing in his own force. The removal to Quinsan was unpopular with the men and especially with the European element—because Sungkiang was a convenient place to dispose of their plunder to receivers from Shanghai. A mutiny had to be quelled by summary measures, 2,000 men deserted, and a complete collapse was only averted by the loyalty of the ex-Taepings, prisoners and deserters, who volunteered *en masse* and more than supplied the places of the mutineers. Gordon's own bodyguard was then formed out of the fittest of these recruits, men

who had carried only a few weeks before the Snake Flags in the forefront of the battle. Such is the effect of the predominance of character.

But this critical period had one more development. Burgevine breaking the bail which Gordon, in a weak moment, had given for him, went over to the Taepings carrying with him a considerable number of European adventurers, some of whom had served with the Ever Victorious Army, and also a new steamer, the *Kajow*, which proved of much use to the Taepings until it was accidentally blown up some months later. The situation with which Gordon had thus to deal had become far more serious than it appeared to be on the morrow of the capture of Quinsan, so serious, indeed, that he removed his heavy guns and the bulk of his munitions to Taitsan where General Brown, in command at Shanghai, undertook to provide for their safety. That officer also lent him the services of 200 Baloochis as a counter-balance to Burgevine and his men.

At the end of September, 1863, Gordon made his first move on Soochow, but on close inspection of the place he concluded that the city was too strongly fortified to justify his making a serious attack with his available forces. The advanced stockade one mile outside the South Gate at Patachiaou offered a more suitable mark, and by resorting to his favourite method of outflanking he expelled its garrison with little loss on his side. But a few days later the Taepings, with the aid of Burgevine and his steamer, made a desperate effort to retake the position. The result was long in doubt, but the Taepings flinched on coming to close quarters, and Gordon retained his prize. An indirect consequence of this failure was a quarrel between the Taeping leaders and Burgevine who was summarily dismissed. A considerable number of Europeans remained with them, however, in subordinate positions.

Early in October news of a disturbing nature reached Gordon. He had already secured a position on the Grand Canal at a place called Wokong about twelve miles south of Soochow, and, as was his usual practice, he handed it over to the Imperialists to garrison. A new Taeping army of not less than 20,000 men had advanced from Hangchow and reached Wokong. Its garrison threatened to surrender unless succour arrived immediately. Gordon hastened to the spot, but he could only take one regiment with him lest the Soochow forces should renew their attempt to recover Patachiaou. In addition, he had the *Hyson* which carried two guns. Notwithstanding the great disparity in numbers he attacked immediately on arrival. The action lasted for three hours, and having a secure line of retreat the Taepings displayed great courage. Three lines of stockade had to be carried, but Gordon gave them no chance of recovery, pursuing them with the *Hyson* for ten miles.

The Hangchow forces never took the field again after this rude experience. Having nipped this danger in the bud Gordon returned to lay closer siege to Soochow. Gradually he encircled the beleaguered city, cutting off its supplies across the Taiho lake on which his three steamers closed all communications with the west.

Gordon had thus accomplished his first object when he wrote: "The rebels are working hard upon the defences of Soochow, a place I have no idea of attacking. I hope to cut off both the main roads and to isolate the town by so doing. This would make it only a matter of time as to its fall. With the small force at my command I am not at all anxious to pit myself against a town garrisoned by seven or even ten times our numbers if it can be avoided," and then he continued in words which might be read as a solemn warning at the present time. "Now the English garrison at Shanghai is so reduced there is nothing but this force to keep the rebels out of the thirty miles' radius." The decisive moment in the fate of Soochow was now at hand. There were 40,000 Taepings in the town, 20,000 more were at Wusieh, and Chung Wang, the hero of the rebellion, was halfway between the two places with a mobile army of 18,000 men. Gordon conceived a brilliant plan of falling upon the last with superior forces and annihilating it, but for success the co-operation of two Imperial armies led by mutually jealous generals was essential, and prudence counselled the abandonment of a plan that might have ended the struggle at once. He fell back, therefore, on the surer but slower course. He began operations by capturing, almost without any loss by the suddenness of his attack, the strong position of Fusaquan on the Grand Canal north of Soochow. The immediate effect of this success was the retreat of Chung Wang from his advanced position to Wusieh, twenty-five miles north-west of Soochow. Thus relieved from apprehension of attack from the north, and having completed the encircling of the town, the next step was to draw the noose tighter. The north-east angle of the wall was pronounced the weakest point of the defence, but before it could be approached the stockades erected in front of the North and East Gates had to be carried. Gordon decided on a night attack but unfortunately his intention was revealed to the defenders by spies in his camp, and the attack failed. This was Gordon's first reverse, a second attack made by day a few weeks later proving successful after a stubborn resistance.

By this the spirit of the Taepings, at least in Soochow, was shaken and a desire to come to terms was manifested by all the Wangs with one exception; but so bent on surrender were all the others that they got over his objections by assassinating him. Terms were agreed to by the Chinese commanders, and Gordon, to

avoid all risk of excesses by his corps on the occupation of a large and rich city, removed his army to headquarters at Quinsan. Gordon himself waited outside Soochow for the arrival of a steamer to take him to the Taiho lake, and during that interval the tragedy of the Wangs' massacre took place. It is unnecessary for me to repeat here my description of what followed. Suffice it to say that Gordon resigned his command and rejected the Imperial presents.

During two months Gordon remained inactive, but the Taepings still kept the field beyond Soochow and the Imperialists made little or no progress in pacifying the country. The Ever Victorious Army was also showing signs of discontent through inaction and a final suppression of the rebellion seemed as remote as ever. Urged from all sides to do so, Gordon resumed the command, marching out of Quinsan on February 18th, 1864, to commence a fresh campaign. It would be outside the immediate purpose to narrate its details. They included serious reverses as well as brilliant successes. Gordon received the only wound in his long career and was kept inactive for several weeks. The final victory of the Ever Victorious Army was gained at Chanchefu, which was stormed, but only after three weeks' hard fighting.

With this defeat the Taepings finally lost their hold on the Grand Canal. This had been Gordon's main object from the beginning.

By one of those strange orders to which Governments come without any apparent reason the British Cabinet had decided that Gordon must retire from the Chinese service on June 1st, 1864, thus depriving him of the satisfaction of hastening the fall of Nanking by his inspiring example. At the same time it was arranged with the Chinese authorities that before leaving he should personally disband the Ever Victorious Army, of whose future conduct they were apprehensive.

Gordon had a very clear and decided opinion that it was our duty to intervene in the internal affairs of China, to assist the Government of the country in putting an end to the Taeping Rebellion which had been in progress for nearly twenty years. His opinion was based on what he saw. He wrote :

"The people on the confines are suffering greatly and dying of starvation, the state of affairs is most sad and the rebellion ought to be put down. Words cannot express the horrors these people suffer from the rebels or the utter desert they have made of this rich province. It is all very well to talk of non-intervention but certainly we are all impressed with the utter misery and wretchedness of these poor people. At Waisso the Taepings, principally Cantonese, had been guilty of the most terrible atrocities. In every village were to be seen the bodies of the murdered inhabit-

- ants. In one village alone were found fifty men, women, and children, either decapitated or with their throats cut. . . . They crucified their prisoners."

Will history repeat itself? Will there be again a thirty miles' radius round Shanghai? Will there be operations beyond that radius to secure the line of the Grand Canal, now rendered more important by the addition of the railway to Nanking? If so the example and precepts of Gordon should be remembered, not least that warning exhortation to his brother officers to "incline to a more scientific mode of attack than has hitherto been in vogue. The hasty attacks generally made on Asiatic positions cost valuable lives, invite failure and prevent the science of war theoretically acquired at considerable cost being tested in the best school, viz., that of actual practice."

DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER.

SPAIN RESTATES HER IDEALS.

"ON arriving at the frontier, and noticing the calm and order which reigned in France, his imagination turned back at once with melancholy to the land of Spain, to that Ship of Fools muddled, bloody, swashbuckling and impoverishing, which was his country." These are the words with which the distinguished Spanish novelist Pio Baroja ends his last and best story, and it is a mood not unusual among the intellectuals of Spain. That temper of criticism, however, marks not the ruin but the resurgence of their country. Constructive and destructive judgments combine to show that Spain is awakening to the opportunities offered her by her natural resources, her geographical position at the mouth of the Mediterranean and, finally, her relation to her lost dominions. She begins a new day with confessions and resolutions.

It is the method of the arts and literature to stamp the order of reason on a work by character and ideals: to select, to emphasise, to idealise, to arrange. Velasquez and Goya both commented on effete royalty and related it to nature and vitality. Spain has to-day a great artist in Zuloaga. He does not paint her princes, but her duchesses and her peasants, and gives them a background of stormy skies, wild scenery, old villages and fortified cities standing out in the fierce light of a southern sun shining through storm clouds. No longer occupied with good women in high society like Madrazo, or with the problem of painting light as it shines on sea and on the human body like Sarolla, or with the scenes that make a picture for the eye like Fortuny, Zuloaga, both by his technique and by his power of observation, leaves on his canvas aspects of the soul of Spain. He shows it to be a country of fascinating women, of the savage and horrible beauty of bull-fights, of rough mountains, melancholy plains, of ancient villages, walled towns, of monks and dwarfs, of women of the choicest distinction, conscious of nothing but their charm or the privilege of their social eminence. But above all, Zuloaga is a painter of the peasantry: he shows that there is a grandeur in its rough life with its fervent religion, its savage amusements, its robust passion. For the old Spain indeed survives, and still is fascinated by two pervading solemnities: the Church and death. It is a country in which the peasantry are the masses, and live not discontent in poverty, whether along the coast the proximity of water turns their land into a perfumed garden, or whether with smaller stocks of oranges and wine, of wheat and corn, they face the extremes of weather in the high plateaux of old and new Castile, or in the valleys of the mountains which arise in the south, in the centre,

and on the northern frontier of their country. Zuloaga reminds us that, whatever changes the modern world may make in Spain, it still is Spain with a tradition, not of castanets and orange-girls and serenades, but of war against the Moslem, of an ancient nobility, a peasantry who guard the graces of Christianity in rough surroundings, and win from the inclemency of nature something of its own open hardihood.

It is the same taste for the passionate and essential distinction of life which marks the mind of Spain's first philosophical writer, Don Miguel de Unamuno. For many years Rector of the University of Salamanca, Señor de Unamuno became one of the intellectual leaders of Spain by his combination of sympathy with individualism and simplicity with culture. He is a thoughtful observer, and a frank critic. Never an admirer either of the Royal Family or of the army, Don Miguel found no outlet for his views of the directory in the censored Press. He unburdened himself in a letter to a friend in the Argentine. The letter was published and he was deported to the Canary Islands, from which he was rescued by a French admirer. After living in Paris near the Etoile and lunching every day with admirers in the Café de la Rotonde, he has now settled nearer the Spanish frontier.

The mind of Señor Unamuno is large and he has considered many subjects: no one knows better than he the ideals of Spain. And we might say that to him the dominant truth is the value of nobility: of that excellence of judgment and action which is suggested by the Spanish word *casticismo*: a determination to maintain inviolate the highest standard. But with this recognition there comes another: that religion which alone can satisfy the heart and the will must be recognised as a definite revelation, and this revelation, though it provides a consolation and an answer to men's thirst for life, will exceed or even conflict with their philosophy, so that the sense of life, both in men and peoples, is the cause of an inevitable struggle and tragedy. The problem of Señor de Unamuno is the problem of an individual thinker who recognises the value of his own thought and who yet realises that it offers no guarantee against the menaces of death. For those he must turn to the Church; yet if he does so he will unite himself with much that is repugnant to his individualism. And so in his self-imposed continuance of Exile in Paris, he works out the idea of Christianity, and indeed of life itself, as a death agony, a mortal struggle of death and life, a perpetual crucifixion. Birth, life, death all have within them this element of effort, of conflict, and in the agonised form on the Crucifix, so dear to the piety of Spain, this philosopher finds the one comprehensive symbol of man's experience.

Individualism is still a peculiarity of Spain: Monsieur Maurice Legendre has noticed that Spain always, and especially for the last four hundred years, has produced great men, but has had no collective greatness. Her governments are as ineffective as her individual geniuses are eminent. Her geniuses judge her by themselves, said the great Angel Ganivet thirty years ago, and so set her a task beyond her power. Driven by a certain taste for excess, now as in previous centuries, she is always too ready to miss the material advantage for the *real gana*—the kingly passion which is so dear to her. It is this taste for excess which, in some admirable essays on literary interpretation, Don Ramiro de Maeztu has lately been considering in relation to one of the peculiar products of the Spanish genius, Don Juan. The Spanish Don Juan is not like Byron's picture of himself under that name—a mixture of poet and sensualist who finds a mystic exaltation in his promiscuous amours: but driven by the impulse of life within him he values his excesses for no more than their crudest satisfaction, the pleasure of fleeting minutes. But though so much an animal, yet his very crudeness has within two elements even of grandeur: the first that he recognises his indulgences for what they are: he keeps his power of judgment: and the second greatness is that the instinct for his excesses is in itself a manifestation of that power which gives man the power of living on from age to age, and associates each of us with the variety and promise of unborn generations.

This natural openness in the Spanish view of life might be associated with the clear light of Spain, the light that the sun pours alike upon her sierras, her upland plains, and upon her coasts. To Señor de Maeztu it is qualified by two other elements in the Spanish character, elements exemplified in the characters of Celestina and Don Quixote. Celestina shows the ruthless pursuit of material advantage typical of peasants: Don Quixote is the idealist and the dreamer who minds little the actual circumstances of his life, provided his passion for virtue is high and true. The book is the confession of a country tired of the exploits celebrated in the other great Iberian self-expression, the *Lusiad*. It is the exhaustion following conflict of these two divergent excesses which torture and deviate the excessive vitality, the instinct for extremes, which is itself a peculiarity of the Spain of Juan.

The excesses develop in two directions even as philosophies: on the one side we have a passion for oblivion, as seen in the mysticism of Santa Teresa and San Juan de la Cruz, both classics of Spain like Cervantes or Calderon: and on the other we have that "perpetual and ardent justification of the fleeting impression which things leave on our excited nerves," which Don Eduardo

Ortega y Gasset notices as typical of Spanish philosophy. The Spaniard relishes a blaze of light both on his outward and his inward eye. He craves for all the truth, and finds that the senses compete with the abstract to reveal it.

It is easier to see how to this temperament the faith and worship of Catholicism have appeared such a treasure that even in a liberal constitution any other worship was hardly tolerated. The Spaniard, as Borrow insisted, is not fanatical: in Spain, as in Italy, the Catholic and the Protestant are on unusually good terms: but Catholicism, for which the Spaniards had so long fought, was to be jealously guarded from rivals. The tradition of crusades, and wars, the spirit of the warrior, still dominates the Spanish Church. We have still, therefore, in Spain what marked the crusades, the combination of a knightly militance and fervour with outbreaks. The power of the Spanish clergy could never induce the government to withhold a licence from loose living, and the *maison de tolerance* is as much an institution as in France. Rumour still repeats what Cervantes insinuated about certain of the clergy. More pervading and dangerous is the habit of gluttony: enormous meat meals are the rule for whoever can afford them, and even young children seem already to suffer from that burden on digestion which ruins the figures of their elders. Both in the parks and in the galleries a weight seems to hang upon the Spanish child: it is the weight of an overloaded stomach. One may account for it as the tradition of a fighting nation: but it itself accounts for part of the tiredness which made the mood of Don Quixote an index of the soul of Spain.

Details of that kind (and it is perhaps the most important fact in Spain that people overeat) seem hardly to interest the Spanish priest as he says his Mass before a favourite altar, or pours out a fervid religious appeal to an attentive crowd. The Church, as a popular, gorgeous and unarguable institution, is at the very least accepted as part of the furniture of life, and provides many a thrill for the Spanish soul. The King voiced its ideals a year or two ago in a famous speech at the Vatican which was afterwards read in every Spanish Church:

"Holy Father," he said, "the sap of faith flows as a torrent through the history of Spain; if the cross of Christ should ever for a moment cease to throw its beneficent shadow over our land, Spain would no more be Spain."

"The preaching of the apostle James and the apparition of the Virgin of the Pillar at Saragossa show my people to be favourites of Providence. The finest of all races spread over the Spanish soil under the sceptre of Recaredo, and tinged with a martyr's blood, prophesied already the mission of the soldier of religion, of the faithful defender of the Catholic Church. So when the followers of Mahomet spread over our peninsula, the people of

Spain fought gigantic battles and maintained a struggle of seven hundred years . . . and if, a new Urban II for the defence of the persecuted faith, you should summon a new crusade against the enemies of our holy religion, Spain and her King, faithful to your orders, would never abandon the place of honour which their glorious traditions assign to them for the triumph and for the glory of the Cross, which is at once the standard of faith and of peace, of justice, of civilisation and of progress."

While the text of this striking speech was being read in the parish churches to edified congregations, a shiver passed through the soul of the intellectuals and the liberals. Surely, they said, the time has passed when people take religion in this way. Is the King a saint? What is Spain but a wretched, backward, impoverished country under the heel of a tyrant, carrying on a guerilla warfare which is a humiliating failure? Furthermore, said the most popular of Spanish novelists, if such words do mean anything, they only provide Spain's Moslem enemies with propaganda.

Don Vicente Blasco Ibanez has never been a Communist, he has always been a Radical and a Republican. While *Flor de Mayo* and *Las Arenas Sangrientas* illustrated in his youth his power to describe the essential life of the Spanish people in the garden of Valencia, or the bull-ring, *La Catedral* showed with this his contempt for the clerical life which finds its centres in an historic city like Toledo. Although he had begun his life as a deputy it was not until the novel translated into English as *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* won him by its success, both as a book and as a film, a considerable fortune, and enabled him to establish himself securely in a villa near Mentone, that he concentrated his attention on political pamphlets. For he wished to be remembered by future generations with Unamuno and Ortega as the saviour of his country. He began his second career as a politician by a scurrilous attack on the King: he next published a collection of contributions to periodicals under the title *Por España y contro el Rey*, and only in the third gives any real constructive suggestions. He wants to lower the cost of living, to get higher pay for the clergy, to improve education, to enrich the peasantry, and equalise the incidence of taxes, by turning the Spanish Directorate into a republic. "I only take interest in what impresses me at the first glance" Ibañez once said to Unamuno, and that is not enough for a student of politics. For in Spain, says the Count de Romanones, a government is almost incapable of overcoming the inertia of public opinion. The confession of a liberal politician of experience proves how slight is the practical knowledge or ability with which Blasco supports his fancy for a republic.

The Directorate is unshaken by pamphlets of this kind, and indeed, though they remind us that the republic is a form of

government cherished by some in Spain, they do nothing to prove that it would harmonise with the ideals of the people as a whole. The Directory meanwhile is busy with its schemes for giving Spain a new constitution. In the first place, it restored order, and to guarantee life and property is the first function of a government: and, as all newspapers agreed when it made its revolution, the record of the parliamentary governments left it no opportunity to maintain order worse than they. Like its predecessors, it promulgated excellent edicts, but they were not enforced. It then set to work on the largest issues of politics. First of all it gave to the municipalities and the mayors a new power: it gave them competence over all their own affairs. It claimed that in doing so it was re-establishing an ancient ideal of the Spanish people. And here it undoubtedly secured a success. And it claimed that by giving universal suffrage to the vote for municipal government, it was establishing government on the unarguable basis of the people's will. From this basis of self-government, it arrived at evolving the provincial parliaments. There still remains the central government. Is that to be elected, or will not Spain cling rather to the unelected executive, virtually nominees of the Crown, by which a few months ago she replaced the military government and which has held the central government in its own hands? The system is evidently not unwelcome to the King. While he spoke frankly at Cordoba in 1921 of the incompetence of his parliaments he gave no uncertain hint to Messieurs Jérôme and Jean Tharaud of his approval of the present administration. Their admirable little book gives a brilliant account of the trouble in Morocco, the trouble which Primo de Rivera led to a spectacularly successful conclusion in 1925. In his interview with Tharaud the King claimed that the attitude of the Spanish people towards the Directory had been a daily referendum in its favour, and that it secured both liberty and order.

It is evident, therefore, that in so far as the King interprets the feelings of his people—and who as a reigning monarch is more astute?—Spain has some other ideal of government than democracy. But what other can there be? Not an absolute monarchy: rather an administration where efficient masters appointed by the Crown act in consultation with the heads of industry, and, in fact, with a body of competent advisers. We see outside Spain something of the same kind in the Federal Economic Council in Germany, and indeed it has some relation to the whole movement headed by Herr Stegerwald. And the Directorate has a parallel to it in the Council of State. The constitution had a suggestion of it in the Senate. It is only a government of this kind which can really be effective in a country where the majority is illiterate, reads no

newspapers, takes no interest in politics, and where the tradition of public service is incompetence. The new ideal of Spain is efficient, not democratic, government. And a society like the Union Patriótica to cure Spain of her ills, by pressing for firm action in the country, in a word by supporting the Directorate, is accompanied by the spread of the ancient Catalan institution, the Somaten. It is a body of private citizens who voluntarily assist the police in defending life and property : and was in fact the model of the Italian *fasci* before they seized the government.

Such a government is the logical conclusion of the theories of a leading Spanish publicist we have quoted, Don Ramiro de Maeztu. Like Zuloaga, Unamuno and Baroja, Maeztu also is a Basque. His theories recall the socialistic ideals of both Mazzini and Rathenau. "First men's duties, then their dues" is an aphorism which sums up the teaching of both. While Mazzini felt the need of bringing to their senses the crowds who were intoxicated with such phrases as the rights of man, Rathenau saw the danger of irresponsible wealth and of having parasites to society in rich men who perform no function equal to their privileges. Maeztu is aware of both dangers, but his book, which is published in English as *Authority, Liberty and Function*, has for its Spanish title *La Crisis del Umanesimo*. The danger he signals is that man should regard himself as the centre of the universe, rather than, platonically, as an instrument to realise the eternal values. If the basis of authority and privilege is function, function is based on a moral law and especially on those virtues which make society a unit, and as a unity associates organisms in the constitution of eternal life and order.

Spain then in her turn is facing the same problem as the other countries of Europe : the accommodation of the ideals associated with the word democracy is more of a strain to her than elsewhere, because the survival of the old standards of circumstances and conduct has still to be united with what the material world has learnt of comfort and cosmopolitanism in the last hundred years. The use of modern invention and order for material advantage, which distinguishes for example America and Germany, is now beginning to be realised in Spain ; and her trade and wealth have increased very much among certain classes and in certain parts of the country, more especially Catalonia, the Basque Provinces and Madrid. Business ideas have not been applied to the incidence of taxes, but Don José Calvo Sotelo, the most able of the ministers who have given a new life to municipal government, is now attempting efficiently to collect the taxes. Business methods are becoming everywhere more and more popular in Spain, and the growth of Madrid, Bilbao and Barcelona into the imposing modern

towns that they now are, is the most impressive sign that could be seen of the spread of the modern material ideals in Spain.

But there was a set-back after the war in Spain as elsewhere, and it has meant continuous difficulty in balancing the budget. Spain however copies Paris in better things than this, and the influence and the popularity of Paris are indisputable in the improvement of hotels, so that baths, electricity, running water in the bedrooms, and the highest models of sanitation, set an example of cleanliness which is generally maintained, and which by most travellers is more highly prized than those generous supplies of meat provided now, as in the past, in Spanish hotels. This rapid change in the material standards of the towns has been accompanied by a happy expression of taste and culture. The taste for interior decoration in Madrid and Barcelona is as high as anywhere in Europe ; it combines freshness with dignity. This is particularly the case in the new residential college in Madrid, but it attains grander effects among collections of the old nobility, as in the Palacia di Lirio at Madrid. Sport accompanies taste, and football competes with the *corrida* as the national sport of Spain.

Not less interesting is the creative life of the intellectuals. Pidal and others show in painting and sculpture that Zuloaga is not Spain's only artist. And the names of Azorin, Juan Ramon Jimenez, Ramon de la Valle Inclan, the painter of the past, and Perez de Ayala, who sees with a distinctness which ensures clear pictures of beauty, remind us to what finish the present generation of Spaniards have brought the critical essay and the novel. The mind of Spain has, indeed, awakened, and it needs only a man of outstanding genius to lead it to that growth into national greatness which distinguished Italy fifty, and Germany a hundred years ago. If it does awaken, the pride of the Spanish temperament should keep her immune from the theatrical poses which have made many unsympathetic to the political changes of the Italy of to-day. And she is facing not less directly the problems of commerce and administration for which, owing to her temperament, she cannot apply with any hope of success the solutions which seemed to lead the Teutonic nations. Her problem is to adjust time to eternity, the individual to society, to realise how efficiency itself should be a moral quality. Spain is fascinated by the immediate, and she feels a passion for the eternal ; but her future depends on whether she can see that in improving human standards and fulfilling obligations a national society shows practical qualities which have a supernatural value, or, as she might prefer to put it, shows supernatural qualities which have a practical value.

R. E. GORDON GEORGE.

JAPAN LOOKS ACROSS THE PACIFIC.

EVER since the first violent agitation, which broke out in San Francisco against Japanese immigration in the spring of 1906, England has watched Japan's attitude towards the United States with apprehension. In the few years following that agitation, prophecies of war in the Pacific were heard in Europe. Great Britain, owing to her alliance with Japan, was particularly fearful lest the immigration irritation between Japan and America should develop into an open conflict. Japan, appreciating the delicate position of her Western ally *vis-à-vis* the Republic across the Atlantic, revised the Treaty of Alliance in July, 1911, so as to absolve Great Britain of all obligation to aid her in the not entirely inconceivable event of war with America. The absolution was provided in these words: "Should either High Contracting Party conclude a treaty of general arbitration with a third Power, it is agreed that nothing in this agreement shall entail upon such contracting Power an obligation to go to war with the Power with whom such treaty of arbitration is in force." Unfortunately the United States Senate failed to ratify the arbitration treaty which Downing Street had concluded with Washington with a view to giving effect to this new article of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. Naturally, British opinion and British sentiment continued to react sharply and quickly to any signs of American-Japanese discord. The inevitable outcome was the abrogation of the Alliance at the Washington Conference of 1921-22, substituting for it the so-called "Four Power Pacific Treaty," a wholly innocuous instrument.

England, thus divorced from, or rather divorcing, Japan, is nevertheless deeply concerned with any untoward development of America's relations with Japan. For it is obvious that, alliance or no alliance with Japan, the involvement of the two great Pacific Powers in an actual conflict is bound to exercise a profound and far-reaching influence upon British interests and even British destiny. Naturally, when in 1924 the enactment of the American immigration law, with a Japanese exclusion clause, called forth a storm of protests throughout the Mikado's Empire, there was genuine apprehension in the British Isles. It was also feared that the United States, with her financial and economic strength enormously enhanced by the war, was destined to become Japan's relentless rival in China. A British writer of considerable prominence has gone so far as to predict that the "war of the Pacific" will break out upon the expiration of the "Four Power Treaty" and of the Naval Treaty of Washington—that is, 1932. Is such really the expectation of the Japanese? Have they reached the stage wherein they believe shot and shell the only effective language in which to address

Washington? What, indeed, is Japan's real attitude towards America?

In answering such questions, certain broad theses may be set down at the outset. First, Japan will never go to war on the sole score of emigration. Secondly, Japan will endeavour to co-operate with, rather than block, America in China, for she has her Mr. L. J. Garvin, and legions like him, working to establish accord with America. But if American acts in the Far East, under the ægis of the open door principle, prove such as to convince her that she is deliberately being deprived of the right of existence, she may be driven to a desperate determination. Fortunately, Japan knows the United States too well to believe that the American people will permit whatever "imperialistic" sentiment may exist among them to embroil the two nations on account of the Chinese market and Chinese enterprise.

Let us consider the first aspect of the American Japanese question—that of immigration. True, Japan was cut to the quick when America adopted the exclusion law. Equally true is it that whatever Washington may think of it, Tokyo does not consider the issue closed—it regards it as a pending diplomatic problem. Does not this attitude belie the sweeping statement that Japan will never appeal to arms for the solution of the emigration question? The answer may be found in the meaning of the emigration question as defined or understood by Japan, or at least her Government and her thinking class. What, then, is the question at issue? Does Japan insist upon sending emigrants to America without restriction? Does she demand that America open its doors to the Japanese as widely as to European immigration? If such were Japan's stand, no common ground could indeed be found for the two nations. America, I am sure, will resist such demands at the point of the bayonet, and Japan knows it. What Japan is asking of America is not the right or privilege of free immigration—it is simply this, that the American Government, whatever it may privately think of Japan, desist from humiliating her openly, deliberately, and unwarrantedly in the concourse of Great Powers in which, fortunately or unfortunately, she has come to occupy no insignificant position. In fact, immigration is not the real issue—the issue is whether America shall conform to the common dictates of courtesy, good manners, and good will, such as are usually observed by a civilised nation in dealing with a neighbour whose international prestige is on the same plane as its own. The point, perhaps, calls for elucidation.

In August, 1926, there was convened at Tokyo, under the auspices of the Foreign Office and of the Department of Commerce, what was officially called the South Pacific Trade Conference. On that occasion a spokesman for the Foreign Office announced that Japan, realising

the difficulty of sending emigrants to the United States, Canada, or Australia, had decided to solve, or at least alleviate, the strain of over-population by developing industries at home and expanding trade abroad, especially in the regions of the South Pacific. This effort, he said, would be coupled with an attempt to develop for colonisation whatever room might be found within her own borders. As a matter of fact, this policy needs no reiteration at this time—it has always been Japan's guiding principle. Never in her history has she attempted to force unwelcome immigration upon America or the British dominions. This is a matter of common knowledge. Japanese emigration to the United States even at its highest watermark amounted to only 1 per cent. of the total yearly immigration to that country. Even this small influx was greatly curtailed when Japan, in the wake of the San Francisco agitation of 1906, accepted the now historical "Gentlemen's Agreement," whereby she undertook to prevent the emigration of labourers to the United States except the parents, wives, and children of those already resident in America. Almost simultaneously, Japan concluded with Canada an agreement, known as the Lemieux Agreement, of much the same nature as that with the United States. Nor was this all the concession she was will to make. She has on more occasions than one made it plain that she is ready to talk it over with America in a friendly and conciliatory spirit if at any time the "Gentleman's Agreement" be found insufficient to check Japanese immigration as rigidly as desired by the other party. The only thing Japan is anxious by all means to avoid is an open humiliation such as is implied in the exclusion of her nationals by a formal treaty or a statute which would fix upon her a stigma of inferiority.

This Japanese point of view was well expressed by Mr. Masanao Hanihara, late Ambassador to Washington, in his official letter to the State Department under date of April 10th, 1924. Although the letter, because of unfortunate, if innocent and legitimate, use of the phrase "grave consequences," proved his pitfall, its essential value as Japan's official explanation of the substance and practical working of the "Gentlemen's Agreement" cannot be minimised. Said Mr. Hanihara:

"The Japanese Government showed from the very beginning of this problem their perfect willingness to co-operate with the United States Government effectively to prevent by all honourable means the entrance into the United States of such Japanese nationals as are not desired by the United States, and have given ample evidences thereof, the facts of which are well known to your Government. To Japan the question is not one of expediency, but of principle. To her the mere fact that a few hundreds or thousands of her nationals will or will not be admitted into the domains of other countries is immaterial, so long as no question of national susceptibilities is involved. The important question is

whether Japan as a nation is or is not entitled to the proper respect and consideration of other nations. In other words, the Japanese Government asks of the United States Government simply that proper consideration ordinarily given by one nation to the self-respect of another, which after all forms the basis of amicable international intercourse throughout the civilised world."

Here, I think, is the basic idea of the "Gentlemen's Agreement." Japan, though willing to restrict the emigration of her nationals on her own accord, has consistently insisted that the discriminatory restriction or exclusion of Japanese immigration by a formal treaty with, or by a domestic law of, any foreign government is incompatible with the prestige and dignity with which the Powers have by common consent clothed her. In deference to this stand, America, in 1911, deleted from her treaty with Japan a clause providing for the exclusion of Japanese labourers. England, too, revised her treaty with Japan in the same year, providing anew that "the subjects of each contracting party shall have full liberty to enter, travel, and reside in the territory of the other." Thus Japan was placed, at least before the world, on a plane of equality with England and America. If she entered into a separate, informal agreement, restricting the emigration of her labourers to the United States or Canada, that was entirely a voluntary act—the gentlemen's courtesy to his neighbours. True, she recognised unreservedly the binding force of such agreements as between the parties concerned; but as for the world in general, it was expected to close its eyes to the "Gentlemen's Agreement," recognising only the treaties which put Japan on equal terms with the leading Powers.

It was this plausible idea, and nothing more, which Japan, in 1924, defended against the proposal of the American Congress to make her an object of open discrimination. She would have been perfectly satisfied had the Congress applied the general quota restriction to Japanese immigration, though that would have admitted only 100 Japanese immigrants, because such a measure would have placed Japan, at least technically, upon equal footing with European nations, and that was all she wanted. How Congress could ignore a plea so reasonable and so plain is beyond comprehension. And yet it flew in the face of the repeated warnings from the White House and the State Department, and flung Japan into the fold of excluded, and impliedly inferior, races.

What is Japan's answer to this challenge? Baron Kijuro Shidehara, Foreign Minister, in expounding Japan's international policy before the Diet, has given the answer thus:

"We regret the discriminatory clause against the Japanese in the Immigration Act of 1924. The question still remains unsettled. It should, however, be remembered that a law cannot be modified except by a law, and that under the constitutional system of the

United States the Legislature is entirely independent of the Executive. It is obvious that continued discussion of this matter between the two Governments at this time will not, in itself, serve any useful purpose. What is really important in the final analysis of the question is that the American people shall have come to a correct understanding of our people and of our point of view. An impetuous mood or an impassioned utterance will not conduce to international understanding. There is no doubt that the same love of justice that kindled American independence still continues to inspire the minds of the American people. The day will come when this fact will be fully demonstrated."

In a word "watchful waiting" is Japan's policy. She does not regard the immigration issue as closed, and will on every possible opportunity seek the readjustment of the present arrangement. She is encouraged to hope that such an opportunity will sooner or later present itself, for she knows that most of the far-seeing leaders in America consider the Japanese Exclusion Act a colossal diplomatic blunder, casting to the winds Japan's good-will which could have been preserved without any material sacrifice on the part of the United States. President Coolidge, though he signed the Immigration Act, regrets its Japanese exclusion clause. Mr. Charles Evans Hughes, while still Secretary of State, repeatedly said to Congress that the Japanese exclusion provision was "unnecessary even for the purpose for which it was devised" and that it "should be, in the interest of our international relations, eliminated." Mr. Cyrus E. Woods, American Ambassador to Tokyo at the time of the enactment of Japanese exclusion, resigned in protest against the law, and continues to criticise it before the American public. At the recent session of the Institute of Politics, an international organisation at Williams College, Dr. Harry Garfield, President of the College, frankly called Japanese exclusion America's grave diplomatic and legislative blunder, and urged the restoration of the "Gentlemen's Agreement" coupled with the application of the general quota restriction to Japanese immigration. This, I am sure, is the general opinion among the leading men in America. If so, Japan's hope for a better immigration arrangement with America cannot be an idle dream.

Meanwhile, Japan will be patient. She can afford to be, for the issue involves no great material interest. Japan has no intention of sending emigrants to America anyway. Whether 100 Japanese shall be admitted into America as immigrants is certainly not a question affecting her national existence which should be settled now and here even by the arbitrament of the sword. Whatever may be Japan's faults—and they are numerous—she is sensible enough to know the folly of cutting off her nose to spite her face. And certainly her acts towards America since the enactment of

Japanese exclusion have been wise and generous. Even while the ink was fresh upon the Exclusion Act, Japan adopted a law which, in conformity with American opinion, put an end to the dual nationality of American-born Japanese, thus regarding such Japanese *ipso facto* as American citizens. Another new measure extends land ownership to American residents in Japan—this, in spite of the enactment of anti-Japanese land laws in all the Western States of America. Japan, in short, has not acted in the spirit of "an eye for an eye."

Now we come to an entirely different aspect of the American-Japanese problem—namely, that of America as Japan's rival in China. Ever since the late Mr. Philander C. Knox, Secretary of State under President Taft, put forth a proposal to internationalise the Manchurian railways (which, if adopted, would have destroyed the Japanese position secured at a sacrifice of a hundred thousand lives and a billion dollars), Japan has had an uneasy feeling that America is intent upon replacing her in China. If the United States would only follow the policy enunciated by President Roosevelt there would be little trouble.

"Our vital interest," he wrote to President Taft, his successor at the White House, in 1910, "is to keep the Japanese out of our country, and at the same time to preserve the good-will of Japan. The vital interest of the Japanese is in Manchuria and Korea. It is therefore peculiarly our interest not to take any steps as regards Manchuria which will give the Japanese any cause to feel, with or without reason, that we are hostile to them, or a menace—in however slight a degree—to their interests."

But this policy enunciated by Mr. Roosevelt has not always been observed. "After I left office," he wrote on another occasion, "a most mistaken and ill-advised policy has been pursued towards Japan." The Knox proposal was the precise reversal of the Roosevelt Policy. It is now a matter of common knowledge that America, rather than China, was responsible for the expulsion of the Japanese from Shantung. Will the United States, conscious of her wealth and prowess fabulously increased by the world war, essay a rôle of knight-errant in the Far East? Will she attempt to dictate to Japan what she shall or shall not do in China? Will she thus blight Japan's only hope of alleviating her population pressure, and of promoting her industries and trade with the aid of the resources found, not within her own borders, but on the other side of the Japan and China Seas? Once the Japanese became convinced that such really were America's intentions, they would assuredly prepare themselves with unalterable determination to resist the American advance at any cost. For here, be it clearly understood, is a question which involves Japan's very existence. She is poor; her population is embarrassingly increasing;

her natural resources are scant; her own soil no longer yields enough food to support her population; she is denied the usual right of emigration. What is she to do? Japan is as yet far from convinced that America is determined to drive her to the wall, but none the less the United States continues to be her enigma in China. The American people, bred in the traditions of Washington and Lincoln, are often a law unto themselves, and seem to think that theirs is the only Chinese policy based upon justice and humanity, while those of other nations are founded upon selfishness. To them the open-door policy so assiduously propagated is an altruism devised for the sole benefit of China. Other Powers, however, have something different to say about it—they think that the open door is a dignified *camouflage* for a policy whose real purpose is to destroy the *status quo* in China so as to make room for American capital and American enterprise. Moreover, the open door, as advocated by America, is entirely one-sided. While insisting upon building railroads and launching all sorts of enterprises in Manchuria, China, or Siberia, America, under the ægis of the elastic Monroe Doctrine, denies the Japanese even the right to develop farm lands in Mexico on a small scale. What, indeed, would America say if a Japanese *entrepreneur* proposed to build a railway or develop mineral resources in Mexico?

Nevertheless, Japan must close her eyes to such American peculiarities and eccentricities, for no nation can be faultless. And after all has been said and done, America has so far been the most disinterested nation in China. No, Japan's policy in China is not to quarrel, but to co-operate with America whenever and wherever possible. In deference to American sentiment Japan has completely withdrawn from Shantung. She was the first to fulfil every provision of the Washington Agreement. At the last Opium Conference at Geneva, Japan worked harmoniously with China and the United States. At the Tariff Conference which opened at Peking last October Japan was the first to propose tariff autonomy for China, and has since been ready to co-operate with America in other liberal measures in connection with China's tariff question. With her policy in China so conciliatory and so sympathetic, the Americans have opened their eyes, and are beginning to think that after all they may be able to get along well enough with Japan. Japan's desire to-day is to inaugurate close co-operation with America in economic and commercial enterprises in China. She fears, however, that America would rather play a lone hand, confident of her ability to outstrip her rivals by sheer force of unrivalled financial and economic resources.

That this fear is not entirely unfounded is seen in the controversy

which has waxed between Japan and America over the radio enterprise in China. In 1918 the Chinese Ministry of the Navy awarded Mitsui and Company of Japan a contract to erect a 500 kilowatt radio station at Peking. Under this contract, Mitsui agreed to operate the station for thirty years under the supervision of the Chinese navy, to pay China 10 per cent. of its gross receipts, and hand over to her the entire establishment without charge at the end of the aforesaid period. As long as this arrangement continued, China was to allow no other party to erect a similar or more powerful station for foreign communication. When the projected station was half completed, that is in January, 1921, an American firm, the Federal Telegraph Company of California, obtained a concession to build for the Chinese Ministry of Communications a 1,000 kilowatt station and a 100 kilowatt station at Shanghai, a 200 kilowatt station at Harbin, and a 100 kilowatt station each at Peking and Canton, at a total cost of \$13,000,000. If this American project materialised, the Mitsui station at Peking would go out of business, for it was evident that for some years to come one radio station was sufficient to meet all China's requirements in foreign communications. Naturally, Japan protested to China against the American concession. England and other European nations, who had a prior interest in China's radio enterprise, likewise protested. Japan, anxious to arrive at an amicable settlement, made a great concession and proposed two years ago that the Mitsui station at Peking be turned over to the Chinese Government to be operated as China's own enterprise—that the 8,560,000 *yen* expended by Mitsui for that station be taken over by an international board on which America, Japan, England, and France would be duly represented; that the proposed board supervise the operation of the said radio station, and that no other station be erected until China's financial and economic conditions sufficiently improved to justify additional stations. To the Japanese mind no fairer proposal could be conceived. It would deprive Mitsui and Company of the controlling interest in the Peking station granted in the original contract, and would do justice to all interested parties. Even Mr. Owen D. Young, whose Radio Corporation of America has taken over the China radio concession of the Federal Telegraph Company, is of the opinion that "the radio communications in China cannot be developed by the competitive duplications of stations," and that "stations are too expensive, business in China is too meagre, wave lengths are all too rare . . . to permit successful execution of such a programme." And yet the American Government, evidently desirous of establishing an American-controlled system of communication across the Pacific, has turned down the Japanese

proposal and has been urging upon China the execution of the American contract.

It is, of course, idle to think that one such controversy will lead to serious trouble, but it is quite conceivable that continued and indefinite multiplication of similar cases will result in an unfortunate situation. America is powerful. She has almost stepped into Britain's shoes as the world's financier. Politically and militarily, as well as economically, she is the most formidable Power, and she is fully conscious of it. She is in a position to browbeat every nation on earth. Has this consciousness of power served to awaken in her bosom a sense of *noblesse oblige*? Is she alive to the moral responsibility that goes with so great material wealth and physical prowess as she has attained? In her dealings with foreign nations is she willing to observe the principle of "live and let live"? Such are some of the questions which are being asked about America in the Far East no less than in Europe.

K. K. KAWAKAMI.

'CLEANTHES: A RELIGIOUS GENIUS.

THE early Masters of Stoicism did not spring from the ranks of educated thought. Zeno himself was a merchant of Phœnician birth whose dealings in the famous purple dye brought him to Athens; shipwrecked, it is said near the Piræus, he lingered fascinated by the spirit of inquiry in the air, went from teacher to teacher seeking an answer to the riddles of life, and after eighteen years himself began philosophical teaching, elaborating in the arena of open discussion dogmas partly borrowed and partly original, which claimed in an age of mental unrest to make man at peace with himself and with the universe. Chrysippus, the third in the order of succession, had been a professional athlete before he devoted himself to philosophy; and Cleanthes, upon whose shoulders the mantle of Zeno fell, is said to have been a boxer. It is evident that Stoicism was not the product of the learned curiosity of university professors, spinning airy speculative cobwebs in college cloisters, but something very much in touch with the practical life of everyday people; its interpretations of human duty were not published in expensive volumes, only to be handled by limited groups of academic thinkers; there was nothing alien or forbidding in its aspect; it sprang from the soil and grew in the open air; the questions which it strove to answer were not artificially elicited, but spontaneously born in the minds of the men in the marketplace—the trader, the sportsman, the athlete. Common men had an interest in its inquiries. In short, as a guide of life it corresponded far better with the modern idea of a religion than a philosophy.

And Stoicism never lost its practical touch. It was the same when introduced to Rome a hundred years after the death of Zeno. Cicero, who so often introduces its exponents with their dull and heavy lectures into his dialogues, must not mislead us into thinking that Stoicism appealed chiefly to the intellect of the Roman; Seneca, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius show it treading simply enough in the common road of practice. Mr. Cyril Bailey has emphasised lately how congenial its discipline was to the Roman temper, how Virgil practically made his hero a Stoic, and Horace for all his raillery betrays his sense of its vast importance as a standing rock amid the welter of the thought of his day. At Rome in its maturity as at Athens in its infancy it appealed no doubt to the honest-minded man of affairs and the simple-minded man of muscle, whose traditional religion had foundered amid the waves of change, and not only to the cultured salon at Tusculum or Baïæ.

But such popularity and recognition as a driving force is not easy to understand, if we judge the Stoic faith merely by the dry dogmas of its founders. To us they appear hard, cold, intellect-

ualist, wilfully paradoxical, embers once alive maybe but now with all the fire gone out of them. Zeno's bare syllogisms move us as little as propositions of Euclid; "they were merely a vehicle" says Mr. Edwyn Bevan "for the intense convictions of the teacher." And Chrysippus produced interminable volumes, long happily perished, devoid of the adornments of a pleasing style, on the three great departments of Stoic teaching, nature, logic and ethics. Was this indeed the kind of thing that converted the ordinary pleasure-loving man? "Something deep in their own hearts rose up to bear witness to the things he affirmed. It was the way of faith," answers Mr. Bevan.

It is well, of course, to remember how little power reasoned statements have to reproduce the great surge and flow of intense life; Christian theology seen from outside no doubt presents the same enigma: are these cautious and formal catechisms, these intellectual refinements, really responsible for Christian life and activity? Well, at any rate wayfaring men of Alexandria and Constantinople in the fifth century, of Geneva, London and Glasgow in the sixteenth and seventeenth, and students of theology in unsuspected places to-day do find intense satisfaction in the phrasing and elaboration of the metaphysical groundwork of the religious system to which their living powers are devoted. Even Mrs. Eddy borrowed a mad metaphysics for her basis, offering a sacrifice of reality beneath the corner-stone of her temple. In the same way, as, indeed, beneath all successful religious systems, there had to be in Stoicism a set of dogmas cold, dry and repellent to us, which to the devotee of the system appeared to exert a far greater influence on the devotion of his heart and will than they really did. They represented the metaphysical reality, that guaranteed the right direction of his aims.

The theologian again sometimes apologises for the intricacy of his formulæ by explaining that they were constructed not arbitrarily but gradually in order to meet opposing heretical statements of an equally or even more intricate character; this no doubt is also true of the Stoic doctrines. Zeno expressed wilful paradoxes in a spirit of wild revolt; they were by their materialism opposed to the teaching of the heirs of Plato; they were open on all sides to the attack of the Sceptics. The Stoic's best defence of his extraordinary propositions was the *solvitur ambulando* of the Cynics; but that did not satisfy him, he must have sounder ground under his feet than the Cynic, and sounder ground he believed could be discovered, truth of life could be shown to rest on truth of thought. So he worked out a complete materialistic natural philosophy, a crude enough theory of knowledge on a sensationalist basis, a logic on traditional lines, as the foundation of the ethics or way of life

which he affirmed to be the *summum bonum*. The yolk of the egg was good, but the complete egg must have white and shell also, to take a responsible place among the philosophies of Athens.

Not even Herbert Spencer himself could be drier than the fragments of the early Stoics collected by von Arnim, with the exception of the anecdotes drawn from the naïve treasury of Diogenes Lærtius—some very futile, but some preserving a reminiscent breath of original life. The vital question is, of course, how far such fragments, which are drawn from the quotations of later authors, are rightly ascribed say to Zeno or Cleanthes. How much did the matter-of-fact scissors of Chrysippus trim away to round off his system? Through what vicissitudes did the stock statements, ranged in orderly anthologies for the use of students and lecturers, pass in the course of generations? They bear in their cold abstraction little stamp of personality, and read like the formulæ of a school. So that few students would be inclined to put too much trust in the ascription of special sayings to special men, and most would indulge a haunting suspicion that what moved the best spirits of the Greek world of the third century into the secure haven of Stoic peace was something more than the system of which such fragments have preserved the memory; something bigger and deeper; a life, a force more mystical and less logical must have been in the early Stoics, something more able to convert from darkness to light than abstract propositions, and a clear-cut intellectual system.

So we approach the *Hymn of Cleanthes*. Its haunting music may well express that which commonsense looks for in the Stoic origins. Does it not represent a mysticism, which was perhaps more the secret of the power of Stoicism than its dogmas and logic? Its composition by the successor of the founder, its accurate preservation, and the regard in which it was held in antiquity guarantee its place as a real expression of what men understood Stoicism to be, a real expression of its soul.

It is a Person that the poet addresses, not a mere personification. Who can doubt it as he reads?

"Most glorious of the immortals, called by many names, Zeus ever Almighty, steering all things in accord with law, all hail! For right it is all mortals should address thee; since we are thy children granted the only mirror of the one of all the mortal things that live and move on earth. Therefore I will glorify thee and ever sing thy praise."

This great Source of order guides the universe, as it whirls round the earth; with the terror of his thunderbolt he empowers the reason which runs through all things. Nothing in heaven or earth is done without him, "save what evil men do in their folly." That problem of evil, the riddle of the ages, the folly of foolish

men, how does Cleanthes deal with it? Very differently from the text-books of his school. He leaves it humbly and trustfully at the feet of God.

"And thou art skilled," he writes, "to make odd even, to order the disordered, and make thy foes into friends. For thou hast so bound the many in the one, the good with the evil, that there be one everlasting Reason in all; this all human sinners evade and lose, unhappy men! Ever they covet what the good possess, and neither see the one Law of God, nor listen to it. Oh! if they obeyed it in their mind, how blest they would be! But they tread their ignoble path, one this way, one that, some vieing in a petty tussle for glory, some bent on wild pursuit of gain, some on self-indulgence and sensual pleasure, for all their zeal, alas! reaping the opposite of their desire."

Such is the poet's picture of the men of his time, a sad aberration from the order of the universe: they are all gone out of the way and become abominable; no Hebrew prophet painted earth more pathetically black. Is there a remedy? Certainly, said the Stoic, in the following of his philosophy, in the mastery of self; the formulæ were all written out, the road was clear, there was salvation for the elect who would walk in it. But what of those who would not? It must be confessed that there was a Calvinistic hardness in the Stoic Creed—let them perish in their sins. The wonder of the *Hymn of Cleanthes* is that it outsoars the heartlessness of dogma, and in view of man's sin breaks forth into prayer to the God whom he is praising.

"But thou, oh, Zeus, Giver of all, cloud-veiled, Lord of the thunder, save men from their grievous ignorance! Scatter it, Father, from their souls! Do thou grant them the wisdom, by faith in which thou guidest all things in righteousness."

And then the hymn fitly ends in a pæan of praise. These passages are familiar no doubt. But they can hardly be taken as a matter of course. In thinking of the rise of Stoicism we must never forget that the second head of the school penned such a view of life. The sense of a perfect personality at the root of a puzzling universe, the greeting of his law in a spirit of joyous submission, the assurance of the reality of human sin, the one blot on the perfection of creation, and above all the cry naturally Christian to the heart of the Divine Lawgiver Himself to set right the mistakes of sinners: whence did they spring in Cleanthes' soul? Not surely from Zeno's syllogisms, but from the same source as the inspired words of the Hebrew prophets. The veracity of this old voice of two hundred years before the birth of Christ, its identity with the best type of religious expression, its suitability even for Christian lips, tell us that if this was the Stoic appeal in its normal form in any sense, we can understand how its claim on men to make the law within agree with the law of the universe spoke to them so impera-

tively; it won because it came charged with sympathy and faith in God. It spoke with assurance of God to men yearning for God.

Conjecture is always hazardous; but with such a poem before us we may be tempted to ascribe the religious spirit of Stoicism to Cleanthes rather than to Zeno. If Zeno, we may venture, uniting as Mr. Bevan suggests something of the Eastern prophet with something of the Greek philosopher, saw clearly that man's way to peace lay simply in the quelling of the demons of fear and desire, and utter disregard of external circumstances which are beyond our control, if he discerned behind the show of things an ever-certain law, with which man could make himself one, his pupil Cleanthes—a more religious mind, a truer seer, overleaping the bounds of intellectualism with a more fervent inspiration—may be conceived to have baptised ethical certainties with his own spirit and fire, emotion and faith, and given to Stoicism a greater driving force than it otherwise would have possessed. If that were the case the early triumphs of Stoicism would be more easily explained. It would be Cleanthes, with his faith in a personal God, who made it work.

A certain Philodemus writing on music quotes Cleanthes as maintaining that divine subjects can be best expressed by poetry and music.* "Prose hath not forms of speech sufficient for divine infinities; metre, tune and rhythm reach as near as is possible to the reality of the divine." It suggests that the Hymn was not an isolated production, and presents Cleanthes as a philosophical poet, the bulk of whose work has perished, one who realised that the highest truth could not be outlined in logical propositions, but only suggested by measured verse; it was the view of the pre-Socratics, the way of Lucretius later on, of Dante and Wordsworth later still; they all would have said that "metre, tune and rhythm reach as near as is possible to the reality of the divine." For to the mystic the pitiful inefficiency of mere logical statements to express the mysteries of God and the universe is always apparent, whereas he finds in poetry and music the suggestion of a reality which exact statement cannot capture. Take the other famous fragment of Cleanthes, the quatrain addressed to Destiny. Analyse it and set down its statements in bold prose. It is as dry and as intelligible as any other Stoic definition of Destiny or Fate. For robbed of its lyric wings it loses its pathos, its point, its hint of self-expression, its appearance of springing straight from the heart of one awed by the inevitable force and mystery centred on his fragile yet independent being. That sense of personality in the universe, which is the characteristic of the Hymn, is present in this fragment too. Here person speaks to person.

But the uniqueness of Cleanthes went unrecognised. He is

* Von Arnim. *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta*. I, p. 109.

classed in the orthodox accounts of the Stoics merely as the link between Zeno and Chrysippus. To Diogenes Lærtius, the biographer of the philosophers, he is only the eccentric pupil of Zeno, who differed from his master in certain technical points. Nowhere is there a hint of the prophetic inspiration that produced "the noblest hymn of antiquity."

The traditional account of Cleanthes dwells on his poverty; he was a contrast to the well-to-do habitués of the Stoa; he came to the feet of Zeno with only four drachmas in his pocket, and supported himself by drawing water at night and watering the gardens; hence they nicknamed him "the waterer." He lived hard and dressed barely; the wind would blow aside his cloak and show that he wore no undergarment; he wrote his lecture-notes on oyster-shells and bones for lack of parchment. Such was the outer life of Cleanthes, and in his way he must have been a splendid advertisement of the principles of Zeno; indeed the latter acknowledged it by ostentatiously exacting an obol from him for lecture fee, that he might hold it up before the wealthy *flâneurs* of the Porch, and tell them how "Cleanthes could support another Cleanthes, while they who were rich bled others for the necessities of life."

He was considered dull and slow-witted by superficial critics—perhaps not an unusual account of prophetic woolgatherers in social life: he never disputed the verdict, slow-witted he was content to appear. Timon might parody Homer in contemptuous raillery of the vast bulk and poetical efforts of the ex-boxer, and say he moved among the ranks of men like a great ram.

Toilworn and wordy, the Assian, a flute-piece without any spirit (*ὄλμος ἀτολμος*).

No student likes to be the butt of his fellows, but Cleanthes had the thickest of hides. When called an ass, he turned off the insult with ease—"that was why he could carry Zeno's luggage." Most humble of men, he had the habit of talking to himself, and once when they asked him to whom he was talking he answered: "He has grey hairs and no brains."

There are other such stories, and we may suppose that Cleanthes won the respect that comes to sterling worth even when accompanied by eccentricity. There is the tale of Sositheus the dramatist being foolish enough to lampoon him in a play at which he was present; he took no notice of the insult, but the audience did; they drove the dramatist from the theatre and damned his play. Of course, he had to apologise; Cleanthes only remarked that if Bacchus and Herakles had to put up with the humour of the poets, one like himself might submit gracefully. "Yet with a character like this, and in such circumstances he became so eminent, that though Zeno had other pupils of great reputation, he succeeded him as head of his school."

So Diogenes the matter-of-fact after retailing his batch of anecdotes sums up the matter four hundred years later. He does not mention the Hymn, or seem to be aware of the mystic fire that must have burned under what seemed the eccentric surface of a philosopher's personality. But luckily for the credit of the discernment of the early Stoics the Hymn was preserved and found a place in due time in the collection of Stobæus. We must not with Diogenes leave it out of account, for after what has been said it will perhaps seem likely that its spirit was in the answer which the Stoics gave to the questions of an unhappy epoch—the spirit which saw the law and order of the universe as personal and saving, as a power who would answer prayer and make odd even.

The lost philosophical works of Cleanthes were many. He seems to have dealt with the whole course of Stoic teaching; he explained the natural philosophy of Zeno, he touched the usual problems of ethics and the intricacies of Stoic logic. Thus he wrote on the Gods, on law, on love, on the principle of virtue not differing in the sexes; pleasure, the *summum bonum*, the beautiful, reason, statesmanship—in short, he covered the encyclopædic field which the Stoic professed to deal with.

(i). His account of perception is quoted as the final doctrine of the Stoa. It was crudely sensational. An objective external world was understood to come into actual contact with the material substance of the soul through the senses; it was as direct a contact as the impression of a seal on wax, an analogy which does not seem to be traced farther back than Cleanthes, and we owe it, perhaps, to his poetic faculty. "Impression"—to us it is a mere figure of speech, but to the Stoic it was actual fact in a universe material through and through. And yet this materialism must not lie under the reproach of modern materialism. It was a materialism in which God and reason were material. Material existence stood for reality. To such thinkers, and Cleanthes led them, experience must be absolutely real, the touch of a real world on a real soul; there could be no ideal sphere of reality of which our experience is the shadow-show of Plato's men in the cave with their back to the light.

(ii). Diogenes Laërtius says that in his exposition of the cardinal doctrine of the Stoics that man's happiness consists in living according to nature Cleanthes differed from other members of the school in regarding nature as "universal nature," and not the special nature proper to man as man. "What is the 'nature' to which I am to conform my ways?" the inquirer would ask, and the usual answer would be either the mighty sweep of law evident in all things, or the ideal of an ordered human life. Cleanthes is said to have preferred the former (though Zeller disputes it), and one is inclined to think that tradition is correct in attributing a real difference of emphasis to him. It accords with his sense of man's failure,

and it is in the manner of the later Stoics, e.g., Marcus Aurelius, to think of man as a small disordered part of the vast ordered universe, and of his salvation lying in the response to its call "Be like me": the eye of the poet is on nature as a whole, one vast system, and man to him is but a small item in it: it is his lot to be moulded or broken by the great machine; his aim therefore must be to work with it and never complain at the outcome of his surrender.

(iii). Cleanthes was more stoical than the Stoics in his attitude to pleasure. He allowed no convenient half-way house to stand. For him the paradox must be stated in its absolute form—"all and every pleasure is contrary to nature." A reaction perhaps from human nature's violent impulses within him, a dogmatic refuge for the endangered soul. That may be; but the paradox links on to the last point. Man's happiness lies in oneness with the universe, and the universe is simply the working out of law. Its aim, God's aim, is not pleasure; its wheels run with toil and stress; its aim is a divine order, joy in the course may be a by-product of the race, but nature does not leave her path to seek it, and if she did she would be turning her back on her objective. Man her child must imitate her. "Love not pleasure, love God," said Carlyle. Such was the noble renunciation of the Stoic. It may be hard to realise that it was a poet who expressed the Stoic Creed so uncompromisingly, but here we have a key to the soul of Cleanthes.

(iv). More than others he dwelt on the total depravity of the world as he knew it. Like other religious geniuses he saw one way and only one way of salvation; the whole world lay in wickedness for him as for another three hundred years after. We know little of that world; but we know that the bonds of ancestral piety were severed, national feeling dead, militarism rampant, and the commixture of East and West consequent on Macedonian ambition responsible no doubt for the break-up of the old morality. There was in Stoicism throughout its course a puritan repulsion from the works of the flesh. Seneca expressed it in his day no less emphatically than St. Paul and St. John. Like them Cleanthes had entered a purer sphere, and he saw with eyes like theirs the utter blackness of the outer darkness. But the Hymn shows us that, bitter as his sense of human failure was, an inner voice assured him, as it assured them, of a mysterious sympathy in the heart of the Divine Lawgiver, which could, in the last resort, be appealed to, a power making for righteousness over the ruins of human folly.

(v). Cleanthes again held what Chrysippus denied—that virtue was never lost. It was a noble faith, which has dignified some not unworthy tracts of Christian thought. The position of conquest once attained, the unity grasped—*quis separabit?* He at least felt so strongly the glory and the power of his great certainty, that he knew none could rob him of it.

(vi). He seems to have been specially active in the Stoic employment of allegorising the stories of the gods. We may suppose that the work appealed to him both as a poet and a moralist: as a poet because the stories charmed him, as a moralist because he knew that truth in the form of parable enters easiest into lowly doors. The Stoic identified the Father of Gods and men with the principle of order immanent in the universe; in so doing he raised Him to a lonely height as far above gods and dæmons as men. Zeus alone remained unchanged from eternity through the evolution and decay of successive universes; at the "conflagration" or periodical destruction of the universe by fire He drew gods and the world back into Himself, and "God was all in all." The Stoic believed in the gods, but regarded them as manifestations of the characteristics of the all-spirit; they existed to show forth the many-sidedness of Zeus in personal form. And the traditional stories about them were not to be accepted as fact, or rejected as blasphemy, but regarded as embodying a spiritual meaning. In short, Homer was allegorised, as Philo allegorised the traditions of the Jews. Cleanthes especially undertook the task of explaining even the most loathsome mythologies as pictorial accounts of natural phenomena. We may trust the ascription of much of this work to him; it is quite in tune with an intensely mystic mind, and gave scope for the poetic instinct of the author of the Hymn. He is especially happy in his explanation of the Labours of Herakles.

We need not be concerned to dispute that Cleanthes had his prosaic moments. He probably lectured, wrote, and discussed life's problems along the lines his master had laid down loyally enough. He being "an ass" was as he said "fit to carry Zeno's luggage." But let us say he carried it with a difference. The cold dogmas of Zeno had indeed entered into him, and delivered him from the desire and the fear which oppressed his life. They had given him his soul: they were the watchwords of salvation for him and other men. But in the writer of the Hymn they become something more than intellectual provender, or helpful commonsense. They kindle a fire, which is identical with the manifestations of all great religion. For him the assurance of the Divine Order drew a picture, and a very tender one, of the person in whom it was immanent. The certainty that man could attain the same order in his life conferred on him the mystic peace of the quietest, while the vision of the ideal without and within threw the depravity of men into blacker shadows. But even so for Cleanthes there were depths in the everlasting mercy, whether the official Stoa granted it or not, which left possibilities of hope and grounds for prayer in the last resort for the saving of the victims of evil from themselves.

W. J. FERRAR.

AFTER MARCUS GARVEY—WHAT OF THE NEGRO?

MARCUS GARVEY came to the United States less than ten years ago, unheralded, unfriended, without acquaintance, relationship, or means of livelihood. This Jamaican immigrant was thirty years old, partially educated, and 100 per cent. black. He possessed neither comeliness of appearance nor attractive physical personality. Judged by external appraisal, there was nothing to distinguish him from thousands of West Indian blacks who flock to our seaport cities. And yet this ungainly youth by sheer indomitability of will projected a propaganda and commanded a following, within the brief space of a decade, which made the whole nation mark him and write his speeches in their books. The Garvey Movement seemed to be absurd, grotesque, and bizarre, but the possibilities of its involvements, as well as the ardour of advocacy and the extent and intensity of discipleship engendered by its author and founder, filled the minds of statesmen and thinkers with more than momentary amazement and apprehension.

Young Garvey in his island home had tasted to the dregs the cup of personal and racial humiliation and chagrin, and had experienced triple ostracism on account of race, colour, and class. A personal affront in his adolescent years sent the iron into his soul from which it has never been withdrawn. Smarting under a keen sense of wrong, his restless, rebellious spirit drove him from country to country and from continent to continent, seeking rest and finding none. His intellectual and moral faculties, though untutored, were wildly active. His mind was swayed first by one wild notion and then by another. The consciousness gradually grew upon him that he was sent and commissioned to right the wrongs of his race. Suddenly the key-word flashed across his mind. Thenceforth this black John the Baptist, with amazing audacity proclaimed that the kingdom of Africa was at hand. The negro race throughout the world was called upon to repent or to change its mind, preparatory to the new order of things now about to be set up, which would solve for ever the hitherto insoluble problems involved in negro blood. The federation of the black members of the human family into a world empire under self-dominion was a bold dream which no mortal had ever dared to dream before. At first Garvey possessed only a vague and visionary conception of the new kingdom. The more he preached, the clearer the vision grew, until he became firmly convinced of its immediate consummation. The fanatical propagandist is never daunted by practical impossibilities which stand between

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him and the realisation of his ideal. Counting the cost, as well as a cautious conscience, makes cowards of us all. A kindly fatuity saves the fanatic from the paralysis of prevision.

Before leaving Jamaica young Garvey launched "The Universal Negro Improvement Association"—with the far-reaching ideal of African unity in the background. The prophet soon found himself without honour in his own country. Familiarity breeds unbelief. He could do no mighty works in Jamaica because his fellow countrymen could not believe that anything out of the ordinary could come from one of their own colour, clime and degree. He shook the dust of his native island off his feet and sought other lands in quest of understanding, sympathy, and appreciation of his lofty purpose. He naturally turned to the United States where are to be found the largest number of transplanted Africans, with the highest average of intelligence and advancement in civilisation. When he first presented his scheme to the Afro-American intelligentsia, they received him with icy courtesy, cold consideration, and quizzical indifference. What idea could this black, half-educated, Jamaican vagabond have that need engage their serious attention? Mr. Garvey immediately turned from the wise and prudent of the race to the humble and uninstructed who heard him, not only gladly, but rapturously.

Garvey arrived in New York at the psychological moment. The European nations were engaged in titanic conflict. America had, so far, stood aside in benevolent aloofness and apologetic neutrality. The negro caught the sound of such expressions as "the rights of the minority" and "a war for self-determination," and was thrilled by their reverberations. He seized upon the opportunity to upbraid the American conscience with the reproach of moral inconsistency. If democracy is to relieve the minorities oppressed by Germany, why not those oppressed by Georgia? Why spill American blood for oppressed peoples in the Balkan States and ignore like oppression in the Southern States? He failed to see the moral consistency in condemning atrocities in Turkey which are tolerated in Texas. Why reprove Germany for regarding an international treaty as a scrap of paper while the United States scraps the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, without self-reproof or a sense of shame? In times of revolution oppressed peoples always ask embarrassing questions. The negro, along with the rest, was conscripted to fight for the freedom of white men in Europe, himself being denied full participation in the benefits of freedom at home.

Harlem was just becoming the great negro metropolis. The necessities of the war were bringing tens of thousands of negroes to New York from all parts of the country. Thousands were also attracted from the West Indian Islands. Harlem was filled with

the entire month of August. This was to be an all-African council. Delegates were invited from all parts of the world where peoples of African blood were known to reside. Thousands of representatives responded to the call. There has never been such an assemblage of African representatives at any time or place within the annals of recorded history. The procession through the streets of New York formed a spectacle unrivalled in the history of negro pageantry. The deliberations of the gathering consisted in the glorification of Garvey and the ratification of his plans and policies. Garvey, the black, was monarch of all that he surveyed. No negro has ever reached such a pinnacle of renown with so great a following at his feet. It was in 1921 in the presence of six thousand of his followers and admirers in "Liberty Hut," that he proceeded to the formal inauguration of the Empire of Africa. Garvey himself was crowned President-General of the United Negro Improvement Association and Provisional President of Africa, who with one Potentate and one Supreme Deputy Potentate constituted the royalty of the Empire of Africa. Knights of the Nile, Knights of the Distinguished Service Order of Ethiopia and Dukes of the Niger and of Uganda, constituted the nobility. The August Court was set up and actually functioned for several years, with all of the tinsel glory and barbaric splendour of oriental pomp and display. The negro's penchant for mimic display, gay regalia, and titled dignitaries was abundantly appeased. But pride goeth before a fall. The inevitable end was near. Dissension broke out within the ranks. The question of who shall sit on the right hand and on the left hand in the kingdom always precipitates unfriendly rivalry among the disciples. Internal dissensions however were easily settled by the last word of the President-General. Mr. Garvey's personal authority so far transcended that of his following that no other name than his figures conspicuously in the movement.

The Afro-American intelligentsia rose up in righteous rage and disgust at what seemed to be the absurd and ridiculous antics of this half-educated West Indian upstart. There exists fundamental opposition between the philosophy of Marcus Garvey and that of the educated American negro leaders. Their whole teaching is based upon equality of the races which they hope to enforce by appeal to the white man's conscience, reason and aroused sense of righteousness. Mr. Garvey believes that the racial prejudice of the Anglo-Saxon is so deeply imbedded in acquired emotions, if not in natural instinct, that no amount of moral suasion or coercive force which the negro can command, will have any sensible effect upon it. He believes that race consciousness is likely to become keener and more exclusive, and that the opportunities of the white men's

civilisation will be reserved more and more for the sons and daughters of their own kith and kin. He looks upon the struggle for racial equality as futile and hopeless. He preaches that the negro must build on his own basis apart from the white man's foundation, if he ever hopes to be a master builder. He therefore urges the race to look to the land of their mothers across the sea for future growth and expansion. In the United States the African sojourners will never be permitted to rise above the level of hewers of wood and drawers of water. It is said that he sought conference with the rulers of the Ku-Klux-Klan, and found himself in accord with the hooded order on this basic proposition of racial relations, though each side reached the same conclusion by different processes of reason. This doctrine of inevitable subordination, naturally enough, aroused the bitterest antagonism of the Afro-American leaders who have staked all their hopes on the opposite proposition.

Again, Mr. Garvey believes, with frenzied fanaticism, in the continent of Africa as the destined end and way of all the scattered fragments of the black race who are now sojourning among the whiter nations of the earth. The educated Afro-American has little interest and no enthusiasm for his mother-land. Frederick Douglass epitomised this sentiment in the sententious saying: "I have none of the banana in me." Dr. DuBois has been trying for a number of years to promote a Pan-African Congress for the discussion of the race question on a world-wide scale. There are probably not half a dozen educated negroes in America who have evinced any genuine enthusiasm or passionate interest for Garvey's proposition. The native-born, educated negro resents as a reflection upon his American birthright any suggestion that he has a special and peculiar interest in the dark continent from which his blood was derived in whole or in part.

At the climax of antagonism, Mr. Garvey took up the apotheosis of blackness as offset to the existing deification of whiteness. He would have God painted black. This caused a violent revulsion of feeling on the part even of black men who had become habituated to bow down and worship at the shrine of a colour alien to their own. Mr. Garvey believed that not only do gods always make men in their own image, but that man, in his turn, makes God in his own likeness. Every race ascribes to its deity its own physical, mental, and moral peculiarities carried to the higher power of perfection. Mr. Garvey believes that the adoption of the colour and racial characteristics of the white man's portrayal of God paralyses the negro's racial self-respect. This was an audacious innovation in the sphere of negro thought and sensibilities which the intelligentsia had never had either the passion or the discernment to

street preachers and flamboyant orators haranguing the people from morning till night upon racial rights and wrongs. Radical magazines sprang up suddenly whose utterances were calculated to inflame the minds of the people. The West Indians were radical beyond the rest and seemed to be better adepts in mob psychology. The West Indian negro in America is a political conundrum. Conservative at home, he becomes radical abroad. About this time the negroes in New York, native and West Indian, were asserting the rights and recounting the wrongs of the race in such severe terms of denunciation as to cause the government much uneasiness. The espionage department kept the more assertive ones under surveillance, suppressed the most outspoken publications and threatened the orators, editors and authors with serious punishment.

In those days Marcus Garvey arrived in Harlem. The West Indian contingent formed his normal point of attachment with the general situation. He immediately formed friendly affiliation with his fellow islanders to whom his appeal was more easily persuasive. He did not join in the tirade against the American people and government but shrewdly turned the energy which hitherto had vented itself in violent protestation, into new and constructive channels. He saw that the mind was ready for the sowing of new seed. He thereupon began to unfold the vision of the kingdom of Africa. First he launched the Universal Negro Improvement Association, which he had projected abortively in his native Jamaica, as a practical venture for the commercial development of the dark continent. He next established *The Negro World*, a weekly journal, as the organ and mouthpiece for the new movement. This journal reached a wide circulation among negro peoples and carried the gospel according to Garvey to all lands where the scattered children of Africa were to be found. Sections were edited in English, French, and Spanish. He built "Liberty Hut"—a crude tabernacle, with a seating capacity of six thousand, where on every Sunday evening he addressed overflowing crowds who hung breathless upon his word. The magnetic power of his charm and spell seemed never to wane.

At this stage Mr. Garvey appeared to be a crass pragmatist, relying wholly upon the instrumentality of material agencies to accomplish his remote spiritual objective. He hoped to develop race consciousness through race patronage and co-operative enterprise. Grocery stores, laundries, restaurants, hotels, and printing plants were organised under the auspices of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. These all failed as fast as they were founded. But the fanatic is never daunted by failure. How Mr. Garvey could hope that the operation of a few shops in Harlem could seriously affect the fate of the continent of Africa surpasses

normal human understanding. But no whit abashed by the failure of his business ventures, the undaunted dreamer forthwith proceeded to launch the "Black Star Line" of steamships to trade with the West Indies and with the continent of Africa, a stupendous act of folly. The combined genius and wealth of America has not been able to operate competitive ocean-carrying trade. But the fanaticism and faith of Marcus Garvey performed miracles in inspiring his followers with confidence and zeal for the impossible. As fast as one steamship failed they were ready to provide for another. After all, there may be subtle method in Mr. Garvey's seeming madness. It is easier to focus attention upon a concrete project than upon an abstract ideal. A line of steamships touching African and West Indian ports, conveying not only material merchandise but also the propaganda of racial unity, was calculated to make a powerful appeal to the mind and imagination of his unsophisticated followers. Any doctrinaire reformer runs a great risk when he ventures the success or failure of his propaganda upon a single pitch-and-throw involved in a concrete enterprise. Its success may mean his triumph; its failure foreshadows his doom.

About 1920 the Garvey Movement was at the height of its power. It had spread among the negroes like wild-fire. The Universal Negro Improvement Association claimed an enrolment of four million members. Confined at first chiefly to West Indians, it swiftly overran that limitation and had taken in many native born Afro-Americans and reinforcements from foreign countries. The Movement appealed most strongly to the humbler and less well-educated of the race. This line of cleavage followed somewhat closely the intra-racial colour scheme and included a far larger number of the darker than of the lighter shades. It gave rise to the charge that Marcus Garvey was attempting to draw the colour line against the mulatto in favour of the fuller-blooded West Indian and American negroes. The imputation was indignantly denied, with insistence upon the absolute equality of all shades without prejudice against or preference for any hue. Money flowed into his coffers. The "Black Star Flag" was still flying upon the sea. The new gospel proclaimed not only the redemption of Africa, but the welding into homogeneous political, economic, and social unity the four hundred million persons of African blood, now scattered abroad among the nations of the earth. Available statistics fail to account for more than half of that number of Africans, direct or derivative; but statistics never please the fanatic.

The time had now arrived for a spectacular demonstration. If the kingdom of Africa is at hand, its immediacy must be impressed upon expectant devotees by some form of visible inauguration. Mr. Garvey called a convention of the faithful to meet in New York City for

consider. They simply held up their hands in frantic disgust at such a revolting blasphemy.

With this wide difference the battle between the antagonists became war to the death. Negro newspapers and magazines were filled with criticisms and denunciations of this new and dangerous doctrine. The Garvey Movement became the Garvey menace. This interloper was denounced as a trouble-maker, dangerous to whites and blacks alike. His motive and his honesty were impugned. It was strongly urged that he should be deported as a foreigner stirring up strife among native-born Americans. His business transactions became involved in legal tangles. The "Black Star Line" had failed. Charges were filed against him by the Federal authorities for violation of postal regulations, in his quest for funds to save the sinking fortune of his ships. Upon this charge he was convicted and sentenced to five years in the Federal penitentiary. During the trial Garvey fought like a lion at bay. He and his disciples believed that he was persecuted for righteousness' sake and that the technicality of the law was invoked as a pretext to defeat his racial objective. His followers believe that in his zeal to promote a cause which he regarded as holy, he became oblivious of the technical letter of the law. No personal wrong-doing was attributed to him by way of improper personal profit. In the eyes of those who believe in him, he is as much a martyr to his cause as Gandhi of India. Both have sinned against the technicalities of the law and must suffer under the law. This is the price which the reformer must reckon to pay when his propaganda is at vital variance with established public policy.

The Garvey Movement attracted the attention of the nation and caused no little apprehension. There was general feeling that he might lash the fury of his followers to an uncontrollable extent. His name was on the tongue of every speaker dealing with racial matters. The newspapers and magazines discussed the Garvey Movement from every angle of approach and point of view. No negro, not even Booker Washington, ever received such national notoriety. He was regarded as a mountebank, a menace, a puzzle. The Garvey Movement became international in its involvements. The governments of Europe with African colonies or mandates became alarmed at the impression this Jamaican agitator was making upon the minds and imaginations of negro peoples in all parts of the earth. He admonished negroid peoples everywhere to throw off white overlordship and assert self-sovereignty. His African Empire sent representatives to the Peace Conference and sought recognition among sovereign nations. Mr. Garvey put governments with colonial control over African territory on notice that their tenancy was temporary only, until the Empire of Africa should

arrive to claim rightful sovereignty over its own. He sowed the seed of self-determination in the minds of negroid peoples in all lands and found it to be a fertile soil. They had caught the suggestion from the words of Woodrow Wilson which flew round the world to its remotest bounds and darkest corners. The black heathen in his blindness heard it and was glad. It was, indeed, the gospel of great joy and glad tidings. A negro bishop to South Africa relates that whenever a white man mistreated a native, he would mark the grudge on his stick of remembrance with the suppressed murmur—"You just wait till Garvey comes." The nations were at first inclined to take the Garvey Movement as a joke, but a joke with a deep-seated undertone of seriousness. They all uttered a sigh of relief when it was learned that Garvey had been convicted and placed behind prison bars. No other negro within the period of recorded history has ever been the object of international solicitude.

Mr. Garvey is now serving a five-year term in the Atlanta penitentiary. But prison bars cannot confine the insurgence of his spirit. A weekly encyclical is issued to the faithful from a criminal's cell. His followers are still holding together the skeleton of his organisation but they miss the magic and spell of the master. His words issued from his prison house sustain their flagging courage but the glamour of the Court of the African Empire is gone. The Knights of the Nile and Dukes of the Niger have lost their brief nobility. The hour looks dark for the fate of the Empire of Africa. When the Provisional President has served out his sentence and been released from bonds he may be deported as an undesirable alien. Banished to his native Jamaica with his powers pent up by the confines of his little island, held under surveillance by the all-watchful eye of British vigilance, he will hardly be able to function effectively across the seas.

If we consider, as it now seems reasonable to do, that the Garvey Movement is a spent force, it might be profitable to consider the present and future effect of this hectic movement upon the negro race and upon the permanent relations of the black and white races. The chief achievement of Marcus Garvey consists in his quickening the sense of race consciousness and self-dignity on the part of the common people among black folks all over the world. The effect of all the movements which have been launched by the intelligentsia among negroes is that they have never been able to penetrate below a certain level of social grade. They do not reach the common people or stir their imagination. The National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, with its capable and consecrated leadership, so far has been able to make no great impression on

the heart and imagination of the proletariat. But Garvey arouses the zeal of millions of the lowliest to the frenzy of a crusade.

Mr. Garvey is by no means the only negro apostle of the return of the exiled Africans to their mother continent. The African Colonisation Society, in the early years of the nineteenth century, established Liberia as the home of Afro-Americans so soon as they could be freed. Many of the best minds of the nation, including Abraham Lincoln, believed that the American negro could build up his fortune best in his native land. Many leading negroes of that day found themselves in harmony with this scheme of repatriation. Some forty years ago, Dr. Edward W. Blyden, a West Indian negro who migrated to Africa in the wake of this Liberian movement, became an ardent advocate of the return of the race to the land of the fathers. This famous negro scholar depended in the main on the good offices of white men imbued with the missionary spirit, to support and encourage this great enterprise. Bishop H. M. Turner, of the African A.M.E. Church, sometime Bishop to Africa, became a powerful advocate of the African redemption. Various missionary societies for centuries have been operating in Africa but have made little headway in lighting up the dark continent. Now comes Marcus Garvey, if not with a new principle, at least with a new programme. He preaches race independence, race efficiency and race sufficiency for the reclamation of Africa through political, industrial, and social conquest. He believes that philanthropy paralyses the energies of the black peoples of the world and pauperises their spirit. He has an unfathomable faith in the possibilities of his people. No greater vision has ever haunted the human mind. The accomplishment of the dream is worth a thousand years of the united endeavour of mankind. It is impossible to conceive of any task which will inure to greater advantage to the human race.

KELLY MILLER.

THE LOST ABBEYS OF ENGLAND.

THE following announcements of sale of properties appeared in the Advertisement Columns of the Times some months ago:

MICHELHAM PRIORY.

"Michelham Priory, Hailsham, with the original gatehouse of the thirteenth century establishment, and an early English vaulted crypt, is for sale. . . . The soft waters of the little Cuckmere wash no foundations more hallowed than the old grey walls of Michelham. The situation is now as when the abbots held sway over their sanctified home. . . . There is the long-reaching roof that of yore gave shelter to the shorn heads of the monks and friars. . . . the tall chimneys. . . . and the fishponds. . . . that give the place a present and abiding interest."

The second advertisement was headed by the words:

"A Miniature show-place, price 2,000 guineas. Broadway, Worcs'. This strikingly picturesque and interesting. . . . property, reputed to have belonged at one time to the Abbots of Pershore, and faithfully restored. . . . magnificent old oak: stone-mullioned windows: open grates: charming old gardens. . . . flagged paths."

Such advertisements are but typical of many others which appear month by month in the leading papers. For it is only on analysis of the news-files that one becomes conscious of, or adequately comprehends how great must have been the number of religious houses standing in England during the sixteenth century. History tells only too grimly the story of the three thousand or more sacred institutions destroyed in the "Great Avalanche" which swept into ruin and oblivion the loveliest handiwork of the Middle Ages. The number in itself signifies little, until one begins to tabulate the excavation of monastic houses which has gone on apace during the last quarter of a century. Then one is amazed at the grandeur of the great spiritual system which dominated England in the Ages of Faith.

Never before in England has greater interest been taken in the unearthing of forgotten sites than now. Never since the confiscation of the abbeys in 1536 and 1539 has the learned research of more Societies been focussed on the task of saving for posterity the grey mouldering walls of desecrated shrines. The finds of the last score of years are, indeed, so many that the present century will rank undoubtedly as the century of rediscovery. Within the brief limits of this article it is proposed to tell the romantic story of how by patient effort forgotten ruins have yielded up strange treasure-trove, and how scarcely a week passes that some abbot's coffin, broken altar-piece, or holy relic is not brought to light.

One of the most striking examples of rediscovery and of preservation of ecclesiastical ruins is that afforded by the famous Whalley Abbey, in Lancashire. The Abbey was the last to be founded in this country by the Cistercian or White Monks, who, in obedience to rule, always chose remote and desolate spots for meditation. The Abbey lies seven miles north of Blackburn on the great road that runs through Clitheroe to Hellifield. The tree-covered Whalley Knap looks down upon it, and the course of the Calder, diverted by the monks that it might wash the holy walls, may still be traced. The Church must have been very long, and, unlike most churches of the order, it seems to have had aisles along the nave, as well as the north and south transepts. The tower, low and severe, stood separate from the church a little to the north, while underneath great trees stood the large barns and outhouses where laboured the numerous workers connected with the Abbey. At the Dissolution, when the last Abbot, Paslew, had been hanged, drawn, and quartered with the cruel savagery of those lawless times, the glorious monastic pile passed into secular possession, only to be partly battered down a century or so later in the great Civil Wars. For two centuries and a half it remained a desolate shell: the Abbey Church crumbled to the dust, and the stones of dorter, kitchen and refectory were used for making roads or building walls and farmhouses.

But work so true and beautiful could not fail to impress the beholder, and in the year 1922 a move was made to bring to light such ruins as lay beneath the grass, and to repoint and save such noble relics as still remained above the ground. The doorway of the Abbey, part of which had been used as a cowshed, was cleaned out. The remains of the great towers, the Infirmary Kitchen at the south-east, exquisite bits of the masonry of gateways revealing Gothic in its most perfect setting were saved, while the cloister-garth and the noble two-storied building, which was undoubtedly the dwelling-house of the lay-brethren, were restored with loving care. The movement of restoration has spread, so that it has been announced quite recently that the Roman Catholic Church contemplate taking over a portion of the ruins. They have bought up the very beautiful dwelling of the lay-brethren, above referred to, with the intention of using it as a church, so that very shortly the prayers of the monks will be heard again after a silence of four centuries. The Church of England has acquired some of the other properties and suggests the building of a place of rest for its clergy and laity.

The details of the rebuilding of the great Buckfast Abbey by the Benedictine brethren are too well known to detain us here. It must suffice to say that it is the first Abbey in this country where the

monks are building to a plan as near as possible that of the famous Abbey Church dissolved upon the site in 1539. Here, toiling in the habits of their order, may be seen the happy brethren, sawing timber, mixing mortar, measuring, sifting, digging, all with a supreme delight as though they had made of work a joyful play-thing. The magnificent Abbey Church has been built entirely by the forty-eight monks, and not one penny of the £30,000 which it has cost to build has been spent in wages. The chief glory of the Abbey is the statue of St. Mary-of-Buckfast-in-Devon which reposes in the Lady Chapel. The romance associated with it almost points to the intervention of the saints. Smashed to pieces at the Dissolution, and lost for centuries, the major portion was discovered by the monks in 1884 bricked into the walls of an old house. The colour and gilding still remained upon it, and from it the statue was restored. Not every English abbey can boast an image so many centuries old.

The discovery of the long-lost Church of Merton Priory is one of the record finds of the last few years. Built in the early part of the twelfth century, and enlarged in the thirteenth, the Church was a cruciform structure, some 305 feet long internally, with a two-bayed Lady Chapel and four-bayed Quire. Here were enacted the famous Statutes of Merton in 1236; but all its glorious associations could not save it, for in 1538 Henry VIII pulled down the stone alike of Church and conventual buildings to build for himself a palace at Nonsuch, and so completely did they disappear that their very sites became forgotten. The destruction, however, of an old house in 1914 brought to light a fine late-Norman arch, beautifully carved, thus indicating that the ruins of the Abbey were not far to seek. Excavations showed that Merton Abbey station with its railroad and sidings and the Trafalgar Works covered a large portion of the monastic buildings, so that few sites would seem less hopeful. In 1919, during the laying of gaspipes two stone coffins were unearthed, while in 1921 an uncoffined skeleton was brought to light, together with a spur of fourteenth century date. At the same time a vast number of masons' chips and spoiled stones were discovered, and acting on these clues Colonel Bidder and the Rev. H. F. Westlake, fellows of the Society of Antiquaries, proceeded to investigate. By the courtesy of the Trafalgar Works, the Metropolitan Water Board, and the Southern Railway, the whole area of the vast Church was disclosed. Among the finds were portions of stone paving, patterned encaustic tiles, curious coffins without lids, and other relics. The south wall of the Church was carefully dug out, and allowed by the owners to remain long enough to be measured and photographed, before it was finally broken up. Among the sleepers of the railway line the sites of the Cloister

and the Chapter House were laid bare, while further finds await excavation in the north and south. The beautiful late-Norman arch, previously referred to, has been preserved from any further injury by a casing of red brick; while one of the coffins has found a home in the British Museum.

The British Office of Works, with the Ancient Monuments Board, which have scheduled many of the ancient abbeys, so preserving them from further destruction, must be praised for the re-discovery of much that seemed absolutely lost. This is the case at Whitby Abbey. Here the old Church, founded about A.D. 656 by King Oswy of Northumbria, where the Royal Saint Hilda was Abbess and where, perhaps, Cædmon kept his oxen, rebuilt by the Benedictines in the thirteenth century and battered by German gunboats in the twentieth century, has been preserved with loving care. Though at the Dissolution much of its stone was used to build the seventeenth century Abbey House, south-west of the Church, enough remains to show how glorious was the Abbey at the zenith of its power. The treasure of the Church is the triforium of the choir, still noble in its ruin. Beautiful, too, are the choir and transept arches, the north side of the nave, and the west door. On the north side of the ruins recent excavation has disclosed Saxon objects twelve hundred years old. Among the interesting finds are materials for writing on wax tablets, bronze-gilt plaques of rich design for book-covers, buckles with gold filigree work, green glass cameos, and a score of ancient seventh-century crosses. Whitby is thus the only Abbey possessing seventh to ninth-century monastic buildings. A discovery of especial notice is a stone-lined grave, different in style from any other Saxon grave, and supposed by some authorities to have been the resting-place of the great Saint Hilda.

To the boys of King Edward the Seventh's School in Sheffield must be given the honour of saving the remains of the great Beauchief Abbey, a Premonstratensian house of White Canons. Here the finds have been unusually interesting. The building very closely followed the usual Premonstratensian plan of a long narrow structure running east and west, crossed midway by another of similar width, but of half the length. The base of the High Altar, and immediately behind it the foundations of a massive reredos, have been brought to light, together with portions of the shafts and mouldings belonging to the Altar itself. The base of a fine recessed doorway leading into the refectory, and red, black, and patterned tiles (some bearing the name of "Hugo" in memory of Hugo de Haunslen, a great benefactor) are among the finds. Beautiful fragments of glass, showing fourteenth-century grisaille patterns have been discovered outside the walls on the north side

of the Church. A recess in the north wall, about seven feet long and two feet wide, near the altar platform, is believed to have held the body of the Abbey founder, Robert Fitzranulph, as many bones of a single skeleton, with fragments of a lead shell, were unearthed close by.

Some equally splendid results have been obtained at another Premonstratensian Abbey, the House of St. Mary-of-the-Marsh at Cockersand in the exposed lowland between the estuaries of the Lune and the Cocker. The House was founded in 1190, and its Church seems originally to have been about 172 feet long internally from east to west, and 78 feet wide across the transepts. The Abbey escaped dissolution in 1536, a revaluation having been made to bring its annual value above the £200 limit determining the extent of the First Dissolution. But it fell with all the greater abbeys in 1539. In July, 1923, an exploration committee was organised, and largely owing to the help afforded by the owner of the site, Mr. J. H. Dalton of Thurnham Hall (it should be noted in passing that the Dalton family appear to be the second lay-owners of the site since the Dissolution), it was possible to arrive at particularly good results. A Lady Chapel of the Perpendicular Period, the remains of a fine staircase leading up to the Frater, the foundations of an apartment presumably the warming-room, the ruins of the Infirmary, a well-lining, and part of the Abbey drain, have been discovered. The work already done among the three acres of ruined walls, though extensive, is only preliminary in character. It is hoped that later on a search may be made for the Abbot's Memorial, mentioned by the commissioners of Henry VIII in "the Inventory of the Goods and Chattels of Cockersand Abbey, A.D. 1536." The entry reads: "A grave-stone whereupon is the picture of the late Abbot there"—probably Robert Kendal. The Abbey has been scheduled for protection as a national monument by the Ancient Monuments Board, so that the ruins unearthed to date will remain *in situ*.

At St. Helen's Church, Bishopsgate, London, which is visited by reason of its historic associations by visitors from all parts of the world, many important relics of the former Priory of St. Helen have been brought to light during recent clearance of a site immediately to the north of the Church. The Report issued in November, 1924, by the Rector and Wardens states that part of the relics in the ground were saved, and are in the possession of the ground landlords, while the part upon or close to the external face of the north wall of the edifice has been made permanently accessible by means of a passage alongside the Church, and a corridor through the new building erected on the site. "By these means the most valuable and interesting relics of a bygone

age have been preserved and made available for the inspection and study of present and future generations."

A discovery somewhat similar, and of value to the student of Pre-Reformation days, was made in June, 1924, at the Ancient Church of St. Mary, Swainswick. Swainswick is a large village three miles north-east of Bath, and its church was begun in Norman times and added to in the Early English period. At the tower end of the Church is a little chamber which, previous to its present use as a vestry, contained a gallery where the village children were ensconced "to be seen and not heard" during the service. No one seems to have suspected the original use of the little chamber until Mr. W. D. Caroe, architect to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, undertook some renovations in the north wall. He uncovered two square windows, one above the other, which, although embedded in plaster, could be seen from the exterior of the Church: the highest stands about twelve feet above the floor. The position of these windows suggested to him that the chamber was originally in two storeys, each of which was lighted by one of these windows, and his supposition was later proved by the presence of another little window high up in the west wall, and a groove running along the north wall, clearly intended to support a floor. Some big stones found at the east end of the vestry were, no doubt, the foundations of the fourth wall. The chamber with its two storeys was, therefore, originally a dwelling-house in miniature, and served the purpose of a sleeping-house for the priest who served the Church prior to the Dissolution. He no doubt came from Bath, and having to attend a number of churches in the district, he would in those days of limited travelling prefer to pass the night in this diminutive dwelling.

The preservation of the ruined shell of the great Glastonbury Abbey must be regarded as one of the crowning achievements of the awakened interest in the architecture of pre-Dissolution English Churches. For three hundred years this greatest of all English Abbeys lay in ruins. Just over a century ago (1825) Mr. Stanley Austin began the work of restoration. Fallen buttresses were rebuilt, weak arches strengthened, and the Holy Well, so long filled up with rubbish, was cleaned out. When, in 1907, the Abbey was put up for auction it was purchased by national subscription, and invested in the Bath and Wells Diocesan Trust. Since then the work of strengthening the ruin has proceeded apace. The original entrance to the Abbey in Magdalen Street has been restored: the Abbot's Kitchen with its splendid fourteenth-century architecture has been acquired: the south-western turrel and western buttress of St. Joseph's Chapel have been rebuilt: the two remaining piers of the central tower of the Church have been

shored: so that slowly the foundations of the buildings of the Abbey, which covered over thirty acres, are being known and measured.

In a previous paragraph one felt compelled to praise the Office of Works for its splendid work at Whitby. Similar labour has been accomplished by it at Tintern and at Rievaulx. At Fountains one may still gaze on the soaring loveliness of the huge transept arches, while the Chapel of the Nine Altars is as choice a piece of Early English as can be seen. At Jervaulx, another famous Yorkshire Cistercian House, the foundations of the Church have been laid plain, the doorway on its south-west, the carved pillars of the Chapter House, and many tombs of special beauty. At Bolton Priory, where excavation has laid bare the Cloisters, Chapter House, Refectory, Prior's lodging, and collegiate buildings one may, by use of the imagination, build up a picture of the day when the place was full of life, and when the Prior was a great lord of the land. For here not even the Dissolution brought to an end the use of the majestic nave for parochial purposes, and the present altar stands where it has always stood since the Augustinians made the nave a parish church in the twelfth century. At the grey austere pile of Kirkstall Abbey, Leeds, splendid work has been accomplished in saving from decay the glorious carving of the Cistercian Monks. The Chapter House is nearly as complete as when its builders planned its roof and pillars. The vast roofless Church has aisles which still retain their vaulting. Nave and transepts, the door on the north-east, the west front, the refectory, the warming-house and kitchen, the visiting Abbot's lodgings—all remain to indicate the genius of Abbot Alexander who founded here in 1152 what in point of size must be ranked as one of the greatest monasteries of England.

It cannot, of course, be hoped to save for ever all the remains of the English monasteries that from time to time are unearthed and excavated. Fire and storm still play havoc with the religious buildings which the Dissolution did not utterly destroy. This is specially the case where abbeys have fallen into secular use, and now are used as dwelling-houses. As recently as August, 1924, the Abbey of St. Faiths, near Norwich, was gutted by fire through being struck by lightning. The Abbey was a house of great antiquity, and part of the great Benedictine Abbey founded by the Norman Robert Fitzwalter in 1105. Such losses are inevitable; and as a general rule it must be admitted that scores of the religious institutions of the Middle Ages have survived by reason of the fact that they were utilised as farms and dwellings. At Abbotsbury, near Weymouth, where the spirit of the monks yet lives if anywhere in England, a fine old monastic building with a tiny

chapel, where tradition states the last Abbot at the Dissolution was foully starved to death, is used as a stable for threshing machines. Woodspring Priory, near Kewstoke, is used partly as a barn, and partly as a habitation. The Chapel of Our Lady, built in Perpendicular style, still standing on the road to Muchelney at Langport, is used as a Masonic Hall. At Staverdale Priory, near Charlton Musgrove, the nave is used as a barn, and the choir as a dwelling-house. Muchelney Abbey, founded by Athelstan, grandson of Alfred the Great, is now used as part of farm buildings. Strangely enough, in the heart of Bristol the Hospital of St. Bartholomew, founded by the Benedictine Monks in 1205, yet survives, but as a printing house. Its mutilated but still beautiful doorway and arcaded porch of the purest Early English architecture is accounted among the treasures of the city. By the side of the doorway the life-sized figure of Our Lady, bearing in her arms the Holy Babe, still looks down upon the traffic, tranquil and peaceful as it did seven centuries ago. It is a sign of the times that the owners of these one-time monastic properties are fast awakening to a sense of responsibility. One of the most valued acquisitions of the Office of Works was only recently presented, that of the ancient Lanercost Priory, a house of the Augustinian Order dating back to 1169. This is due to the generosity of Lady Cecilia Roberts.

That the religious value of the old grey piles of monastic ruins scattered up and down the country is not forgotten is shown by the fragments of carved stone taken from such venerable ruins, and embedded in the walls of new churches. At the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, at New York, the Credence Table is supported by a shaft composed of three stones from the ruins of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmund's, a gift from Lord Bristol. Similarly, embedded in the addition to the Cathedral now under construction will be a stone brought from Bristol Cathedral, the one-time Abbey of the Augustinian Canons.

May it not be said that the present century will be destined to rank as the century which has witnessed a distinct revival of appreciation of the ecclesiastical architecture of Mediæval England? Slowly, and with much pain and effort the ruins of a thousand scattered and forgotten churches are being pieced together into a glorious mosaic. What has been unearthed as yet is but a tiny portion of what remains to be discovered. Our children will learn to understand and to appreciate even better than did their fathers something of the holy joy with which the mediæval craftsman carved the stone and wood, and dedicated it with simple prayers to the worship of GOD.

FREDERICK C. JONES.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THIN MIST FROM WHITEHALL TO MOSCOW.

ON February 23rd Sir Austen Chamberlain sent a Note to Russia. The moment it was received in Moscow the hare-brained people, who had been languishing, got up as one man and found for the first time in many months that they had something to talk about. One of them appealed to the workers of the world to sharpen their swords in readiness for the world proletariat war against British capitalism, as well as for other long-winded contingencies; and Mr. Litvinov sent a remarkably prompt and remarkably long official answer to Sir Austen.

It seems odd that Sir Austen Chamberlain's sense of humour, which has loosened knots on several occasions at Geneva and at other places abroad, should seldom operate when he is in London. To the historian of the future it will be a little hard to believe that on February 23rd, 1927, Sir Austen Chamberlain, His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, devoted some part of a State Paper to lengthy quotations from the works of the egregious Mr. Bukharin. Of all the comic speeches that have been made by Russian Bolshevik leaders since 1917, those of Mr. Bukharin have been the most conspicuous. Yet some of Mr. Bukharin's choicest gems were grimly recorded in London as evidence against him, and in Sir Austen's Note of February 23rd the following passage, for instance, was reproduced. It was taken from a speech made by Mr. Bukharin at a conference of the Russian Communist Party and before the "Executive Committee of the Communist International." Said Mr. Bukharin: "Mighty masses are marching under the Soviet star under the banner of Communism. Comrades! Our proletariat is ready to do everything to strengthen the forces of world revolution and to facilitate the process thereof. Has not our party proved that it will do everything necessary to defend the cause of world revolution? During the great English Strike, during the great China revolution, our party—we can and dare to assert this—has shown itself in the forefront." Charles Dickens would have thanked the Soviet star if such speeches had been made in real life before he started to write his *Pickwick Papers*. If Mr. Bukharin had thus delivered himself at Marble Arch, within Hyde Park, any Sunday afternoon, he would have been drowned in derisive glee within five minutes. Yet Mr. Bukharin's wretched drivel "drew" Lord Birkenhead, made Winston wince, and was gloomily enshrined in a Foreign Office paper. Such historic "gaffe" as the British Note of February 23rd wholly deserved the sympathetic reception it received in Moscow.

Serious people indeed find it difficult to take seriously the type

of controversy that goes on between Moscow and London. From the Russian point of view the controversy is intelligible, because there are few things the average Russian likes more than academic dialectics. From the British point of view it is less intelligible. Four years ago, in the spring of 1923, Lord Curzon engaged in an exchange of Notes with Mr. Chicherin in which, among other things, he complained of Russian propaganda. The chief result was an intensification of Russia's anti-British propaganda throughout the East. At the end of the following year Sir Austen Chamberlain's first communication with Moscow (November 21st, 1924) was a protest against Russian propaganda. It ended with the solemn warning that "the Soviet Government would do well to weigh carefully the consequences of ignoring this pronouncement." Those consequences, if any, were duly and fully ignored.

The months passed, and the British Government evolved a more weary but a wiser philosophy about Russia. After the General Strike of last year the Government's Back Benchers clamoured for a rupture with Russia. There was every argument, including the demonstrable violation of the Trade Agreement, to justify such a rupture, except one: that of common-sense. The Government at that time took the common-sense view. In the House of Lords on June 17th, 1926, Lord Balfour, explaining the Government's reaction to the Diehard clamour, spoke thus: "I am not at all sure that we ought ever to have gone into relations with Russia. That is a doubtful point; certainly an arguable point. There is a great difference between breaking off relations and not entering into relations, because the first of these two operations produces disturbances which might go far beyond the confines either of Russia or of this country. The whole industrial, financial and economic world, on this side of the Atlantic, at all events, is in a most sensitive and embarrassed condition. No one can doubt that it is a condition in which it would be the height of rashness, except for really serious gain, to introduce a new disturbance where disturbances are sufficiently great already. The last course which any responsible statesman would like to take is one which, without an adequate object, would add a new source of disturbance to this over-disturbed world." Speaking on the same subject in the House of Commons on June 25th of last year Sir Austen Chamberlain pursued the same argument. One of his sentences was: "All Europe is perplexed and harrassed by economic and social problems; it is subject to political uncertainties and a sense of political insecurity which reacts upon economic conditions in a disadvantageous manner, and it must be the object of statesmanship in all countries to alleviate and if possible to remove these difficulties. If we broke off diplomatic relations with Russia we should not only introduce a new and

disturbing issue into British domestic policy, but we should introduce a new and disturbing issue in Europe."

That was a reasonable doctrine. Yet on February 23rd, 1927, Sir Austen Chamberlain did what he himself on June 25th, 1926, effectively condemned, and what Lord Balfour on June 17th, 1926, described as "the height of rashness." A long Note of protest against Russia's violation of the Trade Agreement was delivered at Chesham House on February 23rd for transmission to Moscow. The Note gave a recital of what it called the "flagrant" violations of that Agreement which had been perpetrated by the Russian Government. It explained that all the instances quoted were public property, and could be proved by evidence which had already been published. The sting of the Note lay in an intimation that there was a limit beyond which public opinion in this country could not be driven, and a threat that unless the U.S.S.R. were more faithful in future to its obligations under the Trade Agreement, the British Government would be driven to break off diplomatic relations.

The sending of such a Note caused some surprise among those who had admired Sir Austen's former attitude to the same problem. When in the past the fire-eaters had raised the cry for evacuating Chesham House and for refusing any longer to be on speaking terms with Moscow, Sir Austen had taken the line that it was bad diplomacy to take a negative step from which no obvious practical good could be expected. The cumulative impression made by Sir Austen during many months of consistent diplomacy indicated that he was opposed both to the breaking off of relations and to the sending of idle protests. Was he defeated in the Cabinet, as he was before, in March of last year, on another big issue? If not, he must have capitulated with his Diehard colleagues.

For some weeks before the British Note was sent to Moscow Russian quarters had been pleasantly agitated by the renewed scares about British policy. During the long months when Mr. Krassin and Mr. Rosengolz were ignored by the Foreign Office, the atmosphere of Chesham House was one of unrelieved gloom. The moment there emerged a renewed prospect of a British protest against Russian propaganda, Chesham House began to find that life was again worth living. One week before the Note was taken to Chesham Place, Mr. Rosengolz went to see Sir Austen Chamberlain at the Foreign Office. Those who remember their Russia may readily imagine with what satisfaction in those circumstances Mr. Rosengolz posed his question: Whether in the view of the British Government the present was an appropriate time for resuming the negotiations for a political understanding between Russia and Great Britain which had been interrupted by the General Election of 1924? Irony is the very breath of Russian nostrils. Sir Austen, however,

being now committed to a policy of which, on his former showing, he personally disapproved, is understood to have made the sardonic answer that the present was not the appropriate occasion, the precedent conditions for success being absent. It can be equally imagined with what alacrity Mr. Rosengolz invited Sir Austen's definition of what such precedent conditions might be. It was said in Russian quarters—and the statement may be reasonably accepted because it seems true to life—that Sir Austen's answer was to enumerate three conditions, namely: (1) That Russian propaganda against Great Britain should stop; (2) that Russia should fund and should begin to pay her debt to Great Britain; (3) that Russia should not ask for a loan.

There is something familiar about this controversy. At any rate, the plain man will acquit high diplomacy in its Anglo-Russian aspect of any cynical tendency. The childishness of these Anglo-Russian exchanges is a lasting monument to the limpid simplicity of mind which prompts them. Generally, when misunderstandings arise between two countries there is some discoverable cause for dispute. In the case of China and Great Britain there is a definite problem, namely, that China has grown up, and is no longer content to submit to unilateral treaties involving extra-territorial judicial systems and foreign concessions. That being a real issue, it is possible to settle it. The British Government, which on a practical issue is nearly always reasonable, took the lead among the powers more than a year ago in recognising the justice of the Chinese claim and in meeting it by the abandonment of the former system and by the restoration of independence. What conceivable prospect, however, can there be of settling a "dispute," such as that which wearily proceeds from Whitehall to Chesham House, of which the burden in effect is that Russia says nasty things about Great Britain? In private life it would be hard to conceive of men of the world who thought it worth while to write heavy notes of protest to people who said nasty things behind their backs. When men, who are not men of the world, do embark on such a course they find that controversy feeds on controversy, and that ill-will thrives on opposition.

The detailed content of the British Note of February 23rd, even if it were not the familiar form of other such Notes, hardly deserves to be analysed. It recapitulated certain stock instances of Russian propagandist naughtiness about Great Britain and the British Empire, with carefully documented chapter and verse. It threatened that "such acts as are here complained of must sooner or later render inevitable the abrogation of the Trade Agreement, the stipulations of which have been so flagrantly violated, and even the severance of ordinary diplomatic relations." It ended with a

rebuttal: "His Majesty's Government trust that this protest and warning will be received by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with the attention they require, and that no further cause of complaint may be given."

A jaded schoolmaster, if he thus admonished his offending pupils, would have precisely no effect on them, good or bad. He would do no harm. The British Government, however, by admonishing another government, above all the Russian Government, in so pathetic a strain, did something which was not only psychologically bad, as Mr. Litvinov immediately proved, but which overwhelmingly defeated its own object. Mr. Litvinov's answer was an obvious pleasure to him. It was composed without delay and was dated February 26th—only three days after the Foreign Office messenger delivered Sir Austen's Note at Chesham House. It contained not one serious sentence from beginning to end.

The keynote was struck in the very first sentence, in which Mr. Litvinov made the flippant suggestion that the British Foreign Secretary had been guilty of diplomatic bad form. "The Soviet Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim* in Great Britain," ran that sentence "has transmitted to me telegraphically the Note signed by Sir Austen Chamberlain, the Foreign Secretary, which was handed to him on the 23rd instant, and was published on the same day in the British Press." It was clearly no concern to Mr. Litvinov that his facts were wrong. Anyone who knows the style of Russian controversy knows that facts in such controversy are regarded as valid only in so far as they contribute to the argument, and that otherwise they are modified, or suppressed, or turned completely round. In this case what had happened was that the Foreign Office messenger went to Chesham House early in the afternoon of February 23rd—which fact gave ample time for Mr. Rosengolz, if he had chosen, to transmit the Note to Moscow that same day—and on the other hand the Foreign Office deliberately refrained from issuing the text to the British Press till it was too late for the evening papers of that same day to make use of it. It is the fact that the text was not published till the following morning. Yet Mr. Litvinov could begin his official answer with a cheap score based on the allegation that it was published on the same day: an allegation which Mr. Litvinov must have known was false.

It would be as tedious to analyse Mr. Litvinov's letter as it would be to analyse Sir Austen's. As was generally expected in those quarters that did enough thinking to form any expectation, Mr. Litvinov contented himself with *tu quoques*, and played off Lord Birkenhead and Mr. Winston Churchill against Mr. Bukharin and Mr. Karakhan. For the rest, of course, he carefully neglected to promise that Russia would be good in the future.

The real cause for concern in the prevailing condition of affairs between Russia and Great Britain is that nerves are being trained by the Press of the two countries to take estrangement for granted. There is no definite cause of dispute. British opinion urges that "Russia" is hostile to Great Britain. Of course that is true, but it is absurd to demand the cessation of hostile propaganda. Such propaganda is merely a symptom of bad relations. Russian propagandists who quote Lord Birkenhead are as fatuous as British propagandists who quote Mr. Bukharin. Obviously the abnormal diplomatic relationship must breed ill-will. The only cure is to restore normal diplomatic relations and to reach a political understanding, good or bad. A little cynicism would do more good than all this uninspired righteous indignation. For the greater part of a generation before 1914 certain British, French and Russian propagandists worked up our nerves against the alleged German danger, while German propagandists worked up German nerves against the alleged danger of the British-French-Russian encirclement of Germany. When the war came, those propagandists on both sides claimed their triumph of foresight. They might with justice have claimed more than foresight. The corresponding foundations of some perhaps distant Anglo-Russian war are now being laid by the corresponding nervous propagandists on both sides. The flower of the intellectual youth of both Russia and Great Britain having been wiped out in the Great War, such propagandists find easy prey in those that remain.

One misfortune is that the present Russian Government has little regard for certain world conventions which would serve its own, among other, purposes. Why is it that French propaganda in many parts of the world is hostile to Great Britain, and yet that there is not the same kind of estranged feeling between Paris and London as there is between Moscow and London? The reason is that France, although in effect she has so far repudiated her debt to Great Britain, has, at any rate, made a formal pretence of wanting to settle it, and has paid a small sum on account. France has not been guilty of the *gaucherie* of refusing to pay the debt on principle. That is what Russia has been guilty of. If the Russian Government consisted of men of affairs, they would send a Note to the British Government declaring unconditionally and immediately their decision to fund their debt to Great Britain, and would ask to be allowed to pay on the same terms as, for instance, Italy. Russia thereby would pay a small sum of, say, four millions a year, which is not a sum worth worrying about on either side. Immediately, however, the whole temper of British comment on Russia would change, and if, a few months later, Russian representatives came to London to ask for a loan, they would probably get it. So long,

however, as Russia makes it a condition of funding the debt that, at the same time, she must be promised a loan, progress is impossible. Men of the world do not offer to pay existing debts on the precedent condition that a further loan is given, and out of the proceeds of such a loan. What men of the world do is to pay the debts unconditionally, and then afterwards, as a separate proposition, ask for another loan. The distinction is formal, but it is important.

What has not been recognised in Moscow is that the paying of debts is a matter of good business. While some people in this country, for instance, complain that the burden of paying the American debt is a heavy one, all serious people know that the British Government has gained more than it has lost by paying that debt. Similarly, Russia would find in practice that it is easier to pay a debt than to repudiate it. Those who have followed the history of Anglo-Russian relations during the last five or six years know well that the real barrier is the Russian debt to Great Britain. If Russia would only make an offer outright to pay that debt, she would find not only that she would receive lenient terms, but that in the future the war-mongers would be reduced to beating the thin air.

THE DIPLOMATIC LULL IN CHINA.

The oddity which had characterised the O'Malley-Chen negotiations at Hankow since January 11th persisted to the very end of the Hankow episode. An agreement was signed on the evening of February 19th. Press reports to that effect reached London late that evening. It was therefore arranged that a question should be put to Sir Austen Chamberlain in the House of Commons on Monday, February 21st, to enable him to make a statement on the matter. Mr. Clynes put his question at the beginning of question time, but Sir Austen was not in his place. The telegram that had been expected from Mr. O'Malley had not arrived. Although it had been sent from Hankow on the 20th, it did not arrive in London till the middle of the following afternoon. It was hurriedly deciphered, and Sir Austen went over with it at once to the House. He read the text of the agreement in the following terms: "The proper British authorities will summon the annual general meeting of ratepayers in accordance with the Land Regulation on March 15th. The British municipality will thereupon be dissolved, and the administration of the Concession area will be formally handed over to the new Chinese municipality. Pending the handing over to the new Chinese municipality on March 15th, the policing of the Concessions and the management of the public works and sanitation will be conducted by the Chinese authorities now in charge thereof. The Nationalist Government will, upon the dissolution of the British Council,

forthwith set up a special Chinese municipality modelled on that of the special administrative district for the administration of the Concession area under regulations which will be communicated to His Britannic Majesty's Minister by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Nationalist Government. These regulations will remain in force until such time as arrangements have been negotiated for the amalgamation of the five Hankow Concessions into one unified municipal district."

As was expected, Mr. Chen had dropped the condition he had made some few days earlier, and signed the agreement in the precise form he undertook to accept on January 29th. He had merely created an eleventh hour crisis as an addition to the series of crises he had created before. Having undertaken to sign the agreement on January 29th, he contrived for a fortnight, on one pretext or another, to avoid signing it. By February 16th, however, Mr. O'Malley had succeeded in inducing Mr. Chen to explain why he wanted to sign, yet would not sign. The month's intensive talks between Mr. O'Malley, the Irishman who was born in Trinidad, and Mr. Chen, the Chinese who spent his youth in London, must have presented a delightful drama which, however, was completely wasted because it was performed *in camera*. On February 16th Mr. O'Malley telegraphed to the Foreign Office in London to outline the conditions attached by Mr. Chen to his latest offer of signature, and to ask for instructions. Mr. Chen's conditions were not new, except in the sense that they were made anew. The chief of them was a virtual request to be recognised as the central and only Government in China, another his insistence on a spectacular decision of the British Government to deflect the troops which were then on the way to China. Clearly Mr. Chen was playing for time on the one hand and on the other trying to collect material wherewith to feed the Nationalist appetite of his extremist followers.

Those who had been following the strange case of Mr. Chen agreed in recognising that one of his standing difficulties was the very length to which the British Government had gone in giving him what he wanted. Mr. Chen's was a revolutionary government. The moral capital of such a movement is a grievance and a crusade. For Mr. Chen British "Imperialism" had been the most powerful, if wholly fictitious, bogey wherewith he had galvanised his Kuomintang support. By taking away his grievance Sir Austen innocently stole his thunder. In such difficult circumstances it is perhaps not surprising that Mr. Chen took refuge in blowing hot and blowing cold for several weeks. It was not even surprising that, having on several occasions agreed to sign, he did in the end actually sign.

The Hankow agreement, the corresponding and similar Kiukiang agreement and the now expected fall of Shanghai to the Cantonese

forces gave a new turn to the diplomatic kaleidoscope in China. The practical question arose whether a Shanghai agreement analogous to those of Hankow and Kiukiang could now be negotiated with Mr. Chen. It had been a consistent point of British policy to accept facts if and when they became facts, and it followed that if and when Mr. Chen and his colleagues became masters of Shanghai the British Government would be prepared to negotiate with them as such. There was, however, this difference between the diplomatic problem of Hankow and that of Shanghai: in theory any arrangement that might be arrived at with Mr. Chen or with whatever other authority happened to emerge in Shanghai, would have to be negotiated in the first instance by the Municipal Council in Shanghai, and the Shanghai Settlement is international. The negotiating body in the International Settlement would therefore be the members of the municipal council who were elected a year ago, in March, 1926. They are Mr. S. Sakuragi (Japan), Mr. S. Fessenden (American; chairman), Mr. H. R. Roe (British), Mr. V. G. Lyman (American), Mr. A. D. Bell (British), Mr. E. B. MacNaghten (British), Mr. J. J. Paterson (British), Mr. P. W. Massey (British), and Mr. W. R. B. McBain (British). In practice, however, there was some reason to expect that the British Government would not allow its initiative to be crippled by a theoretic concert with other Powers who had already violated the spirit of that concert. The answer to the conundrum, however, was suspended at the time of writing because the inter-Chinese fight for Shanghai was still in progress. By a wise precaution Mr. O'Malley in his agreement with Mr. Chen had refused any commitment which would hamper British diplomacy in other parts of China. Mr. Chen's demand, for instance, that Great Britain should undertake to avoid dealings with any other authority in China except himself was refused, and Mr. Chen formally acquiesced in the refusal. To put the point on record Mr. O'Malley made the following public declaration: "His Majesty's Government cannot bind themselves to refuse to enter into negotiations with Chinese officials in any part of China with regard to matters arising in areas where such officials are actually exercising *de facto* authority."

In accordance with the terms of the Hankow Agreement the British Concession was handed over to the mixed Chinese-British Corporation on March 15th. The three British members of the new Corporation, nominated by the British Consular authorities in Hankow, are Mr. Charlton, of the Asiatic Petroleum Company, Mr. Dixon, of MacKenzie and Company, and Mr. Dupré, of Messrs. Mathieson. The Chinese members, who are in a majority of four to three, and who include the Chairman, were nominated by Mr. Chen. For the Directorship of the Municipality Mr. Chen nomin-

ated the Mayor of Wuchang, and three councillors for the remaining posts. The transition to the new order was effected without incident. The Chinese authorities played their part, as might in such circumstances be expected, in an agreeable spirit; the British authorities, as might also be expected from a people who perform pleasant or unpleasant necessities with an equal absence of emotion, were strictly businesslike; and the meeting of ratepayers at which the new taxes were voted and authority given for the transfer of assets, was carried through as though it were an ordinary company meeting in the City of London.

When in the middle of February the Cantonese forces under General Chiang Kai-shek began inflicting what, according to Chinese standard, were severe defeats on the forces of Marshal Sun Chuan-fang, and the fall of Shanghai seemed inevitable, the foreign Powers interested in China, for the first time in several years, did something in concert. In the circumstances, however, it could hardly be expected that British official quarters would thereby be greatly excited. It may be that the joint gesture of the Powers will have some diplomatic effect later on. In the last week of February the Diplomatic Body in Peking issued a unanimous declaration explaining their view of the impending issue in Shanghai; and it was understood that the French Minister concurred with the principle of the declaration in so far as the French Settlement in Shanghai was concerned. The Declaration ran thus: "In the light of military events which are at present taking place in the region of Shanghai, and which may at any moment have serious consequences for the safety of life and property of their respective nationals, as was apparent from the bombardment of the 22nd of this month, the interested diplomatic representatives feel compelled to recall that the International Settlement at Shanghai, like other Concessions in China, was established in virtue of regular agreements with the Chinese Government in order to make it possible for foreigners to reside there freely and to carry on their trade. In the course of party strife of which that region has been the scene the authorities of the International Settlement have scrupulously abstained from favouring any of the conflicting bodies involved, and, in spite of the difficulties of the situation, they are maintaining in that respect the strict neutrality imposed upon them by the nature of the state of affairs thus established. The interested diplomatic representatives are thus warranted in expecting on the part of the Chinese authorities the observance of the same rule of conduct, and they look to the heads of armies involved to take all measures necessary to avoid incidents which would constrain foreign authorities themselves to take measures indispensable for ensuring the safety of persons and property of their nationals."

THE AMERICAN "CONCESSION."

A statement was made by Mr. Locker-Lampson in the House of Commons on March 7th which has some bearing on the American contention, to which some reference was made in these pages last month, and of which the purport was to claim that the United States has no "Concessions" in China. Mr. Locker-Lampson said: "The Treaty of the Bogue, 1843, having stipulated that land should be set apart for the residence of British traders, an area for a British Settlement was marked out in that year by the local authorities at Shanghai. Similar areas were set aside for the French and the Americans, who enjoyed the same Treaty right. The British Settlement was subsequently thrown open to all nationalities, amalgamated with the American Settlement and enlarged, and so became the International Settlement. The land regulations under which the International Settlement is administered can be amended or added to by agreement between the local Chinese authorities and the Consular body at Shanghai, subject to confirmation by their respective governments." In the joint declaration of the Powers represented in Peking, which is quoted above, the words "concession" and "settlement" are unrepentantly used in an interchangeable sense.

DEBTS, GOOD AND BAD.

On the last day of last year Portugal funded her debt to Great Britain. On New Year's Day Mr. Churchill issued the following statement: "Yesterday morning, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and His Excellency General Sinel de Cordes, the Portuguese Minister of Finance, signed an agreement for the funding of the War Debt of Portugal to Great Britain. . . . The agreement arrived at provides for the payment by Portugal, in settlement of the debt, of sixty-two annuities, viz., £125,000 for 1926, £250,000 for 1927, £300,000 for 1928, £350,000 for the years 1929 to 1938, £400,000 a year for the years 1939 to 1987, and £200,000 for the year 1988, Portugal having the right to redeem the debt by a single payment of £5,500,000 before December 31st, 1927."

Having borrowed £23,500,000 from the British taxpayer, Portugal thus agrees to pay back the present equivalent of £5,500,000 in full settlement; and the British taxpayer is, or should be, thankful for his small mercies. The £23,500,000 millions handed over by the British taxpayer were contributed in cash in the form of British War Loan. The position, therefore, is that every year for ever the British Chancellor of the Exchequer will have to raise from taxation in this country a sum of £1,165,000 to pay the interest on the slice of War Loan of which the proceeds were handed over to

Portugal. Portugal contributes an annual sum which, calculated on its present value, will be the equivalent of £125,000 for sixty-two years, the latter annuities, of course, being increased by the accumulated value. In other words, as a result of lending money to Portugal, every Tom, Dick, and Harry in Great Britain will, for all time, pay one farthing in the pound income-tax every year, and the Portuguese taxpayer will correspondingly pay back one-twentieth of a penny each year. A poor Englishman, therefore, whose assessable income is £240 a year will have to pay four shillings a year every year, and his children, and his children's children after him to the nth and nth generation; while the Portuguese taxpayer with the corresponding income will pay only one shilling; and the Portuguese keep the capital. That in every day life is the result of Great Britain lending £23,500,000 to Portugal.

The British taxpayer, however, will be grateful to the Portuguese Government, for a shilling a year is more than nothing a year. The general rule is that Great Britain lends money and then proceeds to pay herself out of her own pocket the annual interest on it for ever, and then at the end of that long period of time loses the whole of the capital. The list of debts owing to Great Britain which have not yet been funded, and on which not one penny has been repaid is a long one. Russia, Yugoslavia, and Greece have not funded their War debts. Yugoslavia and Lithuania have not funded their post-War debts. France has signed a funding agreement for her War debt, but has not ratified the agreement, and has so far contented herself with one year's provisional payment on account and a promise for a second year's provisional payment. The relief debt of Austria has had its repayment postponed till 1943. The amounts outstanding at the end of the last financial year (March 31st, 1926) are given in the Treasury books, in round figures as follows: Russia, £794,500,000; Yugoslavia (War and post-War), £34,000,000; Greece, £21,000,000; Lithuania, £348,000; France, £647,000,000; Austria, £12,000,000. The total amounts to £1,508,848,000. Such a figure looks long on paper, and is too long for the imagination to grasp at sight. The amount of money lent by Great Britain as a result of the Great War, and not paid back, is even greater. One way of visualising it is to perform some simple arithmetic in this way: calculate the number of *minutes* that have passed since the birth of Christ, multiply it by two, and you have roughly the figure of the amount lent by the British taxpayer and not paid back. When Mr. Bonar Law calculated that so colossal a phenomenon would reduce the standard of life in this country for three generations, he made a conservative calculation. Are the British people a nation of shopkeepers? Do shopkeepers behave in so quixotic a manner? Do French shop-

keepers lend money? Has any Government in the world, except the Czechoslovak and the British, paid all its debts? The really amazing thing, if one overlooks the grimness of it, is that the said British people have built this grotesque monument absent-mindedly. Year by year, the British father of a family makes a return of his hard-earned income, and duly, year by year, pays a large part of it to the Chancellor of the Exchequer: But not one in a hundred thousand of them has the curiosity even to wonder why it is so.

NERVES AS A DIPLOMATIC FACTOR IN EUROPE.

The Council meeting of the League of Nations which took place in Geneva from March 7th to March 12th was remarkable because, in the absence of any formal business of an engrossing kind, the *coulisses* were the scene of informal business of a highly demoralising kind. It was the first meeting of the Council that had been presided over by Herr Stresemann. It was, in some ways, unfortunate that his first experience in the Chair should have been staged in such a setting. So far as the formal business was concerned, the only matter of interest was the report of the Saar Governing Commission. Some mild piquancy was given to that item of the agenda because the German member of the Commission had been the only member who refused to sign the report. The burden of the report was to suggest that the two French battalions stationed in the Saar should be withdrawn and the duty of safeguarding the railway, telegraphic and telephonic communications through the Saar should be entrusted to one new battalion, internationally recruited. It was commonly supposed that the German signature was withheld from that document because the proposed new battalion went beyond the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, and because it was anticipated with some probability that the said international battalion would be composed of one British subaltern and nine hundred French officers and men of all ranks. When it is remembered, however, that in the past the two French battalions have exceeded their strict duties and have exercised a more general form of control throughout the Saar, and that it was proposed by the Governing Commission that the competence of the international battalion should be severely restricted to the guarding of the railways, the German fears were somewhat short-sighted.

They were, however, a fair sample of the prevailing condition of neurasthenia in Europe. Seldom before has a Council meeting been preceded in Geneva by such an atmosphere of gossipy nervousness, unfounded on substantial ground, as that which preceded the meeting this March. A year ago League quarters really had something to gossip about. This year even serious and high-placed officials in Geneva swallowed almost at their face value the ridiculous

canard that had filled most of the European Press for some weeks about the alleged Anglo-Polish Entente. The fact that such rumours were not even quoted in the British Press merely suggested to the nervous people in Geneva that the British Press was engaged in a conspiracy of silence. The detail with which the story was invested was proof of the intellectual fertility of those who invented it. The idea of the British Foreign Office, it was solemnly alleged, was to bolster up the military strength of Poland in order to distract the attention of the Russian Government from China to her own Western border. German opinion was genuinely distressed about it. Russian opinion, which is never genuinely distressed about anything, pretended to be concerned. Polish opinion was delighted with the new and important rôle thrust upon it by the prevailing gossip; and Polish propaganda played up magnificently. Not only were some small and inconsiderable Polish orders placed with British armament firms, but exaggerated reports about British arms for Poland were mysteriously and assiduously circulated throughout Europe. In London such nonsense was laughed at. Odd as it may seem, however, the most important thing which Sir Austen Chamberlain did in Geneva was to convince both Herr Stresemann and Monsieur Briand that the Anglo-Polish Entente was a somewhat comic invention.

Perhaps one explanation is that since 1914 the organisation of news in Europe has ecstatically specialised on wars, peace settlements, diplomatic complications and the like. At the present time, when there is a genuine absence in diplomacy of anything worth worrying about, the habit of worrying persists, and in the absence of sustenance, artificially creates it. Russia, perhaps naturally, is the only hope for those who live on diplomatic gossip. It is the contemporary fashion in Europe to correlate diplomatic values with their bearing on the "Anglo-Russian Problem." The French Press hardly conceals its satisfaction in sympathising with British difficulties created by Russia in China and throughout the East. The German Press is cruder, if only because German Nationals are doing extremely well in China. When the Allies, as a form of punishment, deprived Germany of her rights in China, they thereby placed all Germans in China in the position of popular favourites, and German merchants have had nearly as big a share as American and Japanese merchants of the trade lost to Great Britain by the Chinese boycotts.

The habit of speculating on the state of affairs between Russia and Great Britain has had a faint repercussion in London. Tendentious questions have been put in the House of Commons. In answer to one of them on March 15th the Secretary for War gave it as the latest information he had, that the standing army in Russia numbered nearly six hundred and fifty thousand men, and if the

"Territorial" militia were included as well, the number would be over a million; while the military reserves in Russia numbered over an additional eight millions. In answer to another question the Secretary for War revealed the interesting information that His Majesty's Government had information showing that the study of gas warfare was being actively pursued in Soviet Russia. "Numerous factories," he said, "have been set up and are in course of erection, which are or will be capable of poison-gas production on a very considerable scale. It is not considered that any useful purpose will be served by detailing the number and location of such factories or by indicating their present or potential output, but there is no doubt that the Soviet military authorities are actively studying this type of warfare and making preparations on a large scale for its possible eventual use." He added that "there is not the slightest doubt" that much greater preparations for this kind of warfare are being made in Soviet Russia than anywhere else in the world.

THE F.B.I. AND EUROPEAN TRADE.

A Conference took place on March 7th and 8th between British and French representative industrialists. It was organised by the Federation of British Industries as part of the highly interesting series of such conferences which it started in the autumn. The meeting that took place in S. James's Street in the second week of March was not concerned with the furthering of any particular branch of trade between France and Great Britain, but with the organisation of a clearing-house of information and the discussion of certain broad principles. There was some irony in the emphatic protestations made by French quarters, and designed for German consumption, that no attempt had been made at the conference to conclude business deals. When the corresponding protestation was made by the German delegates last December, French official quarters and the French Press found some difficulty in accepting it at its face value.

The Franco-British delegates agreed to a series of resolutions, of which one at least was important. It advocated the policy of International Trade Agreements as a solution of contemporary economic difficulties. The Conference agreed that the policy underlying those resolutions will be jointly supported by the French and British delegates at the forthcoming Economic Conference of the League of Nations. The really interesting thing now is that the F.B.I. initiative in organising these conferences has been keenly welcomed in those European countries which especially feel the effects of the war. The German industrialists have made it known that they expect much good to result from them. France sent an exceptionally strong and representative delegation to S. James's Street. The

Anglo-Italian series will begin in London in April. The pivotal idea on which the conferences are working is that of international trade agreements. As a result of the Anglo-German conference held in London last December the text of a suggested agreement between Germany and Great Britain is already being drafted, and follows the lines of the German treaties with Italy, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Austria. It is expected that the completed draft will be submitted to the next meeting of the Anglo-German conference which is to take place in Berlin in April or in May. The theory underlining these treaties is that the new conditions in Europe demand special expedients. In S. James's Street at the present time the slogans Free Trade and Protection are not spoken of except as unsubstantial anachronisms. Instead, the officials of the F.B.I. prefer to argue that what is needed is a system of treaties which will be directed towards overcoming the abnormal barriers of customs and passports which at present hamper European trade. There is no harm in "blarney." The point is that the present British Government is the present British Government. In effect, the F.B.I. are advocating free trade. The draft treaties being drawn up will, however, have to be submitted to the various Governments. The officials of the F.B.I. have more sense than to prepare for submission to a Protectionist Government a series of Free Trade Treaties frankly labelled as such. If for no other reason, their tactics are justified because they will perhaps enable Mr. Baldwin to put his blind eye to the telescope.

London, March 15th, 1927.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

No. 307.

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REALITY: A NEW CORRELATION OF SCIENCE AND RELIGION.*

Canon Streeter has followed up his important and successful book on *The Four Gospels* by another important volume entitled *Reality*,* in which he gives a reasoned statement of the position in which his own mind has found rest after thirty years' search. In the Introduction he gives an interesting account of the movement of his thought from the time when he went up to Oxford as a scholar in 1893 to the present time.

The whole book turns on the question whether "Quality as well as Quantity is of the essence of Reality." This question, of course, he answers in the affirmative in the chapter devoted to "Science, Art and Religion," and in the subsequent chapter entitled "Two Ways of Knowledge." In the latter he contrasts scientific knowledge which has to do with Quantity and proceeds by way of classification, analysis and explanation by reference to general laws, with another kind of knowledge which deals with Quality and is akin to Art rather than to Science. Religion, according to the author, while making use of the scientific method, partakes even more fully of the intuitive knowledge of the inner quality of life which is akin to that of the artist. Science, he says, gives a diagram; Art not a diagram but a

* *Reality. A New Correlation of Science and Religion.* By Burnett Hillman Streeter. Macmillan. 8s. 6d. net.

picture. In the light of this distinction he finds the solution of the problem of Reality, as it presents itself to him, in Christ and in the defeat of Evil in the way and by the influence that are exemplified in Christ.

In the course of his argument many subjects are dealt with, including Materialism, the Nicene Creed, the relation between Religion and the new psychology, Immortality and, above all, the doctrine of God. In respect of all these subjects Canon Streeter has much to say that is fresh and suggestive. He is equally at home in the most recent conceptions of physical science, in the results of criticism and in the latest psychological teachings. He is lucid and even popular in exposition as well as acute in criticism. On the whole we are inclined to think that his article on "The Christ" is the most suggestive. He finds in Christ a creative personality Whose essential quality of Love enables Him to be an adequate representation of God.

Our only question in regard to this interesting book is whether its main problem is correctly posed and whether the answer given is altogether coherent. Canon Streeter starts out by declaring that "Pain is the fundamental fact in life." (p. 57.) He treats it as essentially evil and as associated "whenever man is on the stage" with the more grievous evil of Sin. The problem of pain in particular and of evil in general is solved, not theoretically, but by the way in which it was dealt with by Christ and may be dealt with by those who learn the secret of life from Him. Yet later on in dealing with the defeat of evil, the author lays it down that Good is more fundamental than evil. "Evil," he says, "is parasitic," and he proceeds to show how evil may be overcome by Good. This seems to show, and rightly so, that evil, whether pain or sin, is not fundamental but derivative and subordinate. To treat it as fundamental casts a darker shadow over the whole picture than in reality exists, thereby damaging both the conception of Reality and the conception of the way in which God overcomes evil in the process of evolution and history. As a matter of fact, it is clearly beneficial that in a world wherein life is beset by innumerable dangers, pain, which is for the most part monitory and deterrent, should be better remembered than pleasure. Moreover, the very fact that pain is thus better remembered shows that it stands out more clearly as being in contrast with the general context of life than is pleasure.

The prominence given to pain causes Canon Streeter somewhat crudely to represent God as not only "taking His share in the suffering," but as taking what he too colloquially calls "the lion's share." In order to emphasise the sympathy of God as made manifest in Christ, the author brings Him down into the struggle without any such qualifications as would be introduced by a more careful

Theology. These qualifications have been suggested in THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW in a recent notice of Baron von Hügel's *Essays on the Philosophy of Religion*, and need not now be repeated. Surely pain is bound up with materiality, evolution and, therefore, with the essential conditions of organic life as we know it. Hence the problem as a whole is that of the nature of the Universe rather than of the pain that accompanies its evolution. Both the larger and the narrower, though more haunting, questions are best approached by pursuing the idea of Value more comprehensively than is done in the present work, so as to show that the revelation and apprehension of Spiritual Values in such a world as ours involves the fact of pain and the possibility of failure: but that this inevitable cost is worth while, if these Values have the intrinsic importance both for God and for man that Christians believe them to have, and that by the pursuit of these Values pain may be transmuted into good.

J. S. L.

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THE OLD POOR LAW.*

In this thorough history of the old Poor Law Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb have completed a notable section in that history of English local government at which they began to work some twenty-eight years ago. The volume will have a foremost place in the whole history of which the first volume, that dealing with the parish and county, was issued as long ago as 1906, but it has a special value to-day as the introduction to the volume in preparation on the history of the poor since the days when the Poor Law Act of 1834 was passed. The authors consider that the greatest use of the volume is that it will serve as an introduction to its successor, "which will include a study of the serious issues now presented, owing to the neglect of timely reform, by an immensely increased aggregate of Poor Relief." This is, of course, true, and the social physician, as much as the physician who approaches the ailments of the human body, must have at his hands some history of the subject if accurate diagnosis is possible. Such diagnosis should be possible in the case of the body politic and its disease of both spasmodic and chronic poverty in many of its parts, if the record gathered together with infinite patience, care, and judicial impartiality by Mr. and Mrs. Webb is studied in the same spirit.

In so far as the social disease of poverty is concerned the record or history of the case shows that the body politic has suffered through many centuries from many physicians. No doubt, the numerous and honest experiments have been due partly to changing

* *English Local Government: English Poor Law History: Part I, The Old Poor Law.* By Sidney and Beatrice Webb. Longmans. 21s.

environment, though one force making for amelioration has remained constant, the efforts of religious bodies to alleviate the distresses of the sick and the poor. However there is a great deal to be said for Mr. and Mrs. Webb's view that the regarding of alms as a mere matter of piety "was in the direction of dismissing all considerations with regard to the character of the recipient." Certainly, indiscriminate almsgiving is a bad thing, but on the whole it may be suspected that the clergy, even in the Middle Ages, largely restricted almsgiving to the sick and feeble, and that the able-bodied beggar received little encouragement before the Black Death. After that dread event it was illegal to give alms to the wandering ruffians whom a new economy had cast upon the world. When the gipsy tribes entered England about the year 1502, the trouble was increased; but by that date parochial relief had become well organised and was, in fact, a part of the local government system. But apart from these wandering bands, presumably the real poor, the infirm and the sick and children without protectors, formed as large a percentage as in later days of those who clamoured for help. It may be suspected that the monasteries rather than the parishes helped to harbour the able-bodied beggar. The abolition of the religious houses almost synchronised with the intervention of Parliament in a problem that had become insoluble locally, but Mr. and Mrs. Webb take the point, a sound one, that it is wrong to suggest that the intervention of Parliament was really precipitated by the closing of the religious houses. A good deal of relief was afforded in deserving cases by the guilds, and, in fact, to-day there is a good deal of middle-class relief that is provided by bodies of an analogous character.

By the opening of the sixteenth century, a definite but fluid proletariat, a wage-earning class that was liable to sudden or gradual stress of unemployment or poverty, was in existence in England in addition to the permanent class of wandering vagabonds and mendicants. Legislation was necessary and it began in 1531, before the closing of the religious houses, by an Act entitled, "How Aged Poor and Impotent persons compelled to live by alms shall be ordered." The Continent was already dealing with the same problem and the action there taken must have had some repercussion here. In 1526, again before the abolition of the monasteries, a legal duty to succour the poor was placed on the local authorities in cities, towns and parishes, and special steps were taken in London, the headquarters of vagrancy. It is noticeable that at Kidbrook, in the south-east of London, the gipsies had their headquarters and an annual meeting place. In 1563 the poor rate was instituted, and in 1572 the law was codified and the organisation simplified while stern provisions against idlers and beggars were re-enacted. Yet

at the same time an effort was made to place and settle at work the wanderers. In 1576, machinery was enacted providing work for the poor, and thus lessening the inducements to wander in search of work. By 1576 there was a complete code covering the whole country, and between 1597 and 1601 came a renewed statutory effort, and this was supplemented by the co-ordinating action of the Privy Council, a fact that has never yet been fully examined. Mr. and Mrs. Webb dwell upon this centralising effort at considerable length. It was a logical and serious attempt to deal with national poverty. The Privy Council deliberately assumed the duty of seeing that the whole nation was protected from dearth.

This notable effort died away in the miseries of the Civil Wars, and "after the Restoration there was no resumption of the hierarchical national administration." The Civil War and the Interregnum paralysed central authority, and the history for the remainder of the period to 1834 is the history of legislation with local operation, the history of new local bodies, of unions of parishes for poor law purposes, of bodies of guardians of the poor, and of many remarkable and sometimes not unhopeful experiments in the region of administration. This is what may be called the research section of this remarkable book. The whole work is an admirable survey of the history of the Poor Law, but Mr. and Mrs. Webb have, in the period from the Restoration to 1834, acquired by patient research into original documents—too often uncalendared and even unrecorded, but gladly shown by the parochial and other custodians—a knowledge of local experiments, of local apparent successes or apparent failures that in the form now recorded provide an invaluable source-book to which all reformers of the discontents of our time will turn for illustration or for help. The chapter on "Methods of Relief, 1660-1834" has a special value. It is sometimes claimed that the best period of administration was the half-century from 1732 to 1782, the period when the eighteenth century was singularly autumnal in character; but there is no difficulty in showing that this very period was marked by workhouse scandals of the worst order. It was not until 1795 that rates in aid of wages were generally adopted with "calamitous results," but the preceding period was marked by innumerable ignorances, cruelties, and stupidities.

Older experiments were revived to meet the case of the able-bodied poor. Thus paupers of this type were shared round for employment among the ratepayers of the parish. Another method was for each occupier of land to employ at wages fixed by the parish his quota of unemployed labourers. Then again, there was apprenticeship of pauper children, and this led, with the onset of the Industrial Revolution, to the monstrous evil, as it seemed, of send-

ing pauper children of the tenderest age from workhouses all over the country to Blake's "satanic mills." It was a strange and apparently inhuman business, but, in fact, Parliament attempted to do something for these apprentices in the way of inspection and education by the Act of 1802; and by 1815 the demand fell away in the cotton and woollen mills. The master of such apprentices was to feed, clothe, lodge, instruct and supply religious instruction to them. The Act of 1802 is said to have been ineffective, but, at any rate, it reasserted the general duties of the master as conceived in earlier centuries; and it so happened that the improvement in the means of obtaining mechanical power made the children of the neighbourhood preferable to imported labour. But the mills were not, from the point of view of the poor, wholly evil. They imposed the discipline wholly lacking in the professional pauper, and created a generation that had discipline and combination in its blood. Mr. and Mrs. Webb consider that the organised work of mill and factory increased the capacity of the industrial classes for democratic life.

One other famous experiment may be mentioned, that started by the Rev. Robert Lowe at Bingham, near Nottingham, in 1818. In place of the terrible workhouses, where every evil and vice prevailed, he substituted a system of workhouse life where there was cleanliness, good order, ample food, and iron discipline. Outdoor relief was absolutely refused to able-bodied men and their families. They were ordered into the reformed workhouse, which they found intolerable. Good effects apparently sprang from this system in various areas. Men set to work, population increased, wages increased, and the conduct of parishioners greatly improved. But the deterrent system overlooked the deserving poor.

This conception of the workhouse provided no asylum for the aged, no place of treatment for the sick or the nursing mothers, no refuge for the infirm or the mentally defective, and no educational institution for the orphan or deserted children—and these, in fact, habitually made up seven-eighths of "the destitute" for whom the law directed relief to be given!

Presumably alms collected in church did something for these, but the law itself obviously had failed to do its duty.

Everything seemed to have failed. Rates in aid of wages were clearly unsound, and yet it seemed impossible to pay adequate wages without such help. The question whether by organisation of industries a minimum wage could not be paid profitably had not yet been asked, and it was not to be asked for a half-century after 1834. Mr. and Mrs. Webb seem to indicate that in their judgment here lies the line of the solution of a problem of poverty that has darkened the English world through so many centuries. But education must

make the way of the new economists easier. The educated worker with heart in his work will bring profits wherever he goes. The reorganisation of industry is only possible, it would seem, if the workers are capable of conscious and willing co-operation with the captains of industry.

J. E. G. DE M.

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THE CONDUCT OF WAR.*

This very able book should receive the attention of all Englishmen who realise that, however remote war may be from the probabilities of coming years, it is a contingency to be provided against and machinery for organising the government in that event should be in existence. General Maurice believes that we are not "at all likely to be involved in another great war for many years to come." His book, therefore, cannot be regarded as a forerunner of dread events. The time of prolonged peace is a time when the theory and doctrine of the conduct of war can be worked out in its integrity without disturbing factors and can be docketed for future use. The War that ended in 1918 is too near in time to do more than illustrate here and there General Maurice's theory. Even yet the facts are none too clear. But the American Civil War that ended sixty years ago was a war in democratic surroundings, is the most fully documented struggle that exists and was on a sufficient scale to reveal evidence upon which General Maurice has formulated his theory of the true conduct of war by a democratic state.

By the "Conduct of War" General Maurice means:

the direction for a special purpose of the whole power and resources of the nation. This is clearly not a matter to be left to soldiers or sailors, nor would any responsible soldier or sailor desire it to be so left. But it is a matter which requires preparation and organisation as complete and systematic as does the mobilisation of armed forces. It is the form of preparation which has the outstanding merit of costing nothing but thought, and of conveying no menace to a possible foe. . . . the conduct of war must be directed by statesmen, and it is equally agreed that one part of the conduct of war, the handling of armies and navies, must be left to professional experts. How are these two conditions to be fulfilled?

The case is different from that of a Chancellor of the Exchequer: who gets advice from experts but makes himself responsible for the final result in the shape of the estimates. The sailor or soldier is not the type of expert that helps a finance minister, since he cannot

* *Governments at War: A Study of the Conduct of War.* By Major-General Sir F. Maurice. William Heinemann. 8s. 6d. net.

prophecy and cannot say what he will do or will not do when the actual issue of war is joined. He then, like a creative artist, faces the problem with the technique in his personality and not merely in his books :

The military chief is, therefore, or should be, in a different relation to the statesmen in time of war to that occupied by any of his assistants in time of peace. I have suggested that this relation should be of the nature of a partnership, in which the statesman becomes the senior partner. If that is so then it is clearly necessary that the conditions of the partnership and the function of the partners should be determined beforehand. This is the more necessary because, just as the process of mobilisation places armies and fleets on a footing very different to that which obtains in peace, so war places governments in a new position. The process of mobilisation is well known and its effect is studied beforehand; it is even occasionally practised in time of peace, but we have never, before we went into a war, considered what should be the machinery for its conduct, and those who had to use that machinery have never had an opportunity of examining the mechanism and of considering how it would work.

General Maurice's plan is a comparatively simple one. He writes :

The practice of Rome and of the United States should assure us that there is nothing undemocratic in establishing a temporary dictatorship in time of national emergency. We must in a great war have a supreme authority to direct all the armed forces of the Empire. That authority must be civil, and it is far better that it should be vested in a man than in a committee. That man, with us, must be the Prime Minister. I suggest that we should be well-advised whenever such a danger arises as calls for the mobilisation of the whole of our forces, to place in the hands of the Prime Minister authority to nominate or remove his military advisers, and the commanders of armies and fleets, to conduct, in consultation with these advisers, the naval, military, and air operations of the war. The Letters Patent or other instrument which confers this power on the Prime Minister should at the same time define exactly the powers and functions and responsibilities of his military advisers.

What support does the War of Secession give to the doctrine? Both Jefferson Davis, the President of the South, and Abraham Lincoln, the President of the North, under their respective constitutions had each in effect the powers of a dictator in time of war. How did they use these powers which General Maurice would give, in similar circumstances, to the Prime Minister of England? Davis, from the first, fully saw the position after he had been forced to fire the first shot in April, 1861. He knew that the North would fight to the bitter end. He had as clear a view as Lord Kitchener had about Germany in 1914. But Davis quarrelled with one of his ablest Generals, Johnston. He retrieved the fault by

calling Robert Lee to his side, but despite his admiration for Lee, Davis was never in actual agreement with him. Lee saw that it was necessary to enforce a speedy peace before the North brought its reserves into full action, but Davis never saw the necessity and only saw the risks, and so Lee had to be content with defence when the sudden offensive was necessary. Davis was an able man but he could not devise a system of conduct in war that fitted the extraordinary situation. All critical positions in war, as in chess, are extraordinary. It is then that genius applies. Davis had the genius at his command in the shape of Robert Lee and he never used it.

Abraham Lincoln was of different stuff. He had not a genius at his command but he had a man of splendid calibre in Grant. He saw that McClellan was impossible, was a man with whom no civilian could co-operate, but he found Grant, and Grant and Lincoln formed a superb partnership, not a partnership of genius but a partnership of a wide-minded farseeing receptive civilian and a stout, indefatigable soldier who knew his trade well and could give and receive advice. The combination overwhelmed what might have been a better combination. Lincoln and Lee would have overwhelmed Davis and Grant if Lincoln and Lee had represented the South. General Maurice does not go so far as to state this, but it is a fair deduction from his theory since it is almost certain that if Lee had had bold and far-sighted backing he could have imposed peace before the North had got into its stride. But however that may be the principle stated by General Maurice is clearly right. There must be for the conduct of war unity of command composed of a temporary dictator and a soldier who is fully *en rapport* with that dictator. In that way, and that way alone, is the full power of a nation in arms to be brought into effect. This lesson seems to be capable of being learnt from the War of 1914, and no doubt the War Office is thinking it all out in these not too halcyon days of peace.

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RELIGION IN THE MAKING.*

In the small volume entitled *Religion in the Making*,* Professor Whitehead has published four lectures on religion delivered in Boston, U.S.A., a year ago. In these lectures he applies to Religion the train of thought which was applied to Science in a course of previous lectures published under the title "Science and the Modern World." The four chapters are entitled "Religion in History," "Religion and Dogma," "Body and Spirit," "Truth and

* *Religion in the Making*. By Alfred North Whitehead. Lowell Lectures, 1926. Cambridge University Press. 6s. net.

Criticism." This little book is one of the most important on its subject that has appeared in recent years, and demands the careful attention of all those who are interested in Theology and in the relations between Religion and Science. To great originality of thought Professor Whitehead adds clearness and concise exposition. Striking aphorisms are scattered broadcast over his pages. While the argument is closely compressed, it is both lucid and luminous. Its difficulty for some readers arises, not from any obscurity either of thought or expression, but from the fact that the author clothes his scientific statements in a terminology which conforms to the latest concepts of Science and particularly to the doctrine of Relativity.

The most important of the lectures is that on "Body and Spirit." Professor Whitehead points out that "We know nothing beyond this temporal world and the formal elements which jointly constitute its character." These formative elements may be summarised as being (1) The creativity which is made manifest in the process of evolution in time, (2) the realm of ideal entities and forms which, while not actual, become exemplified in everything that is actual, according to some proportion of relevance, and (3) the actual but non-temporal entity whereby the indetermination of mere creativity is transmuted into a determinate freedom. "This non-temporal actual entity is what men call God—the supreme God of rationalised religion." (p. 90.) In discussing the third of these elements the author differentiates his position from that of Kant. Kant saw the necessity for God in the moral order and rejected the arguments for His existence drawn from the Cosmos; Professor Whitehead finds the foundations of the world in the æsthetic experience and treats the moral order as being part of this æsthetic order, which depends upon the apprehension of Values. This æsthetic order is "derived from the immanence of God." (pp. 104, 105.)

Professor Whitehead treats the Goodness of God as His limitation. (p. 153.) It is at this point that we are inclined to join issue with him. Nominally, of course, the statement is true, for if every quality good and bad, actual or conceivably possible, be included in an imaginary Reality, then the Perfection of God involves a negation of all that is imaginatively conceivable but not actual in His Being. In this sense His Goodness is His limitation. Yet positively and actually this means His freedom from limitation. In regard to the Being of God at all events, it seems to us that St. Augustine's doctrine of the negativity of evil, as being intrinsically a defect both of Being and of the Good, holds good. The eternal self-realisation of God can only be perfect because it negates evil, which tends to the destruction and not to the fulfilment of real Being. The question why God is thus perfect in Goodness instead of being either some-

thing else or an indeterminate and all-embracing Absolute is perhaps unanswerable, because our only means of answering it is through the deliverances in regard to Truth, Beauty and Goodness which become imperative in us because they are derived from and inspired by God.

We end as we began, by commending to all serious thinkers a volume which demands and will amply repay their most careful study.

J. S. L.

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WESTMINSTER ABBEY.*

It is very convenient for students of and visitors to Westminster Abbey to have within small compass material for the appreciation of a building which combines within itself the richest traditions and the noblest art that England can boast of. Mr. Lawrence Tanner as Assistant Keeper of the Muniments of the Abbey writes with peculiar authority, while Dr. Fellowes in what he has to tell us of the association of the sister art of Music with the arts of Architecture and Sculpture as presented in the Abbey writes also with weight and learning. The Abbey as we see it to-day is indeed not in its fullest perfection. That perfection was reached when Henry VII completed the incomparable Lady Chapel that bears his name. "The superb roof was planned with an audacity and sureness of touch which makes it perhaps," in the words of Professor W. R. Lethaby, "the most wonderful work of masonry ever put together by the hand of man." From 1519 to 1540 the Abbey Church with its magnificent stained glass "stood complete and supreme in all its beauty." The age of spoliation followed, and that was again followed by the threat of decay in the stonework. Nature was better resisted than man, and the work of Wren and his successors has secured substantial safety through the renewal of the ancient external stonework, a process that has meant changes in detail from the original design. Moreover, Nicholas Hawksmore's western towers, erected between 1734 and 1740, though they contain the inspiration of Wren and are much beloved are not in accordance with the great architectural scheme. But of these may be said, to those who criticise, words used by George Eliot in another connection "hath she her faults, I would you had them too." The very faults of the structure as we know it are nobler than the correctness of many other buildings.

The Abbey as it stands echoes all our history. We have, at any rate, some remains of the Confessor's Church and of the original monastic buildings. Outside the Abbey are

* *Westminster Abbey.* By Lawrence E. Tanner. *The Music of Westminster.* By the Rev. E. H. Fellowes. J. M. Dent. 1s. net.

" the Norman undercroft, some windows in the school above, the lower part of the Refectory Wall, and a few fragments built into the later work. But the most interesting remains are those in the church itself. There are three bases of columns (which are some feet below the present floors just in front of the high Altar) and the foundations of the original apse at the east end. These foundations are partly underneath the Confessor's Shrine, and were uncovered in 1910. . . . The ground plan of the Norman church was not very much smaller than that of the present Abbey. It is now well established that the conception of it was based upon the Norman abbey at Jumièges. It was far the largest church hitherto erected in England; the solitary outpost, as it were, of the great Norman Age of church building which was to follow. . . . We have left unnoticed one very important feature which was retained by Henry III when he came to rebuild the church. This was the crossing or central space under the tower, with the choir standing under and to the west of it, an arrangement not uncommon in Norman churches, but most unusual in churches built at a later date. . . . From the Confessor's church is also probably inherited the vast upper Abbey in the Triforium, of which few people know the existence. It reproduces the ground plan of the ambulatories and chapels beneath. But its intended use remains a problem."

This noble church remained practically untouched from 1065 to 1220, when young King Henry III laid the foundation stone of a Lady Chapel. In 1240 he determined to build a new church still nobler within the old confines, and the work was begun in 1245. The conception of the great building was that of Master Henry. If he was "Master Henry of Reyns" then the two noble coronation churches of England and France were from the mind of the same great architect. But the fact remains in doubt and, in any event, the English Church is, in the words of Professor Lethaby, "triumphantly English." The new church was consecrated in 1269, but it was destined to be completed by Simon Langham, sometime Abbot of Westminster, and later Archbishop of Canterbury. He determined to pull down the northern nave and complete the design of Henry III. This was eventually carried out. The nave was pulled down between 1376 and 1388, and throughout the reign of Richard II the work of reconstruction proceeded, and was finished three years before Bosworth Field and the coming of the Tudors. The work is thus an architectural whole, and the structure is a complete work of the highest and noblest art.

We know at present perhaps little of the pre-Reformation music that thrilled through the Abbey in its greatest period. The Elizabethan and later ages gave to the noble Church music and musicians worthy of the structure. Robert White was there from 1570, a great master of formal music. In 1623 Orlando Gibbons came to the Abbey, the master of English anthems. Henry Purcell in 1679

became the Abbey organist, and to it he gave of his best. Many other names, particular stars in the firmament of music, have been associated with a building which is in itself a poem to which the noblest music should be set.

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SHAKESPEARE'S COUNTRY.*

This little book by Mr. Clive Holland mirrors the county dominated by Shakespeare, and will help the student to understand much in his study of the plays. Shakespeare's exquisite descriptive poetry of place and flower, bird and insect, lightens at times the gloomiest scenes in his plays, bringing with it a balm that Gilead could not but envy. That "bank of wild thyme" soothes the senses, and thus helps to restore the perfect harmony and evenness of things that nature alone can bestow. The country, such a country as Stratford-upon-Avon, with its Forest of Arden, was Shakespeare's fairy godmother, and she left him a great inheritance which he has passed on, and will continue to pass on to countless generations.

Warwickshire is the least changed of English counties, and that fact makes it easier to read into it the history and romance of Elizabethan times. Mr. Holland has condensed into a small compass much history and more tradition, for very little is known of Warwickshire in pre-Roman times. The Roman occupation lasted over three centuries or thereabouts, and many memorials and relics remain. "The district of which Warwickshire formed a part was incorporated in the Province named Flavia Cæsariensis, and was afterwards called Britannia Secunda." Arden was the general Celtic name for a forest as, indeed, Warwickshire then was. There remain but a few historical records relating to Warwickshire after the Romans left until the time of the Saxon Heptarchy. The Picts and Scots, Saxons and Danes did their worst but in the eighth century Warwickshire shared in the prosperity of Mercia, of which it became a part.

There is but little doubt that the whole of Warwickshire came into the hands of Alfred the Great by the Treaty of Wedmore, made between him and Guthren, the Dane, in 878. Mr. Holland traces the history of the county through Saxon and Norman times, but says, "From the tangle of history at this period it is not easy to estimate the part played by Warwickshire in the history of the country at large." The struggle between Henry III and the Barons under Simon de Montfort centred, as far as Warwickshire was concerned, round Warwick and Kenilworth. After the defeat of Simon de Montfort and the conclusion of the wars of the Barons, Warwickshire enjoyed a long period of peace extending over two centuries.

* *Things Seen in Shakespeare's Country.* By Clive Holland. Seeley, Service and Company, Ltd., London. 3s. 6d. net.

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The accession of Henry VI in 1422 brought about the Wars of the Roses, which lasted for nearly thirty years. Shakespeare in his play of Henry VI vividly describes the historic scene in the Temple Gardens, which is said to have given to the contending parties their emblems, the red and the white rose, in the ensuing civil war, wherein Warwickshire and its unfortunate Earl were involved.

Mr. Holland follows the traditional history of the Shakespeare family, and their connection with Stratford, as far back as the poet's grandfather, Richard Shakespeare, who was the owner of some land and tenements at Snitterfield, a small village a few miles north of Stratford. He had two sons, John and Henry. William the poet was the son of John, who was certainly a resident of Stratford in 1552. William was born on April 23rd, 1564; this date is usually accepted; but the date of baptism is alone recorded, a rite usually performed two or three days after birth. At the age of nineteen in 1582 the poet married Anne Hathaway, who was seven years his senior. What Shakespeare's occupation was at that time is very uncertain. Mr. Holland seems inclined to follow the view held by later students of Shakespeare's life and times, and especially notes the opinion held by Mr. Arthur Gray, Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, in his recent book entitled *A Chapter in the Early Life of Shakespeare*, namely, that Sir Henry Goodere, who visited Stratford at this date—1570-71—became acquainted with John Shakespeare, who at that time was a member of the Stratford Corporation, and that he offered to take the boy William into his service as page at Polesworth Hall, in the Forest of Arden. Mr. Gray goes very carefully into the question of those unaccounted years after the poet's marriage, and the birth of his twin children in 1585. Stratford entirely loses sight of him from that date till his appearance in London, whither he had gone with apparently an introduction to the Earl of Southampton, who was a friend of the Goodere family. But Mr. Gray says "there is no scrap of evidence for fixing 1586 as the year of Shakespeare's introduction to London. For all we know it might be as late as 1590."

In Shakespeare's plays there are many references to the Forest of Arden and places north of Stratford, but none to Stratford itself. Might it not be possible that Shakespeare, finding that neither glove-making nor butchering was a road to fortune or to his taste, and having a wife and children to support, drifted back to Snitterfield in north Warwickshire, the village where his forbears had come from, hoping to find employment amongst his kith and kin? As Snitterfield was in the neighbourhood of Polesworth Hall, he may in this way have met Sir Henry Goodere and the literary circle which gathered there. Be this as it may, these unaccounted-for years will continue to give scope to many theories, and new evidence may be yet forthcoming which will throw light on this problem. Warwick,

Leamington, Kennilworth and Coventry provide most interesting chapters, while the excellent illustrations throughout the book should lure those Shakespeare lovers who are not yet acquainted with this delightful and delectable county of Warwickshire.

S. DE M.

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INDIAN CRIMINAL TRIALS.*

This very able book on Indian Criminal Procedure is, of course, highly technical, and perhaps the first appeal that it makes is to practitioners and to those who propose to practice in the Indian Courts. It is written by a specialist. Mr. Sabonadière was formerly a District and Sessions Judge in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and now since his retirement is the lecturer in Indian Law in the University of London. He has therefore a larger aim for his book even than that of use in practice or the pupil-room. It adds a great deal to our knowledge of Indian Law from the point of view of general jurisprudence. It brings this complex Code into full relation to the Indian Penal Code, to the Indian Evidence Act, and to the Indian Prisons Act. The Code of Criminal Procedure is regarded as an entity, and Mr. Sabonadière shows the inter-related workings of its various parts and its relationship to the substantive law of crime. Mr. Sabonadière defines with care the objects of a Code of Criminal Procedure. They are :

to provide the means and lay down the methods by which the facts concerning an offence committed, or supposed to be committed, may be ascertained as speedily and accurately as possible; by which persons reasonably supposed to be guilty may be brought before the Courts; by which, when this has been done, an impartial inquiry before a Court may be secured; by which the Courts are to reach their decision after full consideration of all the available and admissible evidence which it may be proper to take; and by which, when there is a conviction, the infliction of the penalty properly ordered by the Court is to be secured.

This clear statement (worthy of Bentham) of the purpose of a Code intended to deal with prevention, detection, investigation and trial of crimes and offences shows substantially how great a part adjective law has played in the history of law and must play in daily life. The machinery of a court, the machinery of prevention and of punishment, is earlier in time than the actual definition of offences. Offences seem, to the early mind at any rate, such obvious things that they do not need definition. Murder and crimes of violence, theft and crimes of subtlety and deceit, seem susceptible of full proof, but scarcely of definition. Processes of defence have

* *The Trial of Criminal Cases in India: Being a Discussion of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, as amended up to date.* By A. Sabonadière. Calcutta and Simla. Thacker, Spink and Co. 25s.

given rise to the need for definition and for all the subtleties of substantive law. The real difficulty is to bring the alleged offender before a competent tribunal. The Anglo-Saxon Codes were procedural rather than substantive. In this book we see in detail the machinery of an elaborate system of criminal law for a vast empire of alien peoples working in great cases and in small, in crimes that go to the root of organised society, and in offences that affect, at the most, the comfort of a small section of a community. The Indian Code of Criminal Procedure grinds exceedingly small, and it is competent to meet the peculiar racial characteristics of Oriental peoples. An effective procedural code must face racial idiosyncracies.

In this country we have no such Code. Our Criminal Law has not been codified. It is a strange morass of statute law, case law and tradition lit up with definite guiding principles that throw great beams of justice over the darkness. These principles, or the best of them, have gone to the construction of the great Criminal Codes of India. Those Codes should react not only on our practice but on our Statute Book. It is time that the English Criminal Law, admirable in fact and safeguarded by our ancient jury system and by judges of the highest learning and integrity, should exist in a suitable form capable of being understood by the people subject to it who, by a fiction of the law itself, are presumed to know not only the principles but every jot and tittle of the law. If Mr. Sabonadière's admirable work will turn once more the minds of English jurists in this direction it will achieve an even larger purpose than its author intended. The foreign criminal codes as well as the Indian Criminal Codes are at our hands, and the statesmen who recently secured the codification of our laws of property might well now turn their attention to the ancient criminal law of England.

J. E. G. DE M.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

The new revised and enlarged edition of Dr. W. H. Hutton's volume on *Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*,* is a welcome restatement of the life of a very great Englishman. Dr. Hutton first dealt with the subject in his volume entitled *S. Thomas of Canterbury*, published as long ago as 1890, of which a second edition was issued in 1899 by Mr. D. Nutt. The first edition of the present work was issued by Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons in 1910. Since that date a good deal has been published on the subject of Becket (Dr. Hutton very properly disclaims the ugly, useless name, à Becket, which has no contemporary or early authority) and the results of all research are incorporated. Dr. Hutton does not agree with Dr. A. J. Mason's view as to the resting-place of Becket's bones if those bones were not burnt. Dr. Moore inclined to the view that the bones discovered

* Cambridge University Press. 8s. 6d. net.

in Canterbury Cathedral in 1888 were the bones of the Saint. Those who saw the bones when they were unearthed in 1888 and compared them with the accounts of the martyrdom, were convinced that they were not the Saint's bones; on the other hand, Dr. Mason thinks the facts "seem to point to the conclusion that the bones are those of the great Archbishop." Now the contemporary authorities say that the crown of the head was actually cut off. If that was so the skull found in 1888 was not the head of Becket. All admit this. Again Pope Paul III excommunicated King Henry VIII for burning the bones. Cardinal Pole and others say that they were burnt. If we are to accept Dr. Mason's view we must repudiate the contemporary evidence in both cases and that Dr. Hutton is not prepared to do despite the undoubted learning of Dr. Mason's essay on the subject. The truth is that it is a matter of evidence, and no one accustomed to the weighing of evidence in a strict legal manner could doubt that the bones found were not those of the great English Statesman who was so brutally murdered in his Cathedral Church at sunset on December 29th, 1170. The story of the murder is well told and is to some extent based on Dean Stanley's narrative. It is said that when the deed was done a great storm of thunder and lightning burst over the city and that later in the night the Northern Lights flashed through the choir where he lay. The next day he was buried in the crypt, without any ceremony, and the great Cathedral, for a whole year, was draped in silence and in the pollution of crime.

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The second volume of the *World History Series*,* edited by Dr. Ernest Barker, the Principal of King's College, London, is by Miss M. R. Dacombe, and deals with a subject singularly difficult to bring into related compass, Mediæval History. Mr. F. J. Weaver wrote the volume on Ancient History, and two volumes on Early Modern History and Modern History are to follow. Dr. Barker states in his introduction that the aim is to explain the elements of the general and universal past "which are still alive in our country and help to make it what it now is." Miss Dacombe insists, and this is the essence of her very competent book, that the varied story of the millennium that separates Constantine from Boniface VIII is worked on a tapestry "of one piece in spite of its complicated design. My aim has been to show that the threads are closely interwoven, that even the first centuries of the period were not wholly 'dark,' and that our present civilisation cannot be fully understood without some knowledge of the Middle Age." The continuity of education from the Roman age onwards is a case in point. Miss Dacombe says that "all-imperial schools disappeared." This is hardly established. There was certainly some continuity in Italy, and it is quite possible that the schools at Canterbury and Rochester are English survivals of schools founded under the Edict of Gratian. Education, religion, art, agricultural economy, town government, a common humanism, an Aryan dominance, made the framework on which the tapestry was stretched. With such thoughts in mind we see the racial reactions of east and west, the iron bulwark of the Eastern Empire, the upgrowth of a central empire dominated in law and custom by codes with a Roman basis, the upgrowth of a Roman

* Cassells.

centuries builds up a book that children will love and which will give them, almost unawares, a sense of historic proportion and of the growth of the nation of which one day they will be citizens. All school libraries should have this excellent book.

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The latest addition to the valuable series entitled "The Broadway Travellers" is "Pero Tafur's Travels and Adventures (1435-1439)."^{*} The narrative was first printed half a century ago; but few people can read fifteenth-century Spanish, and if the intrepid traveller becomes known to the general reader it will be mainly owing to Mr. Malcolm Letts, who has translated the story in a style that is neither too archaic nor too modern, prefixed an admirable introduction, and added explanatory notes which once more reveal his extraordinary knowledge of the literature of the end of the Middle Ages. We accompany Tafur from Spain to Rome and Venice, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Rhodes, Cairo, Basel, Cologne, Bruges, Prague, Breslau, Vienna and many other places of importance, and meet emperors and kings, popes and princes. We gain the impression of a decent, kindly, intelligent man, keenly interested in commerce as well as in churches and palaces. To readers who know many of the countries and cities which he describes it is of the greatest interest to learn how they looked five hundred years ago; and to every one, travelled or untravelled, this vivid narrative brings the life and politics of fifteenth-century Europe strangely near to our eyes and minds.

* * *

Miss Dorothy King in "The Flower of Gold and Other Legends from the French of Albert Meyrac"[†] in the series of "Stories Old and New" has given to English readers ten stories from the Ardenne region, folk tales and stories of feudal times that have become legendary. The longest of them, "The Golden Damsel," contains a weird conception of the skein of life being unwound in a few hours before the unexpected death of a young and radiant squire. Surely the right term is *Damoiseau*. That was, in fact, the technical term in feudal times for a young boy of noble birth. "The Three Wishes" is excellent, and all are good though some show an outlook that is sadly cunning and materialistic. But that outlook is not unknown among the French peasantry and is common among down-trodden border peoples.

* * *

"The Apocrypha: The Revised Version with the Revised Marginal References"[‡] is a new edition of the last portion of the revision of the Authorised Version of 1611 issued in 1895. The special feature of this new edition is that for the first time in the history of the Revised Version of the Apocrypha the text is divided into verses. The text in this form possesses a new attraction and will probably receive a new access of study from other than technical students. Many parts of the Apocrypha are very charming and the wisdom of Solomon in its new form seems wiser than ever.

* Routledge. 12s. 6d.

† Blackie. 1s. 6d.

‡ Oxford University Press jointly with the Cambridge University Press. 6s. net.

• MR. CHURCHILL'S THIRD BUDGET.

REGARDED either as a literary composition or as an artistic performance Mr. Churchill's third Financial Statement will rank high. Indeed, as I listened to it, I could not help feeling that he was making the best of a bad case and winding his way very deftly out of the political difficulties by which he seemed to be encompassed. It is wonderful what can be done in the House of Commons by a good speaker who has studied successfully the art of pleasing that assembly. Everyone remembers what Burke said about Charles Townshend, how much he delighted the House and what mischief he wrought to the country. I was struck by the good temper which Mr. Churchill displayed from beginning to end. And at first he had a hard time. The packed Conservative benches behind him sat in stolid gloom, listening without a sympathetic cheer as he unfolded the dismal record of super-abundant expenditure and diminished receipts, vainly endeavouring to lay the whole burden of his delinquencies upon fortune and the coal stoppage. Even his jests, which were more numerous and of rather better quality than one expects from a Chancellor of the Exchequer on these occasions, seemed to be more relished by the Opposition than by the Ministerialists, except indeed when he remarked that business men and wealthy taxpayers have nothing to hope for from a Labour Government, or when he reminded Liberals that his new batch of Protectionist infants can trace their descent from Mr. McKenna and Mr. Lloyd George.

Everyone, of course, knew that but for the coal strike Mr. Churchill's deficit, or rather his deficits, would have been comparatively small and manageable; and we can readily understand his very natural desire to put down to the coal stoppage the whole of the deficiency in his estimated revenue—nineteen millions—with as much of his underestimated expenditure—nearly twenty-two millions—as possible. But then the Government expended twenty-four millions on the coal subsidy, that is to say on a mere expedient for postponing the strike until they had made certain preparations which they ought to have made before. And we must remember also that the coal subsidy was largely wasted upon profitable mines, which had no claim whatever upon the taxpayer's charity.

But the main charge against Mr. Churchill, a charge which he entirely failed to meet, is that the promises of economy to which the Government was deeply pledged have been altogether ignored. Instead of reductions in the Supply Services and in the total national expenditure we have had large increases since the Government took office. Before examining those increases let us consider the pledges of Mr. Baldwin and the Cabinet and Mr. Churchill.

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theocracy that knit together the spiritual outlook of many races. We see the Northmen on the move, the last movement of the Aryan dispersal, we see the upgrowth of the French monarchy, the English State; we see the reaction against the forces of the east in successive crusades and the internal struggles between the Two Swords in Europe. There is indeed only one to-day, and Miss Dacombe shows the student how the Time Spirit wove the pattern that we may modify but cannot efface.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

Mr. R. Trevor Davies' volume entitled *Documents Illustrating the History of Civilisation in Mediæval England (1066-1500)** has a unique value for the serious student since it renders "easy of access all the more important documents which are alluded to in the current textbooks of political history for the period between the Norman conquest and the accession of the House of Tudor." The text is given in English with the vital or doubtful passages in the original tongue in footnotes. A short headnote indicates the source and a convenient textual edition for reference. A vast range of subjects is, of course, included in the volume, which illustrates the economic, social, political, constitutional, and religious phases of mediæval life. The only possible addition would have been some early documents relating to art, architecture, and music. Mr. Davies rightly holds that the best way for the student to obtain a balanced and judicial view of the material is to go to the contemporary sources, "rather than the prejudiced and often obsolete observations of the textbook, upon which to form his opinions." But the student must be reminded that for the solution of the real problems of the Middle Ages he must go to the textbook writer if he is to see how the material, say, of Domesday Book, or the Pipe Rolls, or even of the Patent or Close or Charter Rolls, or special Court Rolls, go to the making up of a great narrative. Sir Paul Vinogradoff in his *English Society in the Eleventh Century*, for instance, has revealed much of the inwardness of the Domesday Survey. Professor Stenton has done the same with respect to the Northern Danelaw, Dr. Bolland has thrown much new light on mediæval history by its edition of the Year Books, and many other workers are piecing out the jigsaw pattern and puzzle of history from wayward, but wonderful, material. The modern worker, as a rule, has no prejudices in working out, or in, his special bit. The prejudice comes when the co-ordination takes place. Mr. Davies' book should help the young historian who combines imagination with a vivid sense of truth.

* * *

No more solid or scholarly monograph on the intellectual life of a foreign country has been published in recent years than Miss E. M. Butler's *The Saint-Simonian Religion in Germany*.† The interest in Saint-Simon, one of the most original thinkers of the nineteenth century, has increased in our generation, and his far-reaching influence in France and abroad is well worth investigation. This substantial volume opens with a sketch of the founder, his disciples, and the doctrines of the school. Though the movement was soon discredited by

* Methuen. 10s. 6d. net.

† Cambridge University Press. 21s.

the unhealthy extravagances of *Enfantin*, the seed bore fruit in the minds and lives of a number of men of real distinction on both sides of the Rhine. Of these, by far the most notable was Heine, to whom the most interesting chapters are devoted. "For good or ill it was the outstanding religious adventure of his life; it was the only intellectual experience which resulted in creative thought; and its psychological effect was almost incalculably great." Next in importance among the disciples was Gutzkow, publicist, novelist, dramatist. Laube, Mundt and Weinberg are nowadays little more than shadows, but in their time they had their following. "Young Germany" has been usually studied from its political side, with Börne in the foreground. In these learned pages, lit up with humour no less than incisive criticism, we hear more of the ideas of the school on religion, ethics and society, above all on the position of woman. Miss Butler defines Saint-Simonian as a young man's religion and is well aware of the limitations of the creed.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Mr. J. E. Ray, in "Things Seen in Canada,"* gives the reader, and we may say the settler, "a description of life in town and country, the glorious scenery and boundless wealth of the great Dominion" with many striking illustrations. We are taken to the Provinces in turn: Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island (the maritime provinces including the thirteen rocky islands with a population of a few thousands, called the Magdalens), Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia. The old Canadian world is revived in an autumn tramp from Grand Pré to Wolfville; "luscious fruit hangs from thousands of apple and peach trees. If you are as fortunate as the writer was on several occasions, you will hear a descendant of the old French pioneers singing in an orchard a song that must have come from France two centuries ago at least, and you will behold humming birds flitting from tree to tree at eventide under a setting sun of gorgeous colouring." The descriptions of British Columbia, on the other hand, show an elemental world, where wild Nature has provided miracles of varied and dazzling beauty. We see, therefore, the old world and the new knit together in this vast and marvellous Dominion of the Crown.

* * *

Miss Eileen Power and Miss Rhoda Power are to be congratulated on their volume entitled "Boys and Girls of History,"† for written (as it is) with real historical knowledge and power of presentation, a book such as this is likely to give the taste for history that is the background of the choice of history as a field of education. Here we see Lucius and Claudia, Roman children in Britain, we speak with Young Olaf the Dane; we see children in the age of Domesday Book, we learn something of the making of a squire and move through other scenes of child life in the Middle Ages. The same principle of vivid presentation of child life in successive scenes of successive

* Seeley, Service. 3s. 6d. net.

† Cambridge University Press. 7s. 6d. net

For, until those are fairly set out and understood, no true portrait of Mr. Churchill as a financier and statesman can be painted; nor will any criticism of his third Budget be at all adequate until we have comprehended the full nature of the very unusual undertakings which Mr. Baldwin, his Cabinet colleagues and his Chancellor of the Exchequer gave to the country and the House of Commons before and after the last general election. If I may repeat here what I wrote in the Press on the eve of the Budget, the question whether retrenchment of public expenditure is imperative or feasible may be disputed by socialists and jingoes, and above all by jingo-socialists; but there can be no dispute at all as to what views were laid before the electors and Parliament by His Majesty's present advisers.

Take first the Prime Minister's Election Manifesto of November, 1924, when the Socialistic extravagance of the Labour Party was being used with prodigious effect to win votes for Conservative candidates. In that Manifesto Mr. Baldwin declared:

"The burden of taxation weighs heavily upon industry and trade, diminishes real wages, and, in a variety of ways, adds to the cost of living; to assist in relieving the community of this burden the most rigid economy is essential."

Could any simple honest citizen, who was attracted by this statement of policy to vote the Conservative Party back to office, have imagined that Mr. Baldwin's second administration would add enormously to the scale of expenditure then prevailing, or that his Chancellor of the Exchequer would lay more new taxes upon trade and consumption in the course of two years than have ever been imposed in time of peace by any previous Chancellor of the Exchequer since the Reform Bill of 1832?

After the General Election, which gave Mr. Baldwin an overwhelming majority and enabled him to carry out his pledges, the Cabinet solemnly underlined the words of his Manifesto in a paragraph of the King's Speech (December, 1924) which ran as follows: "The present heavy burdens of the taxpayer are a hindrance to the revival of enterprise and employment. Economy in every sphere is imperative, if we are to regain our industrial and commercial prosperity."

This is the same beneficent policy which under Peel and Gladstone had restored prosperity to our country after the French wars and the miserable hungry years of the Twenties, Thirties, and Forties of last century. Now, as then, Financial Reform—a reduction of burdens on trade, a reduction in the cost of living and production—is the one indispensable social reform. No more opportune programme has ever been launched by a British Government.

Here was the true remedy for unemployment and trade depression. Save for those who are irrevocably committed to unlimited

expenditure on armaments or doles and pensions, every sensible citizen saw that a drastic reduction in the scale of national expenditure, followed by a remission of taxes and accompanied by a rapid cancellation of war debt, would raise public credit, reduce banking charges, stimulate private enterprise, and enlarge the purchasing power of the Home market.

Unfortunately for our trade and our public credit the policy proclaimed by Mr. Baldwin was not carried into execution. The ink of "imperative economy" in the King's Speech was hardly dry when Mr. Churchill authorised a sugar subsidy (which will cost $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions this year) and began to devise new expenditure and new taxes. His very first estimates in 1926 were nine millions above those of Mr. Snowden twelve months before.

To appease his critics Mr. Churchill made another promise, or statement of aims, in his Budget Speech, April 28th, 1925. He said: "I believe that we ought to aim at a net reduction in the supply expenditure of not less than ten millions a year. That is not taking an extravagant figure."

Less than two years later in the course of his third Budget Statement (April 11th, 1927) Mr. Churchill made a very characteristic reference to his own economy pledges, ignoring, however, the sentences I have quoted from the King's Speech:

"I am frequently reproached with having in my first Budget expressed a hope of effecting a net reduction of £10,000,000 a year progressively. I am even represented as having promised that that should be done. But the words I used were 'aim at.' One may aim at a reduction, as one may aim at a target; but one does not promise to hit it."

This is funny enough, and if Mr. Winston Churchill were Mr. Charles Chaplin we should only laugh; but have we no right to complain when a Chancellor of the Exchequer, with the Prime Minister and most of the Cabinet sitting beside him, tries to get out of a solemn pledge, on the performance of which the welfare of the country depends, by telling the House of Commons that they were only aiming at economy and that the taxpayers have no grievance if they have proved bad marksmen? They aimed and they missed the target. In fact, they shot at economy and happened by mistake to hit extravagance! Their finance Minister pointed his rifle the wrong way, and hit his friends behind instead of his enemies in front. True, Mr. Churchill set up a Cabinet Economy Committee. He even introduced and passed into law an economy bill. But what happened to public expenditure? Instead of spending his original estimate of £799 millions in his first Budget this ardent economist missed the target and spent £826 millions. Under Mr. Snowden the total expenditure on the Supply Services was £402 millions; in Mr. Churchill's first year it was £427 millions. In his second

Budget Mr. Churchill proposed to spend £824 millions, i.e., £25 millions more than he had proposed in his first. When the coal strike came along, it might have been supposed that the steward of national economy would have acted like a prudent householder and cut down some of the superfluities and luxuries which he had allowed to the spending departments. He saw his revenue falling; but instead of putting on the brake he allowed it to rise to the colossal total of £842 millions. So that in April, 1927, the nation found itself at least £40 millions worse off than two years before Mr. Churchill had said it ought to be. It follows, if Mr. Churchill had done his duty and pruned the Estimates industriously, that there would have been no deficits and no raids on the Sinking Fund.

Mr. Churchill's large Sinking Funds have, therefore, been largely illusory. They will be cited by historians as illustrations of the sound old maxim that the only true Sinking Fund is a net surplus of Revenue over Expenditure. Mr. Churchill's Sinking Funds have been halved by Mr. Churchill's deficits, and it is, therefore, not at all surprising that Mr. Churchill's conversions of debt have been a failure. They have given little or no relief to taxpayers. The reduction of national debt is a process of which our Chancellor of the Exchequer evidently does not understand the first principles. If he did, he would not have forced himself to borrow for Sinking Fund purposes by attaching what ought to be a General Sinking Fund to specific loans. In the course of his penetrating and scathing criticisms on the day following the Budget Mr. Snowden pointed out that the Statutory Sinking Fund is £50 millions a year. In its able examination of the war debt problem the Colwyn Committee has summarised the history of the war debt, and has supplied us with ample statistical information. Most of us agree with its conclusion that the Sinking Fund ought to be raised.* It is true that the national debt is below its highest point. In 1920 it rose to the colossal figure of £7,831,000,000. At the end of last year—I quote Mr. Snowden—the debt was £7,554,000,000, a reduction of £277,000,000 from the peak of 1920; but in one year during that period over £200,000,000 of Budget surplus was allocated to debt reduction; so that payments through the Sinking Fund have made no impression at all upon the aggregate of the war debt. Since 1920 debt has been cancelled to the extent of £1,583,000,000, but debt has been created to the extent of £1,867,000,000, and, therefore, during the last six years the capital debt has grown by £284,000,000. It is true that the interest charge has fallen, but according to the Colwyn Committee the reduction during the six years has been only £1,191,000 a year. Unfortunately, on Mr. Snowden's calculation (through the fall in prices)

* It is a pity that the Report of the Colwyn Committee was published without the volume of evidence, containing the opinions of fifty or sixty business men, financiers and economists.

the burden of the National Debt is now 61 per cent. higher than it was in 1920.

One more point from Mr. Philip Snowden's speech. Last year Mr. Churchill had a deficit of £14,000,000; this year, one of £36,500,000, a total of £50,500,000. Last year he added £10,000,000 to the statutory Sinking Fund; this year he proposes to add £15,000,000—making it £25,000,000 over the statutory amount. Therefore, even if his third Budget balances, the Chancellor of the Exchequer will have raided the Sinking Fund to the extent of £25,000,000.

Mr. Snowden also made a very damaging examination of recent experiments in conversion. In October last year Mr. Churchill converted 5 per cent. Treasury Bonds into 4½ per cent. Stock repayable in February, 1929. After allowing for brokerage, commissions, etc., Mr. Snowden calculates that the 4½ per cent. Stock will cost the taxpayer over 5 per cent., and he naturally asks: "by conversion operations of that character, when is the interest on the National Debt going to be reduced?" Under Mr. Churchill's latest conversion scheme, in January of this year holders of £100 Treasury bonds got £117 15s. of the new stock and holders of 5 per cent. National War Bonds got £124 5s. of the new 4 per cent. Consols, giving a yield on the original £100 of £4 19s. 5d., secured for thirty years. Attached to that conversion was the additional attraction that £10,000,000 a year is allocated specifically to the redemption of this stock. There might have been only £10,000,000 converted, but still the £10,000,000 Sinking Fund would have had to be provided. The total came out at about £200,000,000, and, therefore, those Consols carry a Sinking Fund at the rate of 5 per cent. No doubt, as Mr. Snowden said, this great attraction was attached to the conversion because the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the state of the money market, for which he was largely responsible, knew he could not otherwise convert. These new Consols pay on the actual sum invested £4 14s. 3d. interest. Mr. Snowden himself had converted debt—without employing a sinking fund—at an interest of £4 12s. We may agree with him that in three years, with wise financial management, there ought to have been an improvement in national credit. "Yet, three years later, Mr. Churchill could only convert at £4 14s. 3d., and six months ago he actually converted at over 5 per cent."

Mr. Snowden went on to ask:

What has been the effect of the Right Hon. Gentleman's policy on national credit? The Bank rate has been raised from 4 per cent. to 5 per cent., and the Treasury Bill rate, which averaged £3 7s. 11d. when the Labour Party were in office, averaged £4 8s. 6d. last year. It was expected that 5 per cent. War Loan would go down to zero under the Labour Government, but,

instead of that, it went up to 103. To-day it was standing at 102, and the capital loss on 5 per cent. War Loan alone during Mr. Churchill's tenure of office has been £20,000,000. In 1924 Consols stood at 58½, and now they are at 54. That involves a capital loss of £14,000,000, which brings the capital loss on those two stocks alone to £34,000,000.

My own view is that, if Mr. Churchill had reduced his expenditure as much as he has increased it, and if he had promptly repealed the Trade Facilities Act, the public credit would now have been on a 4 per cent. basis. In that case his Four per Cent. Conversion Loan could have been issued at par, and, instead of bringing practically no advantage to taxpayers, it would have resulted in an important diminution of the debt charge.

The fact that our National Debt is about £168 a head, against £34, or less, in the United States, and that our taxation is £15 a head against £9 in Australia, £6 in the United States, and £5 in Germany, ought to be a sufficient argument for all-round reductions of public expenditure. I know that economy is an old-fashioned remedy and that bureaucracy is too strongly entrenched to be easily retrenched. But the Government is slipping down a dangerous slope, as everyone must have realised who listened, as I did, to Mr. Churchill's Budget statement, or who has studied a full report of it in the newspapers. For what was the position therein disclosed? Mr. Churchill inherited an actual expenditure of £799,000,000, and the actual expenditure in his second full financial year of office was £842,000,000. Mr. Snowden's estimates were £790,000,000, and Mr. Churchill's estimated expenditure for the current financial year, which will end on March 31st next, is £833,400,000, including a £65,000,000 Sinking Fund. To cover this he has assembled by rather disreputable devices "a revenue" of £834,800,000. In the proper sense of the word he has only met his increased expenditure to a very small extent by additions to permanent revenue. He has laid a protective "Safeguarding" Customs Duty on translucent pottery, another protective Customs Duty on imported motor tyres* and a small excise duty on British-made wines. He has also added to the Customs and Excise duties on tobacco and matches and to the Customs duties on foreign and colonial wines. But all these additions are only estimated to provide this year an addition of £5,880,000 to the revenue and of £6,500,000 in a full year. A deficit of £30,000,000 remained, half of which is attributable to the enlarged Sinking Fund.

This deficit has been filled up by what he calls windfalls. But they are only windfalls in the sense in which a fruit-grower may get

* Though Mr. Baldwin pledged himself that no industry should receive Protection except through the procedure of "Safeguarding."

fruit prematurely from his orchard by violently shaking his trees, and thereby probably damaging both the trees and the fruit. The windfalls, that is to say the funds and money which Mr. Churchill has appropriated, are three in number. He has taken £5,000,000 by again shortening the Brewers' Credit. He has seized a surplus reserve of £12,000,000 belonging to the Road Fund, and already invested I presume in Treasury Bills and other gilt-edged securities. This would ultimately have gone to the improvement of roads; and its diversion to support public extravagance will be felt not only by motorists but by local authorities and ratepayers. Lastly Mr. Churchill is compelling a large section of Income Tax payers—landlords and tenants under schedule A—to pay no less a sum than £14,800,000 six months in advance. Not one of these tricks can be played again. They will cause a great deal of embarrassment and are likely to exert a very prejudicial effect upon the money market during this year.

On the whole this Budget is a Budget of flashy expedients cleverly devised to conceal, as far as possible, the mischievous effect of increased public expenditure and the discreditable failure of the Government to fulfil its pledges to the country. It is, of course, the business of the Government, and not of the House of Commons or of outside critics, to devise the means of carrying out their stated aims and promises in the field of public finance. Nevertheless I am heartily glad that my friend Sir Godfrey Collins on the second day of the Budget debate accepted the challenge of the Financial Secretary of the Treasury to name specific services which could be cut down. If his suggestions were carried out, an immediate reduction in national expenditure of £34,500,000 could be effected, quite apart from the large retrenchments which certainly ought to be made in the cost of the Civil Services. Sir Godfrey's plan contains four items. He would save £4,500,000 by removing all Imperial Preferences. He would cut out £1,000,000 which is being spent on advertising favoured products of the Colonies. Next he would put an end to the Beet Sugar Subsidy, which is no more than an absurd bribe to British farmers to grow at taxpayers' expense an unprofitable crop of beet sugar instead of a profitable crop of swedes or turnips. Finally, he would reduce by £25,000,000 the present expenditure on army and navy.

If these measures were adopted, a great impetus would be given to British trade and credit. Fortunately, or unfortunately, there is no alternative to public economy. No other method exists by which taxation and debt can be simultaneously reduced. No other means can be devised of restoring that financial margin of safety which is now so much more important from the standpoint of national

security than the piling up of armaments. As I pointed out last autumn in a memorandum on "The imperative need for public economy," the charge for interest and sinking fund on the National Debt (including the war debt to the United States) rose from less than £25,000,000 in 1913 to £322,000,000 in 1921 and £357,000,000 in 1925.

To judge from the numerous resolutions passed by commercial bodies all over the country, business men are more impressed than ever with the need for retrenchment if our manufacturing and commercial prosperity is to be restored.

Mr. Churchill's elaborate argument in this year's Budget Speech to show that, after his additions to the already excessive public expenditure, substantial economies are almost hopeless, should be compared and contrasted with the speeches made during the House of Lords debates in March on Earl Beauchamp's motion :

That the need for drastic economies in the national expenditure, and for reduction in taxation, with a view to improving trade and diminishing unemployment, is even more imperative than at the close of 1924; and this House therefore regrets that the promises of retrenchment then held out to the country by His Majesty's Government have not been kept, and deplores the continued growth of extravagance in armaments and in the other spending departments.

The case for a reduction of our armaments bill, which is now £116,000,000 against the £44,000,000 spent by France, was pressed by Lord Beauchamp with an array of arguments that will convince any reasonable man. It is only by forgetting the disappearance of the German navy and by ignoring the fact that the British navy is now more powerful than all the European navies combined, that the Government's refusal to reduce substantially the cost of the navy and of the Admiralty can be excused. It is significant of Mr. Churchill's futility as an economist that he ignores the swollen condition of the Admiralty and War Office staffs. He even pleads that we must not put an end to this form of administrative waste lest it should increase unemployment! At the same time we may draw some encouragement from the announcement that three Departments are to be wound up and that the inflow into our redundant Civil Service is now at last to be restricted. It is just possible also that Mr. Baldwin's Government may be driven by financial difficulties into a new international agreement for a reduction of Armament Budgets. On this comparatively cheerful note I am content to close.

FRANCIS W. HIRST.

PROGRESSIVE REFORM.

SIX years ago Dr. Burge, late Bishop of Oxford, presented to Parliament legislative proposals in the belief that they might provide a platform on which people in favour of drink reform might unite. His Bill amended, on certain points, has recently been again introduced. In the Commons its sponsors represent all parties, Labour (Messrs. Ammon and Hudson), Liberal (Mr. F. Briant) and Unionist (Lady Astor), but it will not be discussed owing to lack of time. In the Lords, however, the Bishop of Liverpool intends to move its second reading, and so to initiate a discussion.

The Liquor Trade have announced their intention of killing it. The measure may not be enacted this year, but the battle will not be won (or lost), because enough peers can be brought up to vote against it in 1927 as in 1924 when proceedings were delayed by the strangers who took the oath, and their seats in the Upper House, for the first time in order to vote against the Bill and so support the Liquor Interests. I remember once going with a peer to a specially summoned business meeting and asking what brought us together. "I don't know," he answered, "but I've come to oppose it." Similar prejudice has been reflected in much of the opposition to the Oxford Bill in the Lords. Its two chief opponents in 1921 and 1924 were ignorant of its most important clauses. When experienced parliamentarians do not even master the framework of a Bill which they obstruct, one can infer a pretty tightly closed mind. Luckily the Upper House is beginning to realise that the measure differs vitally from the old local option proposals.

The Drink Question raises entirely distinct problems—the social ones arising out of the use of alcohol and the political ones created by the drink trade. Hitherto, Licensing legislation has been hampered by a failure to realise this. The difference, however, explains why alternative remedies are advocated, and can be consistently supported as against our existing system. The "Oxford" Bill enables each remedy to be tried, and each problem to be tackled according to the relative importance attached to it by local opinion. The essential features of the Bill are :

- (1) local experiments when initiated by a majority vote through a plebiscite;
- (2) voters to be offered three choices, *i.e.*, *status quo*, Re-organisation of the drink trade as at Carlisle, and No Licence;
- (3) if the present system of commercial competitive ownership is abandoned (either for Re-organisation or No Licence), then

the choices submitted by referendum to be restricted to these two alternatives;

(4) compensation and a Time Limit.

The omission of any of these essentials would wreck the Bill which would no longer present a balanced logical scheme. There are numerous other points, such as the size of polling areas or of majorities needed to carry a change, but Dr. Burge considered them relatively unimportant and suitable to varying treatment.

Normally, the Drink Question refers to the social problems created by the effect of alcohol on brain, nerve, and muscle. Its solution is difficult largely because individuals have been allowed to satisfy (and stimulate) the desire for drink for profit in competition with each other. Dr. Burge was wise in insisting that, if vested interests were done away with, they should never be allowed back. He provided for the sale of drink by re-organising its supply on the Carlisle basis of public ownership. The social aspect is undoubtedly better than it was before the war, but is still serious. Its relative improvement, compared with pre-war conditions, is due to increased legislative control; our lapse, compared with immediately post-armistice conditions, is mainly due to decreased control. We have been made first more and then less sober by parliamentary action. Our gains were won against the opposition of the financial interests concerned. Our losses are largely due to their successful activity. This should be noted when one assesses the brewers' claim that they can reform themselves. To imagine that gin merchants and brewers will aim at selling less alcohol because they have spent money on "rebuilding" public houses, is obviously incompatible with competitive business. Those who abuse the temperance movement must remember too that progress has been chiefly due to the effect on public opinion of its educational campaign.

The economic aspect to-day is also serious. Industrial inefficiency has been augmented by increased post-war drinking. But it goes deeper. The nation is poorer than in 1913. Since the war unrest due to unemployment has endangered our very stability. Wage-earners have had less to spend. Productive industry has been short of cheap capital. Yet (apart from what they passed on to the Treasury in liquor taxes and duties) the Trade have taken from an impoverished public, literally tens of millions more than they did before the war. Since the war began, the brewers' profits have annually been double what they were in 1913. Economically the position is serious. The net drink bill is twice our expenditure on education, yet education enriches and strengthens humanity, whereas alcohol impoverishes and weakens it. The

nation grumblingly gave a subsidy of £22,000,000 to coal to straighten out our basic industry and, by increasing output, to enlarge our wage bill. The burdened nation has given to the prosperous liquor traffic annually £45,000,000 more than pre-war, i.e., about twice the coal subsidy. Yet the *Brewing Trade Review* admits that £100 of coal represents £70 spent in wages, whereas, £100 of beer represents only a paltry wage bill of £10.

The Temperance movement to-day is world-wide. Only those countries which are dropping back in the international race for the moral and business leadership of the world have no active temperance sentiment. Wine-drinking people may not get fighting drunk, but it looks as though their efficiency and vision were blunted by regular so-called moderate drinking. Science teaches that alcohol is the alternative to efficient performance. "Another little drink" helps to reconcile one to what previously seemed an unsatisfactory production. It is possible that the aspirations of wine-drinking peoples are blunted by their habits. They do not become drunk, but they become reconciled to a second-best performance.

So far I have referred to what is usually meant by the temperance question. But the inevitable conflict of interest between the nation (to diminish social ills by reducing drinking) and the Trade (to expand business, increase drinking, and so, necessarily, augment the ills) has created an entirely different, but to-day even more dangerous problem—the political one. No one blames business men for trying to increase business. No one expects investors to try for a lower rate of interest, or shareholders for reduced profits. Brewers and distillers are not selling as much as their factories (breweries and distilleries) could turn out. There is a potential increased turnover which clever advertising or successful invention (e.g., cocktails) can obtain. So too with the distributive side. The prosperous publican and restaurant manager is the man with most customers. The ineffective salesman loses his job or his income. Quite naturally, the members of the industry organise to prevent Parliament interfering with their present monopoly privileges and hampering their commercial expansion. The Trade claim to have the most powerful caucus in England. The claim is justified. They spend annually £150,000 to £200,000 on political organisation. This figure does not include the donations which individual brewers, etc., subscribe to Conservative Associations or to certain Labour candidates. One cannot estimate accurately their total. It may be anything from £10,000 to £100,000 additional to the aforementioned £150,000—£200,000.

The war demonstrated the psychological effect of skilful propaganda—the power of mass suggestion on the public mind. Morning, noon, and night, commercial propaganda suggests that health,

strength, warmth, happiness, nourishment, are increased by, and are, indeed, almost dependent on intoxicants. Science* teaches us the contrary—that alcohol increases physical inefficiency; diminishes precision and co-ordinated action; reduces muscular endurance and resistance to disease; blunts critical faculties and our highest judgment; loosens moral control; is an extravagant producer of energy; lowers bodily temperature; even its power of quenching thirst diminishes as the proportion of alcohol in a beverage is augmented; and, lastly, it is a deceiver. Alcohol makes the drinker satisfied with inferior performances whether of muscle or of brain, causing him to think they are better, than when performed without the use of alcohol. Whereas in every case tested scientifically they are found to be worse. Education has but little money with which to spread the truth. The Trade, with its gross income (after deducting the taxes and duties) of £178,758,000, spends £2,000,000 annually on fallacious advertising, at street corners, on 'buses, at stations, and in newspapers. Recently the Trade women and sympathisers have been organised and a process of social infiltration has been started by them. They become members of philanthropic societies to see that nothing is done in those circles to injure their commercial prospects.

In a democracy public opinion is largely moulded by its Press. Editorial policy should be independent of outside selfish pressures. The Trade have three ways of influencing the public through the Press. The simplest is to buy shares in a journal. Outsiders know nothing of the transaction. Recently I was told that brewers had acquired substantial interests in two important Conservative publications, a morning paper and a periodical. Careful observation seems to confirm the information. The drink propaganda in these journals is so subtle and skilful that the average reader would not notice it. The second method is also obvious to anyone who stops to think about it. Large sums are spent in advertising. Many papers get substantial revenue from drink advertisements. Some newspapers oppose or ignore Temperance because they fear to lose this income. These papers consequently do not give a truthful lead to their readers. Nor do they support public men who are in the black books of the Trade.

The third way is more artful. The Trade operate through the correspondence columns. Think of the country readers who read their County Gazette from A to Z; of the city dwellers who hate leading articles, but scan the letters sent in by persons whom they believe to be fellow-readers. Three years ago I gave to the House of Lords an outline of this scheme. I was able to quote the fees

* Cf. *Alcohol and the Human Organism*, issued by the Medical Research Council of the Privy Council.

paid to the Trade's provincial agents—10s. 6d. when they could affix a signature (their own or preferably that of "a well-known local man whose name would carry weight"), 5s. 3d. for a *nom-de-plume*; and 2s. 6d. when the letter was put into the editorial wastepaper-basket unpublished. Three years ago I was also able to explain that this ingenious scheme was somehow mixed up with the True Temperance Association and the Freedom Association. My fellow peers were shocked, as many were members of the first-named. I am now able to give fuller details. The True Temperance Association has two kinds of members. There are innocent, benevolent public men such as peers and clergy, whose names are thrust before the public as evidence of *bona fides*—a sort of smoke screen. These gentlemen seem to believe the Association's main object is to develop a system of cafés and thereby (they hope) solve the drink problem. But there are also other members whose names are not used to influence the public. This second category includes brewers, also certain lawyers, journalists, etc., who are or have been associated with the Trade. It is this second group which provides the cash and ideas which have made the True Temperance Association such a valuable ally to the Liquor Interests. I could produce autographed letters* of one of these latter gentlemen (the real brains of the T.T.A.) showing the sums he paid to his subsidised correspondents (not officially as a member of the T.T.A., or on behalf of the society, but in one of his other pro-liquor trade capacities).

Perhaps some day the full scheme may be disclosed. When it is, there will be public merriment as well as indignation. This is not the moment for a full exposure. But, lest it should never come about, I must share with others the delicious advice which the ingenious "brains" of the respectable T.T.A. sent to his agents on "How to conduct a Controversy." Here are some extracts:

"The sort of letter which is most appropriate to the heavy county paper, with its *clientèle* of county gentlemen, rectors, and substantial farmers, will probably not be at all the sort of letter to touch more effectively the readers of a halfpenny evening newspaper in an industrial town. . . . As a general rule, avoid personalities. . . . There are, however, exceptions to the rule. . . . You may have sometimes to say nasty things in a nasty way. . . ." (In his own writings he observes the rule by the frequency of his exceptions.)

He, however, apparently found his agents too scrupulous, for he writes:

"It is an honourable [*sic*] work upon which you are en-

* The documents referred to quoted have been given to me. I have not bought them or obtained them through any secret service.

gaged. . . . Why be ashamed of putting your name at the foot of such a letter?"

This discreditable scheme to hoodwink editors and readers obviously succeeded amazingly, for the sums transmitted were so large that they could not have been earned by letters put into the wastepaper-basket (tariff 2s. 6d. each). Many must have been published at the higher tariff of 10s. 6d. Even the leading journals are taken in, for the perfectly independent *Times* has, on some occasions in perfect good faith, published letters from persons who are apparently ordinary readers but who, in fact, have been—perhaps still are—connected with the brewers' "True Temperance" and Freedom Associations and the ingenious scheme I have just described.

The Trade's platform propaganda is as diverse. They work in Mayfair through the True Temperance Association's Women's Committee; they get at Churchmen through the T.T.A.'s Clerical Committee; they blatantly tub-thump at seaside resorts or in packed village halls through the Fellowship of Freedom; they have channels of communication with big business through the Liberty and Property Defence League; with bookmakers and the "sporting" community through a "Workmen's Council"; they attack Labour M.P.'s. who oppose them apparently through a Workers' Liberty League; and so on *ad infinitum*. They do not hesitate to misuse the power of the purse as is shown in an article written by a clergyman recently published in the *New Campaigner*. Like others, he gets periodic invitations to help the temperance movement. On these occasions he says:

"I am conscious of internal conflict. . . . On the one hand, duty claims me; on the other, expediency. . . . I confess there is another voice within me—that of my prudential instincts— . . . It says: 'Be cautious. Think of the support to your Church you can so easily forfeit.' . . . This experience of a divided self is no singularity of my own. . . . It is shared in, varying degree by many of my fellow-clergy. . . . There is the great difficulty, always inherent in the Church's relations with the Trade, owing to the wide difference between the attitude dictated by the former's duty . . . and by the latter's interests. . . . The difficulty could only be resolved . . . by the Church surrendering to the Trade . . . or by the Trade . . . willingly accepting the loss of profits which increasing Temperance Reform would bring about. . . . The financial support which members of the Trade give to the Church . . . is . . . considerable. The aggregate of their annual contributions to religious objects must amount to a large sum. Many parishes depend to a considerable extent upon the support thus received. . . . First . . . gratitude moves the clergy of those parishes to be . . . less vigorous in action. . . . They know very well that the Trade wants the Church to keep quiet about Temperance. . . . Secondly, the Trade has a sharp way of deal-

ing with those clergy who will not restrict themselves. It withdraws, or threatens to withdraw, its subscriptions to their parishes. . . . The displeasure of the Trade is by no means confined to provocative cases (of fanatics). . . . Its point of view is that the acceptance of financial support . . . ought to imply a favourable attitude towards the drink traffic. . . . If a clergyman expresses views inconsistent with this general attitude, the Trade withholds . . . its subscriptions. . . . Trade subscriptions are sometimes given to a parish without other evidences of . . . interest in its spiritual welfare. Sometimes the same firm will make benefactions to different religious bodies within the same parish with apparently equal benevolence. . . . It is not easy to refrain from bringing the Trade's subscriptions to religious objects into comparison with its political subscriptions. These latter are admittedly dictated, in large measure, by considerations of self-interest. . . . It seeks to control all the forces which may adversely affect it. Of these forces, the religious bodies of the country are undoubtedly one of considerable importance. The Trade is not . . . blind to the controlling power over them which it can command by judicious distribution of its contributions. . . . Such is the influence of liquor interests in Church appointments to-day that few clergy have anything to gain, from a worldly standpoint, by taking up the cause of Temperance with earnestness, while to be in the bad books of the Trade may easily be a serious handicap to a man's career."

I could corroborate the writer's experience by many letters from clergymen. If the Trade apply this kind of pressure to clergymen who have little worldly ambition, is it not obvious that they must apply the same undesirable financial pressure to politicians, those frail members of humanity who frequently are both worldly and ambitious? Not only does the Trade adopt this method in politics. It does so very successfully.

The danger is not one of direct bribery. There always have been, and always will be, venal politicians in all parties. Luckily their number in England is small. But what is serious is the number of politicians who, by deliberately leaving the temperance question alone, get the Trade controlled votes and the brewers' useful subscriptions. They are not bought. But they owe their position and often their advancement to the support received from the drink interests. These relations lower the type of M.P.: the courageous and public-spirited will not put themselves in a position of even indirect subservience to a self-interested industry or Tammany-like caucus. That the legislature suffers can be seen by anyone who takes the trouble to study the reports of parliamentary debates and division lists. The main opponents to moral reforms as well as the chief obstacles to the development of education and other social services are usually those M.P.'s. who get the

Trade backing in their constituencies and are ready to be largely dependent upon it.

What is the Drink vote nowadays? The lowest figure claimed by the Drink Trade is ten votes a public house—totalling an average of well over 1,500 votes per constituency. But this only represents the votes controlled over the counter. The efforts of the "true temperance" froth-blowing fellowships on the platform, in the press, their free distribution of literature, their position inside philanthropic societies must influence quite as many more who do not frequent public houses. No wonder that the Trade claim that their organisation is the most powerful in the land, and that after one general election they were able to state that over 79 per cent. of the London M.P.'s. were pledged to put the Trade's interest ahead of the country's. I have not set out all these facts to expose brewers but to show why the "Oxford" Bill provides that the Liquor Trade (as a commercial industry) must never be re-established if once abandoned for Re-organisation or No Licence. Let people drink, but let it be dissociated from a system which is inherently anti-social.

Let me also touch briefly upon another aspect. Religious leaders are being fiercely attacked by the Trade for taking a prominent part in the Temperance fight. They are warned not to touch "politics"—under threat of losing popularity and property. Their temperance policy is called un-Christian—inconsistent with the Bible. They are urged not to associate with cantankerous kill-joys. The Archbishop, the Cardinal, the Free Church President, and the head of the Salvation Army, have entered the arena, with a definite policy (education and local option). Why did they not stick to theology, to platitudes about moderation in all things, and vague philanthropy? Why have they joined in a controversy which arouses so much bitterness? Before embarking on this campaign the heads of the Church must assuredly have realised that they were going to challenge the world, the flesh and the subtleties of the devil. The answer is obvious. They preferred all the criticism and misrepresentation that must be aroused, to a policy of "futile piety, Sunday religion and lethargy."

A nation's ideals are its highest conception of good—an ever-changing conception expressing itself periodically through legislation. Public opinion in our times has been challenged and converted on such matters as slavery, the employment of women and children in coal mines, the sale of intoxicants to those under eighteen or to adults early in the morning and late at night. The Acts prohibiting all these practices register progress. But they have only been carried against the bitter opposition of vested interests and often in spite of apathetic Christians. Yet these reforms

are based on Christian ethics. They are now accepted, quoted and approved by Christians. But they never would have been carried without political controversy. A right idea of religion compels mankind to act, and in a democracy action means politics. It would be wrong to bring party politics into one's Church, but it would be a greater wrong to exclude the spirit of one's religion, the counsel of one's religious leaders from the government of the country, i.e., politics. The heads of the Churches are not only justified in giving a lead on drink reform, but they would have failed in their duty had they played for safety and remained passive.

Further, there is the well-recognised conflict which exists between the flesh and the spirit—between man's lower and higher natures. Alcohol and the physical emotions it produces must be of the flesh fleshly. No one ever took a bottle of stout preparatory to praying aright, or tried for spiritual inspiration—the apprehension of Infinite Spirit—by drinking a bottle of port. Spiritually minded parents do not learn how to make new cocktails when they want to give their children that joyful bliss which the Bible considers a Christian's right. Bacchus is not yet expelled as a false god. Wine-drinking countries accord to women a lower status, and, on the whole, have a lower male standard of morality. This may be coincidence, or it may be due to the fact that the worship of Bacchus tends to be linked with that of Venus. The flesh lusts after both. Plenty of people make money by pandering to these sensual emotions. Solve the drink problem, and commercialised immorality loses one of its greatest allies. That is a world verdict. Then, too, threatened industries work together. The same kept men and closed minds try to sidetrack all moral and social reform in the name of liberty, or of human nature, or of the rights of the "widows and orphans" of the vested interests.

The heads of the Churches are right in having a clear temperance policy; and they are more disinterested and more qualified than the brewers to indicate one consistent with Christian ethics. Each of us, who supports organised religion, must answer the query: "Adam, where art thou?", backing the Christian leaders or helping to perpetuate the present system under which the Liquor Interests intimidate, misrepresent, and block them.

Such then are the different aspects of the problem. The same remedy is not needed for all. So the "Oxford" Bill submits to the electors two alternatives—Re-organisation and No Licence. Disinterested Ownership as proposed in the "Oxford" Bill scheme of Re-organisation would solve the political problem. A Tammany caucus cannot flourish without cash. True, consumers will subscribe to fight Prohibition. No one condemns this. What we desire is to take away that annual £200,000 which the Trade

now spend on their secret caucus and propaganda, so that this shall cease to menace public life. Public control (as at Carlisle) means audit of accounts—and no money from drink profits to politics, politicians or propaganda. The "Oxford" Bill also prohibits the employees of the Board which sells drink in Re-organisation areas from taking any active part (as speakers and canvassers) in local option polls.

Nothing would have such a far-reaching effect on our public life as changing the drink trade from a profit-seeking self-interested competitive basis to a system of supervised public ownership. Independent men and women whom the Trade now keeps out of Parliament would replace ambitious politicians, who now enter with the brewers' support. We want the change for the nation's sake. I desire it too to free my party. Conservative vision is blurred, our liberty is hampered, our moral appeal is weakened by the influence exercised on us by the brewers and by many of the people they manage to get into the Party. The Trade clamours for my expulsion because I support the Temperance policy of the Churches. My departure would make no difference, but, if we could break the hold the Trade now exercises on the Conservative machine, a fresh orientation and immeasurable freedom would accrue to our policy. Young Toryism could make a far-reaching appeal to the rising generation if freed from the shackles of the most powerful anti-social force of the country.

Lord Stout, Sir W. Distiller and Mr. Brewer represent the reactionary right wing of Toryism and hold that Party back on social reform, just as their secret "defence" organisation bars the road to other parties and the intoxicants they sell tend to blunt the ideals, independence, and ambition of the public. A learned peer recounted in the Upper House that old chestnut of beer being the slum dweller's quickest way out of his slum. Alcohol, by making the slum dweller who drinks contented with and forgetful of his surroundings, causes him to keep his family in the slum. The Trade in politics is against education, factory legislation and social progress. Women will never back the brewers. At a recent Conservative conference the women delegates defeated a resolution favourable to those brewers' taps, the drinking clubs. Nothing too proves so conclusively the futility of many Labour Trade Union M.P.'s. as their attitude towards the Trade. They imbibe through ear and eye the subtle Trade propaganda, and fearing to be labelled Pussyfoot turn their back on drink reform, hoping thereby to get the political benevolence of the brewers' machine. If the Labour Party had an observant Intelligence Service, and ascertained the politics of the drink caucus, they would find its leaders Conserva-

tive. They might conclude without being Sherlock Holmes that a Conservatively-led Liquor caucus could not throw its weight and its votes for Labour candidates in constituencies where Conservatives satisfactory to the brewers were in the field. They would note the Trade papers' satisfaction when Conservatives win a general election. A paper sympathetic to Labour has stated without being contradicted that the Fellowship's paid speakers are given a fortnight's holiday on full pay during elections to go and help on Conservative platforms. Whilst it is true that individual Labour M.P.'s. are in the good books of the Trade, most Labour candidates will find the 1,000 to 2,000 drink controlled votes in their constituency mobilised against them. Mere political expediency should compel Labour to tackle the problem and remove the Trade from their own path by substituting public ownership for these vested interests.

Re-organising the drink industry as at Carlisle would remove a force which is powerful enough we have been told by Prime Ministers to defeat governments, control Parliament, menace public life and black social progress. But whilst dis-interested public ownership, by general admission, ends this political corruption, there is misgiving among certain reformers about the temperance gains of Carlisle. Social (as distinct from temperance) reformers increasingly look to this system as affording a decided improvement and possibly a solution. On the other hand, the ardent temperance men argue that intoxicants intoxicate whatever the selling agency; that making public houses more respectable causes women and others to patronise them who otherwise would keep outside. Without challenging either statement, I feel myself that, if you remove subsidised pro-liquor propaganda from platform, posters, and press, if you cease that mass suggestion which is intended to undo the instruction on the effect of alcohol now given in schools under the direction of Government, if you remove the urge of shareholders or the competition of over-numerous traders, you must achieve a better temperance position. That is the opinion at Carlisle of those who are responsible for its welfare (chief constable, clergy, etc.). They do not claim to have abolished all drunkenness, but they do not want to go back to the old system of commercial ownership under the brewers.

So much for this many-phased problem for which the different remedies of No Licence and Re-organisation are put forward. Probably the same remedy may not achieve the best results all over the country at the same moment. Public opinion is confused largely by the rival claims being made by reformers themselves. It would be unwise to impose any drastic change upon the community by Act of Parliament. Hence the reason for plebiscites. Our local

government is built up on the devolution of responsibility by Parliament on to local self-governing communities. Boroughs, etc., now advance at a different rate and frequently in a different manner in their handling of sanitation, gas, housing, education, public health. Local choice and responsibility form the basis of the "Oxford" Bill.

Only one of the four essential points of the "Oxford" Bill remains to be dealt with, i.e.,—finance (coupled with a time limit). Compensation is provided for the acquisition of licensed property (through a Re-organisation vote) and for the extinction of licences (through a No Licence vote) by creating a Fund, into which all profits from Re-organisation areas will be paid. Profits are inevitable, as the management have a monopoly to supply an assured demand. Carlisle has shown how great these profits can be when the business is re-organised, and amalgamated and superfluous (economically wasteful) breweries and public houses are closed. The capital required to buy out the brewers, etc., has been provided there out of local profits in less than eleven years. The Trade has, in fact, been bought out by local Carlisle drinkers not by the national taxpayers. The "Oxford" Bill also provides another source of income for the Compensation Fund. In 1904 Mr. (now Lord) Balfour passed an Act whereby publicans could be forced to pay annual premiums into local funds to compensate any man whose house was closed by the magistrates as being redundant. The Bill adapts the machinery of this Act to provide compensation during the time-limit in case of the closing of all houses in an area through a No Licence vote. The Bill also proposes that after a time-limit of fifteen years, the State shall have once again full freedom to do what it likes with its own licences, i.e., those permits to sell drink which it has associated with certain premises. Mr. Balfour in 1908 stated specifically that the State had a perfect right to do this, and, consequently, answered the brewers' present claim that the proposal is unconstitutional, confiscatory, etc.

As regards the rest of the Bill, the areas selected for voting are large (never less than boroughs with 50,000 inhabitants): every county borough, i.e., every large city, would vote as an entity and so would have a uniform system. Uniformity seems preferable to allowing wards to vote separately and so have a patchwork scheme inside the cities. There is a system of transferable voting whereby people can indicate not only their first but also their second preference.

No Drink Reform Bill can pass unless it is accepted as fair and reasonable by the ordinary person who never will be a zealous temperance reformer, who is not attracted by extremists, but who

nevertheless is dissatisfied with the domination now exercised by the Liquor Traffic.

No other English measure has such all round backing. At 416, Abbey House, Westminster is the office of *ad hoc* groups formed to support legislation on the lines of the "Oxford" Bill. There are Conservative, Liberal and Labour groups representing influential persons in all three parties. There are Anglican and Free Church groups with leaders of the Established Church and of Nonconformity. Recently, leaders of the Woman's Movement, who in many cases have not been hitherto connected with temperance, formed a Woman's Committee, whilst an important group of business men and justices is being formed to support the Bill not only in 1927 but until it reaches the Statute Book.

When ex-Lord Chancellors, Bishops, Conservative Whips, Labour, Liberal, and Free Church leaders, feminists, independent soldiers, etc., combine, progress is certain. People realise that the "Oxford" Bill is not based on fanaticism or impracticability, but represents a reasonable scheme for removing an undesirable force from public life and enabling the country to advance quietly, step by step, as experiment and experience justify citizens in voting for one or other of the alternatives of Re-organisation or No Licence.

ASTOR.

LIBERTY.

THE efforts to win liberty, in one form or another, have been so active and so successful that the aim itself has come to be taken almost for granted. Within the last few generations, throughout nearly the whole of Europe and America, nationality has been established as the basis of States and democracy as the principle of government; religious toleration and the unfettered expression of opinion have become the rule; to ensure personal freedom has been accepted as a prime object of the legislator. Whenever liberty is enlarged, progress is promoted—so it has been held.

The winning of freedom involved struggles that were strenuous and prolonged: from the American War of Independence to the vindications of nationality in 1919; from the Fall of the Bastille to the establishment of the German Republic; from the ending of religious persecutions to the separation, in almost all countries, of Church from State; from the abolition of slavery to the full recognition of trade unionism; from the final disappearance of feudal rights to the emancipation of women. For a century and a half the effort was widespread and intense, and the victories were many. It was accepted by thinkers almost as a matter of course that the ultimate purpose was right. But of recent years there has been apparent some doubt.

It began with the revolt of Labour against the doctrine of *laissez-faire*. The modern industrial system, said the social reformers, brings many grave and, indeed, intolerable evils; if liberty involves the indefinite continuance of these, then liberty itself is a questionable boon. If freedom simply means a freedom to be oppressed, it is by no means the glowing ideal that has been painted: it is merely one device among many for the subjection of Labour. The vast movement of the working-classes, stirring restlessly under their burdens, casting about for new means of relief, had the result of discrediting, in greater or less degree, all the old political watchwords. Numbers of people became suspicious of appeals made in the name of Liberty.

Later, the principle of liberty has been definitely challenged, both as to theory and practice, from two sides—from the left in Russia and from the right in Italy. We have seen also the establishment in recent years, across a large belt of the earth's surface, of a series of dictatorships; some under the ægis of a monarchy, some unqualified, some of them obviously ramshackle and temporary, some apparently more stable. In Spain, Italy, Greece, Turkey, and Persia, the system of personal rule has become dominant. The opponents of liberty make definite charges. They

point to many instances of the incompetence of Parliaments, of the corruption of local councils, of the narrow views of Labour organisations, of the bewilderment of simple minds required, under democracy, to decide complex questions altogether beyond their grasp. They say that the proofs of a mistaken policy are to be seen in weak and transitory Ministries, mismanaged national finances, the snail's pace of social improvement, incessant and futile Labour disputes, harassed industry, an era of confused and barren politics. They claim the verdict that faith in freedom is a mere delusion.

On the other hand, there have arisen in India and in other Asiatic or African countries, nationalist movements based in some degree on democratic ideas. Their orators quote all the classic appeals for freedom. The European States, which have established empires there, are obliged to take those movements into account. They present, to all who profess a belief in liberty, a definite question. It is a question that cannot be ignored; nor can it be answered easily and simply. It is clearly necessary to review the situation as a whole. But the matter will not be rightly understood unless we realise at the outset that the term Liberty does not mean, as is usually assumed, a single thing, but covers a number of things, different from one another, and sometimes at variance with one another.

The great statue of Liberty which stands at the entrance of New York harbour, a lighted torch uplifted in its hand, appears as though it were the symbol of one clear principle. It typifies to the traveller the supremacy of Freedom, presiding over the destinies of a people, permeating its institutions, inspiring its achievements—an idea simple and authoritative, easily understood, universally applicable. But let him consider more closely and he will perceive that there is not one liberty: there are various liberties.

There is National Liberty. The statue stands as a sign that here is a country free from every form of foreign sovereignty or control. National independence is essential if freedom is to be complete. To a Byron this was, indeed, what liberty meant. For him "the slave" was the Greek under the yoke of the Turk, the Lombard or Venetian under the yoke of Austria. This is the liberty which has always inspired the songs of poets and enlisted the swords of patriots.

There is Political Liberty. The meaning of the statue is that in that land each citizen is to enjoy an equal share in the government through a free constitution. But this second liberty is distinct from the first, and does not result from it as a consequence. An independent nation may have an autocratic government. Russia and Turkey in the nineteenth century, for example, were self-governing in the sense that they were not subject to any foreign

From that restraint the insurance allowances would come as a release. In these and similar cases it is claimed that, on balance, more law means more liberty.

A political controversy, then, which is presented as an issue for or against freedom, will often be found to be really an issue between one kind of liberty and another kind. The social reformer who attacks *laissez-faire* need not be attacking liberty; he may be seeking to increase it; he may, in fact, be attacking the undue emphasis which has been placed upon one form of liberty at the expense of another. The statesman who proposes a law which involves new restrictions and new penalties for infringing them, may not be declaring, as is sometimes said, the bankruptcy of liberal ideas; he may be their more far-seeing advocate. But because that is sometimes so, it must not be assumed that it is always so. It must not, of course, be assumed that every restriction in one direction means more freedom in another. A law may be coercive and stop at that. The laws, for example, which prohibit the sale of indecent literature, or those which apply conditions to the sale of poisonous drugs, lessen freedom directly and cannot be said to enlarge it indirectly. The restrictions on the trade in alcoholic liquor stand on the same footing. It does not follow that these must be bad laws. Most people would agree, for example, that the suppression of obscene literature is desirable. Most would agree also that some limitation at least upon the freedom of sale of alcohol is desirable, however keen may be the discussion whether it should be carried on to complete prohibition. A clear deduction from individual freedom may sometimes bring other advantages, and result in a net gain to human welfare. It may be a matter for debate in each case whether such laws are right or wrong, but that they do invade liberty is indisputable.

The cases in which State action involves compulsion fall, therefore, into two classes. In one, the total effect is not to limit but to enlarge freedom; in the other, freedom is definitely lessened. Into the first class, it will be found, fall most of the cases that are quoted by the anti-libertarians as evidence that to maintain freedom is to hamper progress. The controversy then is largely due to a confusion of thought, to a concentration upon immediate effects and an ignoring of remoter effects. There remain the comparatively few cases in the second class. These present a real problem. In some country the existence of a particular evil may be obvious; the nation would clearly gain by being rid of it. To effect this by the hand labour of voluntary action would be slow and uncertain; the powerful machine of the State would do the work quickly and effectively. There is a strong temptation to stretch the sphere of State action a little wider. Besides, if the matter is brought into the political

arena, a propaganda on a national scale has to be set on foot; the attention of the whole people is directed to it; the case against the abuse obtains a publicity and an actuality that would otherwise be hard to secure. Legislation is urged with enthusiasm, and, unless some financial interest is touched, it is seldom opposed with vigour. The consequence is that in many States numerous laws have been passed which do good in a measure, but at the expense of freedom. These also form part of the evidence in the case against Liberty.

But the fact that restrictive legislation has often been enacted is not conclusive. The question is whether it was right to enact it. Let it be conceded that here and there circumstances arise in which freedom must give ground, for the sake of other elements in well-being. No argument can be based upon that, extending any wider than those particular cases.

There are very many things which it is a man's duty to do, but which it is not the business of the State to compel him to do. The preacher's exhortations may cover a broad range; the policeman's enforcements should be limited to a narrow one. It needs no argument to show that if every action at every moment were determined by authority, human character would be sapped; the human being would be brought to the level of the horse or the ox. The further we keep from that consummation the nearer we shall be to right living. So we come to the conclusion that, while it may be necessary on occasion to make some sacrifice of liberty, whether in order to gain greater freedom elsewhere, or for the sake of some other good, the fewer are the occasions, and the smaller the sacrifices, the better it will be. So far as personal and economic and intellectual liberties are concerned, there is nothing in the experience of the modern world to lend support to the doctrine that these are things of small account, to be invaded without scruple and surrendered without regret. They stand as elements essential to a life that is worthy.

When we turn to political liberty the conclusion must be the same. I will summarise briefly the four main arguments by which the democratic principle is justified. First, here again to enjoy, freedom is necessary to completeness. The man who is shut out from all share in controlling the affairs that affect him is to that extent mutilated. The saying of an English prelate of the eighteenth century, Bishop Horsley, "the people have nothing to do with the laws but to obey them," is a doctrine of degradation. To take part, on an equal footing with everyone else, in the final direction of the affairs of one's country is essential to a full self-respect, and self-respect is essential to welfare.

Secondly, a free and general discussion is in the long run the most effective means of discovering what are the best objects to be

domination; but they were not self-governing in the sense of enjoying constitutional freedom.

Thirdly, there is Intellectual Liberty, the right of free expression of opinions. It follows usually, no doubt, upon political liberty, but not necessarily. A wide franchise and a free legislature have not always been a safeguard against a narrow intolerance. It was a democracy which put Socrates to death because of his doctrine. Even in our own day there are democratic states, of a very different type, it is true, from Athens, yet undeniably democratic, which have tried to prevent the teaching of evolution.

There is Personal Liberty, the right of the individual to go about his own business in his own way; to enter any career he wishes; to wear, to eat, to drink what he likes; to work or to play at what he chooses. It is a form of liberty which is clearly separate from the others. A government may be independent, based also upon the broadest franchise, pledged to the principle of free speech; and yet it may impose many and intimate restrictions upon conduct. In the time of Louis Philippe, when the government of France was democratic in constitution but arbitrary in its interferences, Edmond About wrote, that "it was the pride of every Frenchman when he looked into his glass in the morning, to think that he saw there the twenty-seven-millionth part of a tyrant; but he was apt to forget that at the same time he saw the whole of a slave."

Lastly, there is Economic Liberty. The chief value of money is that it gives freedom. The man who is poverty-stricken is not really free. He can do little that he wishes to do. Although the law may not confine him, he is the prisoner of his circumstances. A workman has no liberty of contract, if destitution is the only alternative to accepting whatever contract may be offered. He is subject to the most drastic of compulsions. The question arises, does the statue at the Harbour offer freedom from this duress?

These various liberties—national, political, intellectual, personal, economic—are not only distinct from one another; they may often be in conflict.

The history of the United States itself furnishes an example of the clash of conflicting liberties, the most striking, and the most tragic example in modern times. In the Civil War, the North stood for the idea of personal liberty, for the ending of negro slavery; the South stood for political liberty, for the right of the Confederate States to manage their own affairs in their own way. And there was a second conflict between aspects of political liberty; for this claim of the Confederates was opposed by the Federals on the ground that the best means of serving the cause of freedom was to maintain unimpaired the Union itself. Northerner fought

Southerner in the name of Liberty. And it was in the name of Liberty that Southerner fought Northerner.

Take as another example the enactment of a law of conscription in time of war. The conscientious objector, whose convictions forbid him to take part in the fighting, appeals to the principle of personal liberty; he claims that it gives him an indefeasible right to exemption. But the conscriptionist answers by an appeal to national liberty. He argues that conscription is the means, and the only means, of saving the country from a foreign domination, the consequence of which would be the loss of freedom by the whole people and for an indefinite time. If this argument is true, as in certain circumstances it may be, the issue is no longer a simple question whether we are for liberty or against it; the question is which of these two liberties is the more valuable, and if for the time being it is impossible to preserve both, which should be sacrificed for the sake of the other?

But the case that occurs most often in the politics of the present day is the conflict between personal liberty and economic. The whole modern code of social legislation raises that issue. Every law regulating employment in factories or mines or ships, every law dealing with the wages in sweated industries, every system of compulsory insurance, restricts personal liberty; but for each a justification is offered on the ground that it enlarges economic liberty. Laws, for instance, have been passed in Great Britain to enforce the early closing of shops. They are applied wherever a specified majority of shopkeepers, in a given trade and district, apply for an Order to that effect. Liberty is thereby restricted. There is an open invasion of the Englishman's right to conduct his own business in his own way. If a shopkeeper, who belongs to a dissentient majority, sells goods till nine o'clock, when an Early Closing Order declares that he must stop at seven, he will be prosecuted and fined. But liberty is also enlarged. Since the legislation has been passed, a very large number of shopkeepers and shop-assistants, throughout the towns of Great Britain, have been freed from an economic compulsion due to the competition of the minorities, and have been enabled to enjoy the reasonable leisure which they have always desired.

Compulsory Insurance Acts offer another example. A weekly sum is deducted by law from wages in order to feed a national fund, which will provide allowances in cases of sickness and unemployment. The wage-earner's liberty is invaded. He is prevented by force from doing whatever else he might wish to do with those weekly pence, earned by his labour. But if he should be sick, or if he should be unemployed, and were then without resources, he would find himself subject to a compulsion of a different, and far more onerous kind. Economic necessity would restrict him closely.

pursued. Withdraw the management of the affairs of common interest from the nation as a whole, confine it to a class or a group, and, even if their intentions are excellent, you will arrive at narrow and warped conclusions. Not only will you have a people ill-informed, wanting in self-reliance, without individuality or many-sidedness; you will produce policies which may perhaps be more sedate, but will certainly be more conventional, more timid, less productive of great results.

And, thirdly, such policies are likely to be in the interests of those who have obtained a monopoly of control. Their intentions will often be far from excellent. Power is tempted to serve itself; the best restraint is to leave the choice of those who are to exercise power, and the right of replacing them, to the people for whose welfare they are expected to act; the insecurity of legislators—if it be not carried too far—is the best safeguard of peoples. That the general interest shall not be sacrificed to particular interests can best be secured through the ancient principle, which lay at the foundation of the constitution of England, "that which touches all shall be allowed of all."

Lastly, where is an alternative to be found that will be both successful and enduring? Not, certainly, in an hereditary despotism. Whatever may be said in favour of the able and benevolent despot, history makes it abundantly clear that heredity, while it may perpetuate the despotism, will ensure neither the ability nor the benevolence. Nor in the only other method of choosing dictators which the long annals of the race record, a succession of military revolutions, throwing up a succession of autocrats of varying and often limited capacity. Nor yet in an hereditary aristocracy. Let it be agreed that aristocracy should rule, if by aristocrats are meant the ablest and the best. But heredity will not detect them. Those members of the British House of Lords, for example, who hold their seats through inheritance, are in no way distinguishable from the average of English country gentlemen; if fifty were chosen haphazard among them, no one would seriously claim that here were fifty of the best and ablest men in the country; there is no reason to believe that the nobility of any other country would command a different judgment. Remains the method of selecting rulers "by the free choice of all." Imperfect as it may be, numerous as are its failures, on the whole none better has been devised, able to stand the test of work-a-day conditions, not for five years or ten, but for the centuries of a nation's life.

That there are imperfections and failures is certain. No candid observer could deny them. Sometimes they are due to defects in the constitution: especially to a wrong division of powers between the electorate, the legislature, and the executive. The proper balance

between independence and control is one of the most critical questions with which political science has to deal. The frequency of elections, the advantages and disadvantages of the referendum, how far the members of a Parliament should be delegates and how far free to use their own judgment, to what extent the Parliament should command the actions of the Government—these are problems upon the right solution of which the success or failure of a democracy depends. It is easy to fall into the fallacy of thinking that political freedom is most complete when the control of the people over the Parliament, and the control of the Parliament over the executive, are carried to the furthest point. Experience shows that that is not necessarily so. A constitution is not stable if government is weak. A people, in the end, will enjoy more freedom in a state which is successful, although the interventions of the electorate may be few, than in a state where the exercise of authority is incessant but the country is badly ruled and impotent. Often, when there are failures, it is not the principle of liberty that is at fault but the machinery for applying it.

There are undoubtedly many cases, however, where this cannot be alleged. A constitution may be framed wisely and yet not work well. If electors are corrupt, if they surrender their judgment to clerical or militarist or revolutionary influences, if Parliaments are inactive or perverse, if ministers are dishonest or weak, the best of systems cannot prevent the worst results. Where the people as a whole, or large sections of it, are uneducated it is seldom that democracy can flourish. Where there is a tradition that the average man and woman has no special duty to form right opinions upon public affairs and to act upon them, but ought to leave such matters to those in authority, it is hard, indeed, for free institutions to be worked with success. Democracy is not automatic. It is like a hobby-horse, which will carry you nowhere unless you use your own legs.

Sometimes the cause of lack of success may be that men and women of character and capacity hold aloof from political organisations. Party spirit, it is said, leads to abuses; party associations lend themselves to corruption. Politics come to be regarded as unclean, and the name "politician" carries an unsavory flavour. This is a view which, from time to time, has especially prevailed in the United States. Yet the work of organisation must be done by someone. It is the most vicious of circles for politics to be in bad hands because good men keep away from them, and for good men to keep away from them because they are in bad hands. In the end, all the citizens lose. "The punishment," said Emerson, "which the wise suffer, who refuse to take part in the government, is to live under the government of worse men."

Such are the causes which, singly or in combination, may bring

bad results out of free constitutions. The right policy clearly is, not to despair of freedom, but to remove the causes. If there are defects in the constitution itself, constitutions may be amended. If the electorate is ignorant, national education will bring a remedy. If "the ablest and best" do not come forward in the public service, they may be exhorted and persuaded to do so, and not left unsupported when they consent. If party organisations become corrupt and mischievous they may be taken in hand by men who will redeem them. But these are measures which often demand a long period of time for their effect. What is to happen meanwhile? It may well be that a people is not apt for self-government. It may consent, for a time and even for a long time, to be ruled by an oligarchy or by a dictator, and it may be wise to do so. But the act is a confession of incompetence, the acceptance of a lower place in the hierarchy of nations. It is not democracy which loses credit. The world remains unconvinced when protagonists of certain nations assert that, because with them freedom fails, the fault must lie with freedom.

The disqualification often lies in the lack of knowledge and experience from which, through historic causes, a particular race may suffer. For the members of a negro tribe, for example, the complicated machinery of a democratic constitution may be wholly unsuitable. They may, indeed, have no idea of government other than personal rule. And personal rule in the hands of their own chiefs may be tyranny. To bring in the supervision of some European Power may be the best means of securing progress. The sacrifice of national liberty may be more than counter-balanced by a gain in personal, economic, and intellectual liberty. It may even lead to a movement that will render political liberty more practicable later, and ultimately to a restoration of national liberty itself, to a people brought meanwhile to a far higher level.

The problem in India is at bottom simply a question whether considerations such as these do or do not in fact apply. The existence of British rule in India is plainly an invasion of freedom. To whatever extent it prevails, national liberty is diminished; they must be in inverse ratio to one another. But the other forms of liberty may be enlarged. Representative institutions are now being evolved in India; they might never have seen the light had the country been left under the independent sovereignty of its own Princes. Personal liberty is slowly being released from the trammels of immemorial tradition, from the restraints of caste and other customary bonds. A prospect opens before the people of liberation from the most oppressive poverty. Is it so certain that, if an impartial mind surveyed the whole problem, in its effect upon the whole population and over a prolonged period of time, the conclu-

sion would be that the advent of the British had meant less freedom for the Indians?

Threading our way through all these problems, sometimes we see the path we should follow stretching clear and unmistakable before us. There need then be no hesitation, no balancing of one consideration against another. The liberation of Italy in the middle of the nineteenth century; or the defence of Belgium against the German invasion of August, 1914; or the enactment of the British Reform Bills; or the dethronement of Napoleon III of France, or of William II of Germany; or the vindications of free speech in politics, science, and religion—in all these cases and in a multitude of others the issue is plain, the argument is overwhelming, the conclusion is certain. Generous spirits will leap to action; they can give free rein to enthusiasm; in causes such as these they will consent, if need be, to any sacrifice.

The occasions come next where the enlargement of one kind of liberty is only possible through the narrowing of another. Here there must needs be a balancing of factors. In one country or at one time the scales may lean one way, in another country or at another time they may lean to the opposite. These weighings of pros and cons make up a large part of the discussions of current politics.

Lastly, there is the comparatively small category of cases where communal action will undoubtedly lessen liberty, but where it will nevertheless increase welfare.

So on the broad issue we reach these conclusions:

The criticisms which have undermined the principle of *laissez-faire* leave the principle of liberty unshaken; they even furnish it with fresh support.

The fact that some countries, at some periods, do not prosper under self-government, is rather a proof of their own deficiencies and a call for their remedy, than a condemnation of democracy in general and a reason for its abandonment.

There may be exceptional cases in which a real lessening of liberty brings a real increase of welfare. The cases are certainly few and the conditions may often be transitory.

The essential fact remains that all liberties are in themselves good; the complete life requires them all; the fewer and briefer the surrenders the better. It was no delusion, that glowing belief which saw in liberty the sister of progress. It is no outworn superstition, but a faith strongly based on reason and experience, which still leads the enlightened world to pay homage to the Spirit with the uplifted torch.

HERBERT SAMUEL.

FRANCE'S ORGANISATION FOR WAR-TIME.

WHEN France began to settle down after the war one of the first great questions that had to be dealt with was the re-organisation of her army. With Germany no longer an immediate danger, the maintenance of the three years' period of service was recognised as making a demand upon the nation out of proportion to its needs and capabilities. Service with the colours was consequently reduced first for a transitional period to two years and then to the eighteen months at which it stands to-day. But even this cutting down by half did not satisfy a large section of opinion, and there was a strong demand for the introduction of a system of one year's service. Obviously, such a reduction in length of service implies a diminution in effectives, and consequently if France was not to risk lowering her power of resistance beyond the danger-point a new organisation of her whole military system was required. It is on the task of such re-organisation that the competent authorities have been at work for several years past. Their schemes have now reached or are about to reach the stage of parliamentary discussion, and the year 1927 thus seems likely to mark an important date in the history of France's military evolution since it should see the inception not only of a recast on a wide basis of army organisation proper, but of the establishment of a completely new system of frontier defence, and—this is the striking innovation—the organisation of the whole nation for eventual war service.

The vastness of the scope of this latter measure, which provides for the mobilisation of every French person "without distinction of age or sex," lends to it an interest that goes far beyond that of technical questions of army reform. It calls up a picture for which memory can only too easily evoke the basis of experience. From its introduction it might be concluded as some critics have done that France has abandoned her interest in general disarmament and that she is deliberately preparing for another war. This conclusion would, however, be a misjudgment, and it is worth pointing out that the measure has been piloted through the Chamber by the Socialist, M. Paul Boncour, who as one of France's delegates to the League of Nations has identified himself very closely with the proposals for general disarmament. The scheme originated, it is true, in 1923, when the Bloc National was in power, but though somewhat modified it has been warmly godfathered by the Left Cartel who, whatever other characteristics they may possess, can certainly not be accused of "nationalism." One of the criticisms brought against the Bill is in fact that it tends to substitute more or less loosely organised civilian effort for disciplined military strength, and so risks weaken-

ing France's power of resistance. Broadly speaking, two main reasons led the Government to present and the Chamber to accept practically without discussion this measure, which on the outbreak of war places every French man and woman and all the country's resources directly at the disposal of the State. The first is the desire to reduce to one year the time that the young Frenchman is withdrawn from productive employment and absorbed by the unremunerative military machine. This can only be achieved in a way consistent with France's security if the consequent shortening in effectives is compensated by not only better training of the recruits but also by the certainty that if war breaks out the essential services behind the line are properly organised, and that agriculture and industry are capable without confusion or delay of producing all that is necessary to maintain the fighting services at the zenith of their fighting capacity. The "general organisation of the nation for wartime" is thus more than an integral part of the re-organisation of the army on the basis of one year's service. It is the foundation on which this short service is to be built up.

The other reason for preparing in peace time the general mobilisation of the nation is that France has learnt the lesson of the war and proposes without hesitation or concealment to put it into practice. The war of 1914 opened like its predecessors as a "military" war—a war, that is to say, between armies and fleets with a sharp distinction drawn between combatants and non-combatants. But as it proceeded it absorbed in every belligerent country more and more of the civilian population, sucking up all human and material resources and claiming victims without distinction, until before the end it had become what the French call a *guerre totale*, with the energies of the whole populations turned in some way or another to purposes of warfare. Whether another war would follow the same course as that of 1914-1918 or whether instead of being long drawn out it might, thanks to developments in aviation or to some new invention, be a short and sharp struggle obviously no one can predict. The opinion expressed by M. Paul Boncour favours the probability of protracted conflict, but at any rate, so it is argued, the most effective way of shortening a war is to make the military power of the nation as efficient as possible by the proper organisation of the nation itself. Hence the necessity for mobilisation of all the country's activities.

The measure which provides an outline for this immense work—details are left to be fixed by decree or ulterior legislation—includes a highly important feature. It lays down the necessity for the re-organisation of France's frontier defences. Lost sight of by the public since the war, this question has recently been brought into great prominence by the German desire for the evacuation of the

Rhineland before the fifteen years fixed by the treaty for its occupation are up. As the result of the war France has regained her frontier of 1870 and thus the fortifications of Metz and Strasbourg, for instance, hitherto turned towards the west, must now be made to face the east. But more generally speaking new conditions of warfare necessitate new methods for defending the frontier. At the end of the war there were two schools of thought on this question. One set of experts demanded a kind of permanent Hindenburg Line of concrete works, the other favoured strongly fortified regions with the gaps in between equipped in such a way—to use the Minister of War's words—"as to permit of the instant organisation of effective defence according to the movements of the attacking force." Years went by, and the question was discussed in more or less desultory fashion until in 1925 a special commission was formed at the Ministry of War whose conclusions were subsequently submitted to the highest military authorities. Partly, probably, on account of the expense involved nothing, however, has actually been done. So long too as there was no question of the Rhineland being evacuated before 1935 there was no pressing need for haste.

For so long as the left bank of the Rhine and the bridgeheads are held by allied troops France's eastern frontier has nothing to fear. The situation changes, however, in spite of the demilitarisation of the Rhineland zone, when the occupation ceases, and no greater incentive to take in hand the re-organisation of frontier defence could be found than the possibility that the allies may one day accept the German contention that the Treaty has been fulfilled and so come out of the Rhineland before the Treaty date. The present Bill only deals broadly with the question of frontier defence, but the Minister of War has stated that plans combining the two original schools of thought indicated above have now been approved and that work will be begun in July. Details have naturally not been published, but the scheme is understood to comprise, apart from defences in the narrowest sense, a network of road, railway and telephone communications useful for peace as well as wartime. The work, according to M. Painlevé, the Minister for War, will take years to complete, and its cost is estimated at about seven milliard francs.

With the organisation of the frontier at one end of the scale of France's system of defence and the mobilisation of the whole nation at the other the intervening gap is filled by the scheme for the re-organisation of the army proper which is dealt with in three separate Bills. Into this technical question it is not necessary to go beyond saying that one of the features of the plan is to make up for shorter service and fewer recruits—550,000 men as compared with the present 640,000—by more intensive training and by a much larger number of professional soldiers. To prevent recruits being diverted

from military instruction and military duties properly speaking, about 45,000 posts of clerks and storekeepers hitherto filled by soldiers are to be given to *agents militaires* or civilians, while the 73,000 long-service men at present with the colours are to be increased to 106,000. This figure is 24,000 less than the minimum regarded by M. Painlevé's predecessor at the Ministry of War, General Nollet, as necessary to make efficient an army based upon one year's service. But M. Painlevé, the present minister, is convinced that with his smaller number the proper training of recruits and successful mobilisation is feasible, and he hopes that the short term of service with the age of recruiting raised to twenty-one will be introduced in 1930. His principal reason for cutting down the number of long service men to 106,000 appears to be his conviction that it is the maximum obtainable. To obtain even this number may prove a matter of some difficulty.

This brief outline of the various component parts of the defensive system as it is hoped to re-organise it leads back to a closer examination of the foundation of the whole—the scheme for the organisation of the nation for war-time. It is intensely interesting in that it shows how France, while most genuinely averse to another war, is nevertheless determined to put herself neither at the mercy of events nor of improvisations such as those that accompanied the last war should she be involved in a conflict—and this even to the extent of accepting a measure which by the power it gives to the State has a decidedly Socialistic tinge. At the same time, a study of the measure and the visualisation of all that its provisions mean when translated into acts, bring a terrible realisation of how appalling a thing is a modern war which is held to necessitate every inhabitant being called upon by law to participate in the defence of the country. This principle may be indeed only the logical conclusion of the experience of the last war carried to its utmost length, yet when accepted and sanctioned by parliament as a standing obligation how far would it tend to justify the annihilation of the civilian population as well as of the army proper, inasmuch as one as well as the other is admittedly employed in the country's defence or the maintenance of its existence? Some such apprehensions were expressed during the debate in the Chamber, when it was asked whether the mobilisation of the whole population would not deprive France of the benefit of the various international conventions for the protection of non-combatants, and whether it would not legitimise "barbarous proceedings" such as the deportations of women from northern France. The reply of the *rapporteur*, M. Paul Boncour, was to suggest that the fact of laying down beforehand in a text what everybody knew would take place in reality seemed to be of little importance. Finally, however, in an attempt to maintain a distinc-

tion between combatants and non-combatants and so to safeguard the latter, the first clause of the Bill was made to read that all French people "without distinction of age or sex . . . are called upon to participate . . . either as combatants in the defence of the country or as non-combatants in the maintenance of its material and moral life."

It is clear that so vast an undertaking as the mobilisation of the whole nation has to be considered under two aspects. There is not only the duty of the citizen but, equally important, the duty of the government to be defined. The former is based upon two broad principles of which the first as already explained is the obligation to take a part in the defence of the country in time of war. This means that every Frenchman with the exception of those liable for military service, and every Frenchwoman will be employed "in the post in which they can render the most useful service." That post is to be assigned to them in time of peace, but the machinery by which this is to be effected has not yet been defined, and it is unnecessary to insist upon the difficulties which must attend the successful realisation of this undertaking. Secondly, no one is in principle to be permitted to make a profit out of war by furnishing to the government either personal services or material supplies. The measure is, therefore, intended as the deathblow to the war profiteer, and in the view of the Socialist, M. Paul Boncour, this feature is the best reply to critics who might be inclined to interpret the scheme as implying that France is pursuing "militarist" aims. The argument is that the abolition of all possibility of making money out of war is a powerful instrument for preventing it. Therefore, whether resources are placed at the disposal of the State either by agreement or by requisition "all profit is excluded." Since all departments of the State are called upon to participate in one way or another in the national defence the right of requisition is not confined to the Ministries of War and Marine, but is extended to all other Ministries. How all-embracing are its limits is shown by Clause II in the Bill which lays down the working of this most important part of the scheme. The principle as stated is that the government can requisition in case of general or partial mobilisation, and in order to satisfy the needs of the fighting services or of the country generally (1) the services of every French citizen or recognised association, (2) the use of "any animals, materials, commodities, raw or manufactured products, movable objects, buildings, installations or establishments of any kind," (3) the employment for the exclusive use of the State of any invention, the application or divulcation of which can further be opposed by the government. As to the payment to be made, it will be in the form of salaries so far as services are concerned, while in the case of material objects or supplies it varies

According to whether there is definite acquisition or merely utilisation. In the former all that the owner gets from the Government is the cost price. In the latter he will only be paid interest upon the capital invested in the enterprise calculated at the rate for Government loans issued during the period in question, *plus* a sum representing wear and tear and depreciation charges. The estimation of the capital involved lies, of course, with the government after examination of the owner's figures. The only payments provided for beyond those specified are certain premiums to be decided by the government in order to encourage production and invention. It need hardly be said that it was around this drastic abolition of all profits in wartime that one of the few discussions took place during the Chamber debate on the Bill. On the one hand it was argued that without the stimulus of profits there was a danger of a falling-off in production, while by the extreme Left the right of requisitioning the services of "associations" raised fears about trades union liberties. The Minister of War however calmed the latter, and the advocates of profit declared themselves satisfied with the powers possessed by the government in the matter of according premiums to production and invention.

Inasmuch as it is all-important, so it is argued, that up to the moment when war can no longer be averted there should be no definite stage of preparation for resisting attack, lest such preparatory measures should be interpreted as indications of intended aggression, it is the aim of the Bill that the organisation which is to set in motion this great mobilisation of persons and supplies should so function in peace time that it can glide imperceptibly into a war-time machine on the outbreak of hostilities. The details of this obviously complicated mechanism have still to be fixed, but the framework of it consists roughly of local organisations presided over by civilian officials who are in close touch with the military authorities. These local bodies are to be in turn in constant relations with the various ministries, each of which is in future to comprise a small department that will devote itself exclusively to questions of mobilisation. At the top of all, in an advisory position to the government, is the *Conseil Supérieur de la Défense Nationale*, which includes the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Finance, War, Marine, Colonies, Public Works, and is thus in itself a reduced Cabinet. It dates originally from the year 1906, but has been much strengthened since the war, and to its meetings, presided over by the President of the Republic, are usually invited the Chiefs of Staff of the Army and Navy. It was from this body that the original draft of the present Bill which has since been considerably modified emanated, and to it is henceforth allotted a highly important rôle in war time.

The duty of the citizen both as regards personal service and the

utilisation of his property having thus been defined, it remains to indicate how the part to be played by the Government and Parliament in war time is conceived. For while the Bill does not enter into details it is nothing if not all-embracing in the matter of principle. In the original draft it was stated that the general direction of military operations should be entrusted to the commanders-in-chief on land and sea, and that the latter would exercise their powers in this respect in accordance with the guiding line enunciated by the Government. But in the course of the modifications which the text has undergone during the discussions of the last three years this clause has been altered in the sense of curtailing the initiative of the soldiers. In the Bill as it stands to-day it is no longer the High Command but the Government, assisted by the *Conseil Supérieur de la Défense*, that is charged with the direction of war as with the definition of war aims. The Government places at the disposal of the commanders-in-chief the necessary means of carrying on warfare and watches over their utilisation, but in the matter of initiative it leaves to the High Command only the conduct of operations. This highly important clause which thus demarcates clearly the sphere of the Government and of the military authorities was accepted by the Chamber without discussion. Lest, however, there might be criticisms of this curtailment of the soldiers' prerogative, it was pointed out by M. Boncour in his report that since the military and naval commanders-in-chief take part in the deliberations of the *Conseil Supérieur de la Défense* they would thereby have the opportunity of expressing their views about the larger questions of war and of co-ordinating governmental and military action before any point of war policy was definitely decided. Finally, at the pinnacle of the whole edifice is placed Parliament as an instrument of control. Consequently it is declared to be the duty of each of its members to remain in his place in the Chamber or the Senate in war time. Should, however, any senator or deputy feel that the defence of the country calls upon him to go to the front, he will be allowed to do so provided that he joins a fighting unit and remains there for the whole duration of the war unless prevented by wounds or sickness. Members of Parliament will also be sent on missions of observation and control, but there is to be no question of their joining up temporarily with the army and returning to their place in the Chamber or Senate when and as they please.

Such in outline is the scheme upon which the re-organisation of the French army is to be built up. Precisely because it is to be the foundation for so much, it is the more remarkable that the Bill should have gone through the Chamber practically without debate. For apart from Communist obstruction, real opposition was shown to none of its forty-eight clauses which were adopted one after another

in the course of half a dozen sittings. True, it remains to be seen whether the Senate will accept with such alacrity as the Chamber the wide powers that the measure places in the hands of the State—powers the full extent of which, too, is an unknown quantity, inasmuch as the Bill while laying down principles leaves details of execution to be defined at a later date. To what use, for instance, might certain Governments not put the authorisation accorded to them by this measure, which provides that in peace time returns shall be prepared of all the resources, human and material, that are at the disposal of the State? But the equalisation of all persons before the mobilisation authorities and the suppression in war-time of private enterprise and of profits, gives to the Bill in general a distinctly Socialistic character. Its adoption almost without discussion and with very little Press criticism is therefore all the more striking. It must be taken to mean that the Chamber is so determined to assure the security of France that it is ready to admit to their furthest limit the lessons of the war. Perhaps at first sight paradoxical in view of the pacifist doctrines of the Socialist Party, it is in fact quite logical that a Bill, which accepts as axiomatic for the future the theory of *la guerre totale* and provides for a war in which practically without distinction all persons are to be employed, should have been piloted through the Chamber by a Socialist.

DAVID H. LOCH

REALITY AND MYTH CONCERNING FASCIST ITALY.

WE are now well into the fifth year of the Fascist dispensation in Italy and it is worth while inquiring whether, even on the basis of the most approved official statistics, the available data bear out the contention of the Fascist propagandists and their sympathisers in this country, that Fascism rescued Italy from chaos and insolvency and brought it to unprecedented prosperity. To this end let us first of all see what are the essential conditions in Italy's economic problem. Italy is a very thickly-populated country; there are about fifty million Italians in the world, of whom forty million live within the 120,000 square miles of the kingdom, with a yearly net increase per thousand of 11.78 in 1922 falling to 10.39 in 1925; the density is therefore about 323 to the square mile; the excess of births over deaths is about 440,000. A large part of the country is distinctly mountainous; another large part (30 to 31 per cent.) is at present incapable of exploitation to any significant degree. No great increase in agricultural output is to be expected. The soil is very poor in mineral resources; there are some mediocre small iron deposits; some low grade deposits of lignite; no petroleum; no coal; only sulphur and nitrate deposits are of any importance. While the cultivated area in 1923 was 46.9 per cent. of the total area, only 50 per cent. of this total is arable. Italy, therefore, cannot produce sufficient food for the Italian people. In 1921-24 between 33 and 36 per cent. of Italy's total supply of corn available for consumption had to be imported.

The main Italian problem is how to pay for the food of a thickly-populated nation and to keep it in decent condition, or, rather, to bring to decent conditions of life a still rapidly growing population. From 1878-79 and especially from 1887 the conviction has prevailed that by a policy of industrial and agricultural protection this problem could be made easier. As a matter of fact, in spite of all this, and perhaps to some degree owing to this, we have from the unification of the kingdom onwards a continuous excess of imports over exports. It was only in the first few years of the twentieth century that Italy's international income exceeded her aggregate outgo by some three hundred million lire; after that her outgo began again very rapidly to exceed income, and war brought up the deficit to fabulous dimensions. Tables A, B, and C, respectively give Italy's international outgo, international income and net income and their composition just before the war.*

* Quoted from McGuire's *Italy's International Economic Position*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1927; an excellent and frank statement of the present situation, in spite of the author's Fascist sympathies and some rather big inaccuracies.

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A.—INTERNATIONAL OUTGO (1901-14).				
Period.	Yearly averages in millions of lire.			Total.
	Commodities and specie.	Interest, profits and commission.		
1901-05	400	120		520
1906-10	1,100	160		1,260
1911-15	1,200	175		1,375

B.—INTERNATIONAL INCOME (1901-14).				
Period.	Yearly averages in millions of lire.			
	Remittances from Italians abroad.	Tourists' expenditure.	Shipping.	Miscellaneous.
1901-05	300	350	65	125
1906-10	450	450	85	150
1911-14	450	425	115	200

C.—NET INTERNATIONAL INCOME (1901-14).			
Period.	Income.	Outgo.	Net.
1901-05	840	520	+ 320
1906-10	1,135	1,260	— 125
1911-14	1,190	1,375	— 185

This new deficit was due to the importation of foreign capital for industrial expansion and was covered by borrowing on private account in foreign money markets; so that on the eve of the war there was a floating indebtedness of about 500 million lire, the interest on which had to be paid in addition to that on about 3,000 million lire of previously and permanently invested foreign capital in Italy. The outbreak of war at once suspended the tourists' expenditure for five years, caused a fall in emigrants' remittances and caused imports of war materials to rise, at war prices, to terrible levels. MacGuire gives the following approximate figures for the yearly income and outgo of Italy during 1915-19.

NET INTERNATIONAL OUTGO (Yearly averages).		
	In millions of gold lire.	In millions of paper lire.
Outgo	5,650	7,950
Income	1,200	1,890
Total	4,450	6,060

An awful deficit, which, like that of the immediate post-war years, had to be covered as to a small portion by private and mostly by public borrowing. Towards the end of 1925 the total private and public indebtedness of Italy to the outside world was certainly not less than some 30,000 million gold lire (5,000 million representing all kinds of private obligations), of which well over five thousand million was incurred under the Fascist régime; viz., total debt—£1,200,000,000 sterling.

This is Italy's post-war problem : how to provide for the elimination of this indebtedness out of net income, compatibly with an increase in the standard of life of a dense and growing population, the trade deficit being as follows :

TRADE DEFICIT IN MILLION LIRE (approximately).

Year.	Excess of Imports in paper values.	In gold.	Year.	Excess of Imports in paper values.	In gold.
1914	713	706	1920	15,047	3,760
1915	2,171	1,802	1921	8,952	1,969
1916	5,302	4,162	1922	6,463	1,583
1917	10,681	7,209	1923	6,103	1,464
1918	12,694	8,822	1924	5,070	1,166
1919	10,557	5,490	1925	7,882	1,576
Total	42,118	28,191	Total	49,517	11,518

How did Italy start on the solution of this formidable problem? Let us recognise at the outset the chief merit of all post-war Italian Governments : they did not deceive themselves like those of the *Bloc National* in France on the score of the amount of revenue to be expected from reparations, and at once sought to lay the burden of the budget on the taxpayer. When the Fascists came into power, the budget deficit had already been fixed by Professor Tangorra, for two months Minister of the Treasury in the Mussolini Cabinet, at only 4,000 million lire. It had been 2,200 million lire in 1918; 7,000 in 1919; 17,000 in 1920; 15,000 in 1921; 4,000 in 1922. The greatest effort had been made; no one at all acquainted with the matter doubted that, as a result of various bills that had been prepared, of several steps towards a reform of the financial administration and of the traditional resignation and docility of the Italian taxpayer, there would very soon have been, under whatever government in office, about three thousand million lire more of revenue than in 1922, and even more, and that the balancing of the budget was quite in sight. We can, therefore, formulate Italy's post-war condition by comparing the way in which debt and taxation affected the aggregate national private wealth and private income both before the war and after. We have on this point the accurate, though always approximate calculations of Professor Mortara and Professor Gini. Professor Mortara's calculations give us a pre-war aggregate private wealth of about 400 thousand million lire and an aggregate income of about 20 thousand million lire. We will take as nearer the truth the higher figures of the philofascist, Professor Gini :

ITALY'S AGGREGATE PRIVATE INCOME.

The following is Gini's valuation of the production and services of the Italian people just before the War and, provisionally, in 1925, in thousand millions of lire :

Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	...	...	7.0	32
Industrial production	...	...	6.0	36
Commercial and financial services	...	...	2.0	11
Public and personal services	...	...	2.0	11
Income from urban property	...	...	1.0	4
Income from public securities	...	...	0.5	4
Remittances from Italians abroad	...	...	0.5	2

Total ... 19.0 100

Gini's estimate of Italian aggregate private wealth in 1914 is 111,000 million lire, or 115,000 inclusive of now redeemed provinces; and in 1925, 550,000 million lire.

If we make allowance for the depreciation of the lira, both the total aggregate private wealth and the aggregate private income appear to be almost the same in 1914 and in 1925, or just a shade better in 1925 owing to exceptionally good harvests. But in 1914 the public debt was about 16 per cent. of the total national wealth; while in 1925 it was about 38 or 40 per cent. Moreover in 1914 the public debt was almost exclusively owed to Italian citizens and payable in Italian currency, while in 1925 considerably more than half of it was owed to foreign governments and payable in the creditor's currency.

Further still, while in 1914 taxation absorbed 13 per cent. of income, in 1925 it absorbed 20 per cent.; which means that if we, from the average income per head (equal to about 2,500 paper lire), deduct the bare minimum for subsistence, we are left with an income above subsistence of 1,300 paper lire per head, of which the share absorbed by taxation, national and local (about 500 lire per head), is equal to 38 per cent. Nor should we forget that in addition to the burden of national and local taxation there has been another invisible tax represented by the effect of the depreciation of the lira upon holdings of government securities, an average depreciation of well over 72 per cent. This, in addition to the increase in population, makes it likely that now taxation absorbs over 40 per cent. of income above bare subsistence.

This is fully reflected in the fact that the invoices of food consumption prove that the Italian people, who, even before the war were not abundantly nourished from the physiological standpoint (the daily food ration containing barely 3,130 calories as against 4,050, 3,704, 3,644 respectively in Germany, England, and France), have been compelled to reduce still further their consumption of food, especially from 1922, when the pre-war level had been slightly exceeded, onwards. Even non-essential consumption, especially if we take into account the growth of population, is beneath the pre-war level. Therefore there is an actual per head fall of 22 per cent. The index-

number of tobacco consumption per head has fallen from 138 in 1921-22 to 133 in 1924-25.

"Thus Italy's appearance of vigour and prosperity cannot cover the fact that from an economic point of view her people are poorer, taken on the average, than they were before the war. Moreover, grave as the implications of Italy's fiscal burdens in 1925 must have seemed, the Italian people in that year had not yet begun to carry the initial load of the liquidation of foreign public debt, to say nothing of its full weight in after years." (MacGuire, p. 103.)

"It is evident, writes Professor Corrado Gini in 1925, after mentioning the deteriorating effects of the lowered standard of life on university students, that a condition of this sort can hardly continue without progressive decay of the Italian national organism. At this very moment that organism is in a pathological condition, even though there are too few, unfortunately, who take account of the fact. . . . The Italian economic organism, after struggling through the war crisis and the crisis immediately following the war, has not yet got back to normal conditions. It is at the present time in a state of convalescence, and serious thought is provoked by the fact that this convalescence is progressing very slowly and that it is not yet over, despite the improvement which dates well back to the beginning of 1922."

It is not worth while to insist on the fact that statements like these by the leading Italian economist favourable to the Fascist régime are in flat contradiction with those of the official propagandists of this same régime in England, be they Italian or English. Still, it may be asked, could all the useful reforms introduced by the Fascist Government—the re-organisation of departments, the return to private enterprise in many fields where State or municipal enterprise had shown itself inefficient, etc.—have been achieved except by a very authoritative Government animated and supported by extreme zeal? Would not things have gone irremediably worse without the advent of the Fascist régime? We think that to such questions very conclusive answers can be given. First of all we cannot know the truth concerning the way in which institutions and reforms work under the Fascist régime except to a very small extent, since only official opinion can be expressed: there is no longer any independent Press or freedom of speech or meeting or association in Italy, except for Fascists. Secondly: Fascism came into power *two years after* the most dangerous—or seemingly dangerous—moment in post-war neurasthenia had passed, *two years after* the experiment of the occupation of the factories had convinced the workmen themselves of their inability to manage production and of their incapacity for revolution; almost two years after the consequent significant split into three of the Socialist Party; and after two years of Fascist counter-attack on Socialist and Populist organisations which they

had almost always failed to withstand. The Socialist and Populist masses were cowed and terrified. And the Fascist Cabinet, including in its early phase some Liberals and some Populists, and entrusted with full financial powers by Parliament, had the road thoroughly clear to do all it deemed necessary.

No reason has yet been given why thus supported and strengthened it could not have done—just as the French and Belgian Governments did—all that was required by the financial situation, without proceeding to overthrow not merely representative and parliamentary government, but also the most elementary conditions of justice in civilised life, such as in the past were respected even by the despotic Governments of Prussia and Austria. Therefore, not only did Fascism not save Italy from the Bolshevist danger, for this danger had vanished two years before; not only did Fascism not save Italy from an insolvency, which was already in process of being shown to be an unreal nightmare; not only did Fascism not bring—as the myth proclaims—a New Dispensation of prosperity and welfare; but it did delay the process of recovery by yielding further to inflation till it was bound to refrain; and it stole the liberties of the Italian people without giving them anything in compensation, except the addition of formidable political to already formidable economic difficulties. The undeniable chronological fact that the Fascist laws suppressing all constitutional working guarantees and concentrating all power in the hands of a Dictator, were passed not immediately on the advent of Fascism to power (October, 1922) but during 1925-6, after all Liberal and Constitutional elements had ceased to be able to support its rule, should open the eyes even of the blind to the fundamental truth of the contention that the present Italian régime is not to be explained and cannot be justified on the grounds expounded by its apologists. Fear of Bolshevism may have been one of the co-efficients of its success in some panicky women of both sexes; but the only explanation covered by all the facts is quite a different one. In 1913 the Italian working and labouring classes had been granted universal suffrage; the war deprived them of the opportunity to avail themselves of it; but the war, which had been decided upon in spite of them and had been depicted to them as destined to be crowned by peace for ever and the land to those who till it, gave them the knowledge of their weight in the country's affairs. In the last two general appeals to the electors Socialists and Christian Democrats together held half the seats in Parliament in face of the other half held by many purely personal groups. The rule of the old exhausted oligarchy was paralysed. If the two mass parties could agree to co-operate they might soon have constituted a working majority. Real and not merely nominal democracy might have come to stay. Unfortunately both Socialist intransigence and

That men, nations, and even revolutions, must be judged as wholes is the merest commonplace. Many current judgments of the Soviet polity are founded on an incomplete view either of Bolshevik activities, or of the Bolshevik mind, or of both.

To most of us Russia is Moscow—a Moscow exclusively occupied in fomenting Communism in "capitalist" Europe. If we think of her in Asia at all it is as the insolent intruder stretching out nefarious tentacles to annoy us in India and China. But these pursuits account for only a small fraction of those which engage the vast and complex Russian State to-day. Let it be remembered that this State covers an area of some seven million square miles, one-seventh of the total land surface of the globe; and that this vast territory is occupied by about sixty distinct peoples in every stage of civilisation and barbarism down to little tribes among the swamps of Mid-Siberia, still in the nomad stage of pre-historic Europe. However deeply and justly we may resent those applications of Bolshevik policy which tend to disturb the cohesion or accentuate the unrest of our social order, we ought not to be blind to the constructive and creative aspects of the same policy, the campaign, on a far vaster scale, in which the same government is attempting nothing less than to bring the whole complex of its enormous territory within the pale of civilised life. In the former group of activities Bolshevism appears as a subversive or anarchic force, directly hostile to the ideas which shape the policy of the British State. In the latter it appears as a formative and upbuilding power, pursuing a policy entirely parallel with that of the British Empire, while completely independent of it.

Such a description of the range of Bolshevik activities will only seem paradoxical if we allow ourselves to fall into the other error, of taking a too partial view of the Bolshevik "mind." We are interpreting this Janus-faced republic by one of its faces only, the one which happens to be turned, often enough in menace or defiance, towards ourselves, and ignoring the other, perhaps more vitally expressive, which is less in evidence. Rome was behind both the Janus-faces, and spoke through both.

In the Anglo-Saxon world, at least, the economic aspect of Bolshevism now dominates every other. The burning questions relate to trade with her, to statistics of exports and imports, to the payment of past debts and the prospect of future loans. It is natural and excusable in such circumstances that even people little touched by "the sickness of an acquisitive society" should judge Russian Communism, whether for praise or abuse, almost solely on its economic side—as a revolutionary plan for the systematic re-distribution of property. Such re-distributions may be just or

unjust; they derive their significance from the ideas which inspire and dictate them. And the Bolshevik re-distribution, crude in conception and cruel in execution as it undoubtedly was, owed its driving power not to proletarian cupidity but to two ideas of immense scope which have deeply embedded themselves in the social thinking of nineteenth-century Europe, work as the source of wealth, and the solidarity of the workers. Karl Marx, the intellectual father of Bolshevism, is often remembered among us only for the fallacious doctrine of "surplus value" which he adopted from Ricardo. His real and lasting importance, as the Master of Balliol, in an illuminating little book,* has lately insisted, lay in his profound grasp of the truth that wealth is created by society. He brought together the analysis of wealth effected by the earlier English economists and the profounder evolutionary conception of society which he learnt from Hegel. But his analysis, like theirs, was at fault, though in exactly the opposite direction. He over-stressed the share of labour, as they the share of capital. The surplus-value doctrine, however, remained embedded in his system, and he never ceased to proclaim it; but the living core of his teaching is, in the Master of Balliol's words, to have "transformed a demand for economic justice into a demand for a just organisation of society,"—in other words for a society so constituted that in it justice would, in virtue of its very structure, be done. Such a society would be one pervaded by complete solidarity among the members, perfectly organised but fundamentally democratic, and in which class war would be eliminated because there would no longer be any classes. It was the grave error of Bolshevism and of its master-mind, Lenin, to have taken over the fallacious as well as the profound teaching of Marx. Lenin himself, the most plastic as well as the most daring of the Bolshevik leaders, partially corrected this error when he introduced the so-called "New Economic Policy (NEP), in 1921. But those who scoff at this as a recantation usually ignore that the most socially significant and far-reaching feature of the Bolshevik polity, its "solidarity," was not in the least touched by the change. Let us glance at some of the ways in which its ideal of solidarity has actually taken shape. And first, since it is one of the least disputable and also one of the least familiar, its treatment of the problem, in Western Europe confessedly so difficult, of subject nationalities and races.

II.

A distinguished German jurist, Professor Karl Korsch, of Jena, in the course of a detailed analysis of the constitution of the "new Russian Federal State," has declared it to stand alone in its combina-

* *Karl Marx's Capital*. An Introductory Essay. By A. D. Lindsay. (Oxford University Press.)

Giollittian Liberal reluctance to come to terms with Christian Democracy as a centre party made co-operation of either with it impossible, and there issued a parliamentary deadlock. But the nightmare of such a possibility was sufficient to convince the oligarchy and its supporting interests that everything should be done to prevent it; and the perplexity of the working classes after the failure of the occupation of the factories was the signal for the fear of revolution to be turned into a revengeful fury of counter-revolution. The utter destruction of those political and legal institutions which had so far concealed the ideality of dictatorship behind the fiction, now threatening to become fact, of parliamentary democracy, followed. The Fascist experiment is thus at once the old oligarchy's last attempt to withstand democracy and the price the Italian people are paying for the last lesson in effective self-government.

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* Bibliography: Mortara's *Prospettive Economiche* for 1925-6-7—Porri: *L'Evoluzione economica italiana nell'ultimo cinquantennio*; *Bollettino Mensile di Statistica*; MacGuire: *Italy's International Economic Position* (Allen and Unwin), London, 1927; Don Luigi Sturzo: *Italy and Fascism* (London, 1926).

THE CULTURE OF BOLSHEVIST RUSSIA.

I.

THE obstacles to a just understanding of present-day Russia are extraordinarily great. Uncontested facts suffice, in the eyes of many not unjust-minded people, to damn the Bolshevik polity beyond appeal. And though it does not lack enthusiastic defenders, their defence has often been both too indiscriminate and too largely based upon features which, in the view of most Englishmen, themselves stand in need of apology. Those who "see red" are not at all points colour-blind. But nowhere is Burke's never-to-be-forgotten aphorism, that there is no way of drawing up an indictment against a whole nation, so apposite as here. In Bolshevik Russia we are confronted with a political organism so complex, so vast, and so fundamentally new, that no simple judgment upon it can possibly be adequate. Least of all must we indulge our English turn for compromise and "moderation" by agreeing to believe in a "pink" Russia, with a shady past perhaps, but good enough to trade with. In Russia nothing is moderate. The truth lies not between the extremes, but *in* them. The present article is based upon the view that, without minimising in any degree either the past cruelties of the Soviet Government, the crudity of its economic creed, its abnegation of Christianity, or its menace to established society and to the British Empire, we must yet recognise in it a power engaged in making a contribution of which Western Europe scarcely as yet suspects the scale or the scope to the civilisation of the world. The writer's title to speak upon the subject is limited by one grave disability. Precluded by years from visiting post-war Russia, he claims only to have used a mass of first-hand material, German and Russian, which appears to be almost unknown in England; most of it derived from the reports of highly-trained specialist observers, jurists, archaeologists, professors, engineers, in the two countries. Such evidence has to be reckoned with; it cannot by the most sceptical be simply dismissed.*

* The sources chiefly in question are (1) the monthly review *Das Neue Russland* (Baron: Berlin), founded in 1924 by Die Gesellschaft der Freunde des Neuen Russland (referred to below as "N.R."); (2) the Weekly News Bulletin of the U.S.S.R. for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (referred to as "Bull."). This periodical, issued every Friday from Moscow, and obtainable for a small subscription from the S.C.R., 23 Tavistock Square, W.C.1., must be read with the caveat that it contains only what Moscow wishes "cultured" Europe to know. But taking it at that, and allowing for many shadows ignored, we do not think that any serious student will lightly set aside this dry, matter-of-fact, record of the cultural achievements of Bolshevism. Professor Karlgren, of Copenhagen, author of a recent book on Bolshevik Russia, is chiefly engaged in collecting and emphasising these shadows. It is the work of an able observer, but it rests essentially upon evidence collected during a residence in 1924, when the country was still struggling with the heritage of the Great War, the civil war, and the foreign invasions. The evidence presented in this article reflects almost entirely the immensely improved conditions of 1925-7.

tion of two apparently opposite features—extreme rigidity in the central organisation and the utmost looseness in the nexus of the component members.* This original feature is a fruitful source of foreign misunderstanding. It is, however, merely a translation into political terms of the Marxian economic postulate—industry at once centrally organised and democratically owned and enjoyed. In its mode of combining these apparently opposite features the Bolshevik State departs from all known precedent. The central government has, in certain points, more complete control over the component republics than we find in any other Federal polity—more than the Federal Government at Washington, for instance, exercises over the State Governments of Utah or New York. On the other hand, the component republics enjoy some astonishing liberties, unknown elsewhere. They are free, for instance, to secede from the Union. What they are not free to do is to restrict, for their national minorities, the equal treatment they receive themselves.

Take, first, the case of the new republics established within the bounds of European Russia. Under the Tsardom the Ukraine (c. 25 mill.), White Russia (c. 4 m.), as well as the Poles, Finns, Estonians, and all other non-Russian peoples, were, as far as rigid laws and ruthless administration could effect it, denationalised. The language of the Ukraine, a variety of Russian, was prohibited in print, and its flourishing literature driven underground. Nicholas Gogol, one of its most illustrious sons, wrote in Russian, another, brought up in Poland, became our Joseph Conrad. Under the Bolshevik Government the Ukraine and White Russia both form Socialist Republics, within the Union, but distinct from the great Russian Federation of Republics (R.S.F.S.R.) which comprises about two-thirds of the population, and nine-tenths of the territory, of the entire realm. No part of the country suffered more severely from civil war and foreign invasion than the Ukraine. But the latent forces of its national life recovered with singular rapidity when the iron pressure was withdrawn. In art, for instance, and the case of literature and music was parallel, a little group of Ukraine painters who had kept alive the germs of peasant sensibility and technique in spite of the repressive authority of the Petersburg Royal Academy, immediately began to cultivate systematically the fruitful native soil. In the very first days of the October Revolution they opened at Kieff an All-Ukrainian Academy of Arts. Even during the stress of the civil war, in 1921-2, a group of enthusiasts established the Ceramic Technicum, devoted to the cultivation of the native art of pottery. In December last the first exhibition of All-

* *Das Wesen des neuen russ. Föderativstaates.* N.R., II, 5, 30 f. (1925).

Ukrainian art was held at Kieff; in the course of the present year it will be sent to Moscow, Paris, and Berlin.*

The twenty-five millions of the Ukraine include about five millions of other nationalities, Poles, Germans, Jews. It might have been expected that the fervour of this newly liberated nationalism would show itself in suppression or attenuation of the rights of these "national minorities," particularly in view of the oppression of the Russian minority in Poland. On the contrary, the government of this Soviet Republic of Ukraine has done its utmost to give each of them the same relative local autonomy that it itself enjoys. There are now in the country about 600 "national Soviets," or administrative units. Education for the minorities in their own languages and by their own teachers—relentlessly refused or grudgingly conceded in Bohemia and South Tyrol—is an undisputed right in the Bolshevik State: there are 400 Jewish schools, 600 German, 180 Polish, besides 1,000 reading-rooms, libraries, and professional schools for their special use. Nor is this in any way peculiar to the Ukraine. In the White Russian Republic, with a minority of 15 per cent. Ukrainians and Great Russians, all the languages enjoy similarly equal rights.† The White Russian Republic has also been the first actively to assist its Jewish population (11 per cent. of the whole) by settling them on the land from which they were under Tsardom legally debarred.‡ The old anti-Jewish pogroms are now unknown. The Germans, of whom there are about a million in Russia, besides enjoying these minority rights in the various republics, have an "autonomous republic" of their own, on the lower Volga, where their ancestors settled on the invitation of Catherine II.§ In the same spirit training is provided for the minority teachers at the greater universities, especially Moscow and Kazan.|| And the education of the Russian Finns, once so rigorously treated, is now supervised by a Finnish institute at Leningrad itself.¶

In the republics of Asiatic Russia, while the political method is the same, the cultural problems were widely different. In Armenia and Aserbeidjan (N. Persia) ancient civilisations had been laid waste. English friends of Armenia, if not convinced à priori that a Bolshevik report is necessarily faked, may be referred to the detailed narrative given by M. Lunacharsky, Commissar of Education, a poet, and one of the frankest critics of his own educational achieve-

* Cf., the valuable article by Professor Taran, Kieff, "Die Kunst in der Sowjetukraine" (N.R., III, 11, 35 f.). It is illustrated with many examples of Ukrainian art. Also *Bull.*, No. 28, January 7th, 1926.

† Chelapow, Moscow: "Sowjetweissrussland" (N.R., III, 11, 17 f.). ‡ *Bull.* No. 28, January 7th, 1926. § On cultural institutions in White Russia. Cf. *Bull.*, September 10th, 1926. ¶ N.R. III, 1-2. || On the whole subject see the valuable paper by Dr. Dobranitzki (Hamburg): *Das Nationalitätsproblem in der Sowjetunion* (N.R. III, 3, 16 f.).

¶ *Bull.*, No. 25 (December 10th, 1925).

ments, of his visit to Armenia in September, 1925.* Heaps of stone still represent the homes of the massacred peasants. But the towns teem with orphan children, to whose rescue had come not only the Russian School but the Russian Institution of "Pioneers" (boy scouts). At Erivan, the capital, the population crowded to hear the Russian visitor, and a thousand children performed their pioneer gymnastic exercises before him with a combined fire and precision which he had never seen surpassed.†

Completely different again was the cultural problem presented by the vast regions of Northern and Central Asia where there had never been a civilisation at all, and where vast populations were doubly "analphabetic," since they not only, like the illiterate masses of Italy or Spain, could not use the alphabet, but had not an alphabet to use. Such conditions did not disturb the Tsardom. Like most autocracies it preferred an ignorant population. The Soviet Government was completely free from this obscurantism. Holding a form of faith in its own belief irrefutable, ignorance was its enemy and enlightenment its ally. And its larger minds looked further than this. "We perfectly understand," said Lunacharsky, "that the ideal of true democracy can only be reached by a cultural uplifting of the entire people."‡ As a first step it formed the colossal project of stamping out illiteracy throughout the enormous realm. It is easy for the Western critic to scoff at the assurance with which Lenin, who first formulated the scheme, named 1928 as the date when the last alphabetic child in the pathless wilds of Tungus and Yakut would have learnt to read. But however extravagant in its hopes the campaign against illiteracy is seriously meant and strenuously pursued. For several tribes, as already stated, an alphabet had first to be provided. Last year, for instance, Tungus received its first ABC *Reading-book*, with Russian letters to convey its as yet unwritten sounds.§ We hear, again, of the building of a school for the most diminutive people in the empire (pop. 405) in the depths of Siberia, and of another in a remote village, cut off from the world for nine months in the year, where no one but the village elder could read, and where only after long delay a school-mistress could be found to settle.||

* N.R. II, 1, 37 f. Lunacharsky also describes the great irrigation works being carried out in Armenia by Russian engineers, cf., also II, 9. In his recent book, *Bolshevist Russia*, Professor Karlgren makes great play with M. Lunacharsky's unreserved admissions. The Russian statesman is the more to be credited when, as here, he expresses cordial satisfaction.

† For details of the repatriation of Armenian refugees, as well as of the preservation of ancient Armenian monuments, cf. *Bull.* No. 25.

‡ *Das Neue Russland*, II, 9, 2.

§ *Bull.*, No. 28. There was nothing chauvinistic in the choice of the Russian alphabet. In the Republic of Azerbeidjan the Latin letters are to replace the Arabic script.

|| Dr. Dobranitzki, U.S.

No one will expect an early harvest from the seed thus laboriously scattered in the wilds. But no observer of the Bolshevik system who quickens criticism with imagination will refuse a tribute to the heroic greatness and daring of its civilising plans, or to the will-power which is shaping their still confessedly embryonic realisation.

III.

And something of both these qualities must be allowed to the Bolshevik scheme of education itself above these elementary levels. The peremptory and audacious negations of Bolshevik culture are better known than its significant and sometimes original affirmations. And the scope even of its negations is exaggerated. Thus it is not true that Bolshevism, like most polities founded upon revolution, turned its back upon the Past, or that it ignored all history which does not tend to prove a Communist proposition. It had proletarian extremists who were for obliterating all the monuments of the national past prior to 1917. But this was a perversion of the deeper strain in Bolshevik thought itself, which, as we saw, derived from the evolutionary view of society implicit in Hegel and Marx; and it was not the policy of the larger minds, nor that which prevailed. The exemplary preservation of the art treasures in the museums of Moscow and Leningrad, to which Sir Martin Conway and others have testified, is not a diplomatic bid for the approval of Europe, but an outcome of the same policy which is encouraging the study and preservation of the artistic monuments of old Russia* and the exploration of ruined cities of vanished civilisations.† Societies for research in ethnology have been founded since the revolution in several universities. The university of Leningrad has, since 1925, a department for comparative ethnography and lexicography. Several specialist reviews devoted to historical research are published in Moscow and Leningrad, some of them, like the *Istorik Marxist* ("The Marxist Historian"), recalling in their very titles that Marxism stands for a new conception of history, not for a repudiation of it. Mediæval studies, including the study of mediæval England, have their chief centre in Moscow, classical and modern in Leningrad. Even the religious faiths, proscribed in the schools, contemptuously tolerated in the churches, may acquire a halo of interest as historical phenomena. Thus the Society for the Study of Siberian ethnography has organised expe-

* Cf. Professor Winkler (Königsberg), *Von Denkmälern altrussischer Kunst und ihrer Erhaltung*. (N.R. II, 1, 23), an account of his tour of inspection.

† *Bull.*, for October 15th, 1926, describes the discovery of old Byzantine towns in the Crimea.

ditions to the Altai mountains, collecting, besides folklore and songs, the religious hymns of the once persecuted "Old Believers." In some cases Bolshevism merely encouraged a tradition already vigorous; the English mediævalists of Moscow are mostly pupils of Sir Paul Vinogradoff, once professor there, and far from being a Bolshevik. But it is impossible to mistake the dynamic force of the Bolshevik cultural idea. For it has repeatedly happened that the demand for research into the history of a district came from the inhabitants themselves. Thus the Republic of Yakut (North Siberia) made this request for their vast domain, a three months' journey from Leningrad; and in August, 1926, delegates from the minute Republic of Tannatuwin arrived at the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad entreating that scholars might be sent to investigate the historical development of this little people—and also to provide it with an alphabet!* And the school study of history, especially in the Asiatic districts, habitually begins with a study of the locality. This procedure is now so orthodox in education that one can understand the enthusiastic remark of a visitor (who had possibly not observed that school history often also ended there) to the effect that "classical pedagogy was at length realised in Bolshevik Russia."

Mr. Keynes, an uncompromising critic of the Bolshevik creed, has described the spirit which it generates as a "religion." If religion is measured by its "binding" power, it is hard to reject the description. The "solidarity" of the workers, which is the core of the Bolshevik faith, and the corresponding solidarity of the vast "society" of republics they inhabit, live as inspiring ideals in many thousands—to put it modestly—of simple minds. Lenin bade his young Communists further their cause by each doing daily for his village or his town some bit of public work.† Only the surface of the vast mass may yet have been touched. Many millions in rural Russia are still indifferent. The old antagonism of town and country, peasant and artisan, is not extinct. But English social workers will be more likely to look with envy than with contempt at some of the Bolshevik ways of overcoming it. Among these is the so-called system of "cultural patronage" (*chefstvo*), in which societies of city workers adopt as their "wards," for purely cultural purposes, particular villages in the surrounding territory, organising and running libraries, clubs, reading circles, and furnishing books and newspapers. Begun in Moscow, this system is now widely diffused among the towns of the Union. In December, 1925, there were thirteen such societies, in Moscow alone, with a membership

* See the valuable account of his "Forschungen über Land u. Meer," by Professor Fersmann, Vice-president of the Academy of Sciences. (*N.R.* III, 11, 29 f.)
† Quoted as a motto to a Russian treatise on the peasant school (*Shkola Krestjanskoi Molodezhi*).

of over 150,000 drawn from two-thirds of the industrial enterprises of the city.*

A final glimpse of the working of Bolshevik "solidarity" in its far-flung school-system may produce amusement, not unmingled surely with sympathy. In the autumn of 1925 the first "All-Union" Conference of Teachers since the revolution met in the Opera-house at Moscow. Half a million of teachers were represented by 1,600 delegates. They came from every district of the realm except the Republic of Yakut, a region as large as the United States, but 8,000 miles from Moscow, whose delegates could not arrive in time. An English correspondent had come to report the proceedings for an educational journal. He listened in impatient bewilderment, for the Education Minister's speech and the questions he was pelted with turned, not on curricula or salaries, but on the national economy, exports, and agriculture. He was but moderately satisfied when his Russian colleagues explained to him that the modern rural teacher teaches not from primers or text-books only but from the "immense book of life," and not the child only, but its fathers as well. An elementary course of what we should call "civics" is, in fact, imposed by the Soviet Union upon all its future citizens, of either sex, reached by the schools. Representatives of labour hence properly attended this educational conference to welcome the teacher. And it was a young girl teacher from a distant province who replied to their welcome: "Listen, brother workers, thou blue-bloused framer of the future, and thou, peasant, eternal toiler on the land, and thou, knight of the proletarian honour, red-army soldier! To you all and to your children our welcome—our strength, our knowledge, for you, all our life!" Such scenes do not recall the congress of educationists as we know it in the West. But they suggest that the State which can breed this temper has at least a glimpse of the social basis upon which Plato and Sir Thomas More long ago laid down that true education must be built.

C. H. HERFORD.

* Cf. *Bull.* No. 27, December 24th, 1925, where statistics are given of the cultural work achieved by these societies at that date.

THE LAUSANNE CONFERENCE: ITS PROBLEMS AND PROMISE.

ALTHOUGH the movement in America for a World Conference on Faith and Order began in 1910, and the adhesion of the churches in other lands had been secured before 1914, yet this, like so many other projects, was affected by the war; and it is only since 1918 that it has been possible to reinvigorate international movements. A preliminary Conference on a small scale was held in Geneva in 1920. A Continuation Committee was appointed, which has held meetings at Stockholm in August, 1925, and at Berne in August, 1926; and has carried forward the arrangements for the Conference itself, which is to be held at Lausanne from August 3rd to 21st of this year. An attendance of about 500 is expected; and nearly ninety branches of the Christian Church have agreed to be represented. The subjects to be discussed are:

1. The Call to Unity.
2. The Church's Message to the World—the Gospel.
3. The Nature of the Church.
4. The Church's Common Confession of Faith.
5. The Church's Ministry.
6. The Sacraments.
7. The Unity of Christendom and the relation thereto of existing churches.

The Subjects Committee which had been appointed at Geneva submitted an Agenda to the Continuation Committee at Stockholm; and it was then agreed that the propositions on each of the subjects thus formulated should be the basis of discussion. As a widespread fear was afterwards expressed that such a method of procedure might appear to give the discussions a bias in one direction, and so not allow unfettered freedom, this decision was rescinded at Berne; and it was agreed that the subjects alone should be given in the programme and that the material prepared by the Subjects Committee should accompany the programme only "as suggestive of questions which must naturally arise in any thorough consideration of the general subject." At Berne also three committees were appointed (American, European, and Oriental) to nominate speakers; and a small committee of five to draft the programme. This committee met in London last December, and drew up a programme which, while providing thoroughly competent speakers on each subject, aimed at securing that each ecclesiastical type should be represented in each discussion, and that in the list of speakers all countries, great and small, should as far as possible be heard. Each subject will be introduced by two speakers, who will be allowed half an hour each, and whose speeches will be printed in three

languages. They will be followed by four speakers, to each of whom a quarter of an hour is assigned. The afternoon sessions for two and a half hours will be given to free discussion. Only seven days will be devoted to these open conferences; for seven days commissions, one or more to deal with each subject, will be considering what findings can be recommended to the Conference; and the whole Conference will deal with these reports in the last two days. In this way ample opportunity will be given for valuable contributions to the consideration of the subject by those whose names are not on the printed programme. While the open conferences are necessary, as it were, to launch the ship on the deep, these private discussions are more likely to bring it into some desirable haven. No man who can contribute any new knowledge or fresh judgment will be superfluous; and it will be well worth while for the best men in all the churches to make every effort to be present.

As there is on the one hand very little apparent interest among the churches, its importance not having been sufficiently realised, and there have been on the other utterances by prominent men depreciating its value, and any outcome there may be from it; it does seem necessary for those who have a firm belief in and cherish strong hope for the Conference, to speak and write in its commendation and defence. To expect that this Conference will remove all difficulties, reconcile all antagonisms and secure the basis for re-union is rash folly; but to hope that there will be a better mutual understanding, a closer fellowship in faith, a keener desire and a more strenuous effort to discover and to follow the ways which will lead to unity, is a wise courage. Those who anticipate that all the non-episcopal churches will at once assent to episcopacy as necessary to the polity of a re-united church are courting disappointment, no less any who believe that they can easily persuade all who cherish the sacramental principle to abandon it. Those who desire victory for their own convictions over those of others, if there are any such, will be inviting defeat. A reasonable hope of substantial progress toward the goal may be maintained by those who do not magnify the problems on the one hand, nor minimise the promise of the movement on the other.

II.

The situation will be better understood if we glance at the problems in the light of recent experiences. Conferences in England and India have shown that behind the practical difficulties about episcopacy and ordination lie doctrinal differences, not regarding faith so much as regarding order. It is probable that the second subject—the Church's Message to the World, the Gospel—will not divide the Conference. The representatives of Anglicanism and

Nonconformity who were conferring as a preparation for this Conference even before the Appeal was issued from Lambeth found no difficulty in bringing out an *interim* report, which showed a substantial agreement on the doctrines of the Godhead, the Incarnation, the Atonement, Sin and Salvation. Doubtless some in the Conference will attach more importance to the delivery of the Message to the World than to the administration of the Sacraments, while others will reverse the emphasis; but as to the substance of the message one does not expect mutual opposition. Such agreements are sometimes discounted on the ground of ambiguity of the language used, so that the same words may receive different interpretations. But a common confession is not to be treated as a legal document, which excludes any such liberty so long as that liberty does not endanger the unity of conviction.

It may be admitted that a greater difficulty will be found in the fourth subject, The Church's Common Confession of Faith. While most Christian Communion require the acceptance of some doctrinal statement as a condition of ministry, if not also of membership, there are a few who are opposed to all imposition of tests, and yet even these do not altogether object to a declaration of "the things most commonly believed" as a testimony to the world, when occasion arises for such testimony. Should the creed be limited to the essential articles of the faith, if the Christian character of the Communion is to be preserved, and should acceptance be regarded as allowing both the inevitable liberty of interpretation and the desired guidance of the Spirit into new truth, this difficulty might not prove insuperable.

The first subject, The Call to Unity, will probably be treated from differing points of view, some attaching more importance *doctrinally* and others *practically* to that unity. Those who hold that Christ has prescribed an order for His Church in Sacraments and Ministry will desire unity so that what to them appears essential may become universal. Those who are concerned about the influence of the Church in the world will lay no stress on one order, but will desire a church so organised that it can render the most abundant and effective service in the name of Christ. If the one class does not insist on their doctrine of the order being accepted, and the other class is ready to make concessions as regards practice in the order, some closer approximation may be hoped for. It is to be desired that both may be drawn together in a common realisation of the world's urgent need of a Church so united as to attain its greatest efficiency in service, and of the Christ so sufficient to meet the world's need that the Church cannot and dare not by continued division make Him of less effect.

As regards the Sacraments and the Ministry conviction is deter-

mined by the view held of the nature of the Church. It has been asserted that the antithesis of the Catholic and the Protestant view cannot be transcended in a synthesis; but is there no common ground between them? Both are surely agreed that the unity and the continuity of the Church is in Christ Himself, in the universal and permanent presence and activity of His Spirit. Without that Spirit can any organisation claim to be at all Christian? With that Spirit can any organisation be altogether denied the Christian name? Where the difference arises is in regard to the relation of the Spirit's presence and activity to such organisations. We may, to bring out the antithesis, state the differences in the extreme form. For the Catholic view there is only one order of Ministry and Sacraments, which can give any certainty of the unity and continuity of the Church in Christ. In the Protestant view no order is essential to maintain that unity and continuity. Although charity sometimes triumphs over conviction, the extreme Catholic must consistently exclude from the one body of Christ all who ignore or neglect this order. Although in practice the extreme Protestant will prefer one form of ecclesiastical organisation to another yet he will, to assert his theory, disregard the organisation which he has preferred, as for instance when the Congregationalist, who accepts an ordained ministry, desires an occasional celebration of the Eucharist by a layman just to show that an ordained ministry is not essential to the Church.

These extremes, contrary to the proverb, are not likely ever to meet. But the positions are being modified. In the Conferences held in recent years at Lambeth Palace, Anglicans did not leave to Nonconformists only the "uncovenanted mercies of God," but generously recognised the spiritual efficacy of their labours, called them churches and not bodies, and acknowledged their possession of a Ministry and Sacraments within the one universal Church. There are many Congregationalists, who, without abandoning the legitimacy in case of necessity of the celebration of the Eucharist by a layman, would maintain that, as the Eucharist is a corporate act of the whole fellowship, it should be celebrated by a person who as representative of that fellowship is authorised by it to perform the corporate act. So again, while insisting on the acceptance of the Episcopate in any re-union of the Churches, the Anglicans agreed that it should be constitutional and representative, and that acceptance in practice did not involve assent to any theory. Recognising such an acceptance of the episcopate as a reasonable demand, the representatives of Nonconformity only insisted that in any future polity a due place should likewise be found for the practical expression of the Presbyterian and Congregational principles.

It is true that the proposal of the Lambeth Appeal that the wider commission of non-episcopally ordained should be confirmed by episcopal ordination, qualified as it is by the admission that acceptance of such ordination should not be regarded as a repudiation of the previous ministry, could not be accepted. One reason may be briefly stated: To the Nonconformist it appears that, as such a proposal could be justified only on the ground of the theory of an apostolic succession in the historic episcopate, any acceptance would involve assent to that theory. There are some Anglicans who would insist not only on the acceptance of the episcopate, but also on assent to the theory as a condition of re-union; but in this they are inconsistent, as they themselves are ministers in a church in which such a theory is neither authoritatively asserted nor held by many of their fellow-ministers.

If Christian re-union meant not only uniformity of organisation but uniformity of doctrine regarding the necessity of such uniformity, the cause would, indeed, appear a forlorn hope. But if on the one hand it is recognised that within the re-united church the different communions might preserve their peculiar practices, so far as these do not destroy the necessary measure of unity, and on the other hand agreement in opinion were not arbitrarily attached to the accord in practice which might be reached, then the quest on which the Churches have entered is not likely to end in disappointment. A common Ministry and common Sacraments—that seems to be the unity to be desired, in order to make manifest to the world the spiritual unity of all believers; and that, unless episcopal ordination is to be insisted on for non-episcopally ordained ministers, does not appear impossible. And if we believe that what is impossible to men is not impossible to God, dare we not cherish the hope that, if the Churches will hear and heed the call of unity, and will remove all hindrances which their convictions now allow them to remove, God Himself will at last take away the last stumbling block? Dare we think that God's resources of truth and grace are exhausted?

III.

I have discussed the situation so fully to show that difficult as are the problems, the promise of their solution need not be abandoned. Not only are these approaches a token for good, but other grounds of hope exist. Amid the confusion and conflict in human affairs, the need of reconciliation of antagonisms is being more fully realised. For the Christian there can be no doubt that Christ alone can be the Reconciler, and that to His Church falls the ministry of reconciliation. But how can the Church offer a ministry of reconciliation to the world when it has not secured a reconciliation of the differences and divisions within itself? It is surely Christ Himself desiring

the world's reconciliation who is inspiring so many Christian hearts with the desire and the expectation of re-union in the churches, the outward manifestation of the inward unity in Christ. What has already been attempted and achieved in communion and co-operation in the preparation for this Conference has given to those who have jointly laboured in this cause the pledge that God will not be slack as concerning His promises, unless unbelief thwarts His purpose. If the Churches will not sustain by their interest and intercession their representatives in seeking the solution of the problems, the fulfilment of the promise may be delayed. Hence it is an urgent necessity that not only those who go to Lausanne should go prepared to receive the blessing of the Spirit's guidance; but that the Churches at home should prepare themselves to share that blessing. So great a task demands Churches filled with the Holy Spirit; and it may be that as the Churches prepare themselves to uphold their representatives in their faith and prayer, the condition will be fulfilled for that revival of religion which so many Christians feel to be the greatest need of to-day. It is with the conviction that, if we "expect great things from God," and "attempt great things for God," we shall receive "great things from God," that this article is written as a call to the churches to hope and pray for the Conference.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

THE SPECULATIVE ELEMENT IN THE VALUE OF LAND.

ONE of the most difficult problems discussed by the Liberal delegates at Kingsway Hall last year was that of dealing with land the value of which is forced up to an abnormal level by speculation. It involves an important question of principle, against which appeals for mere party unity could not succeed in the minds of those who were convinced of the soundness of that principle. Thus it happened that the difference inevitably arising had, temporarily, to be bridged by a compromise, entirely satisfactory to neither side. Those who believe in the application of the principle of land value rating to *all land*—as repeatedly endorsed and incorporated in Liberal programmes throughout this century—carried their point at the Kingsway Hall in part only. Those who supported the rating of urban land values, but feared to apply it to agricultural land, had to be placated by the adoption of a rather indefinite phrase relating to a rural rating reform designed to prevent the penalising of improvements. Professor Ramsay Muir, in an article which appeared in *THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW* at the time, earned our gratitude by disclosing the reason which led him—and doubtless many others—to fear the proposal to rate agricultural land on its unimproved value. From a life-long experience in the valuation of all categories of land I am enabled to say that the fear referred to is groundless, and I will now endeavour to support that view by argument.

Professor Ramsay Muir began by stating that there is no "world-market-price for land." As land cannot be transported from one country or place to another, all must agree. He went on to say that land value varies according to purposes for which it is to be used. This must also be admitted, but with the enlargement that the use-purpose is only the measure—not the cause—of land value. The cause is the demand for land, which depends on the needs and activities of the whole population of the country. Land, in the economic sense, cannot be divided into classes according to the purpose for which any particular would-be purchaser intends it. Land is often suitable for more than one purpose. This is the reason that renders the attempted distinction between "soil" and "site" abortive: it is uncertain, changeable and temporary. Whatever use any piece of land may be put to (or may be intended for) by a would-be purchaser, the value of the land is determined by the strength of the demand for it. If there is no such demand it might be the most fertile soil imaginable, or it might provide the most attractive site for a mansion—but it would have no value: it could command no price.

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Professional valuers find no difficulty in estimating the value of any land, because it is their business to keep a finger on the pulse of demand, to study the land market and make themselves acquainted with the most probable and profitable uses to which land can be put. The "unpredictable factor"—the use to which land will be put when sold—does not trouble them, because they know what it is most suitable for and what classes of buyers are likely to bid for it. These, however, are minor points. Professor Ramsay Muir reached the root of the difficulty when he asked whether, in rural areas, the speculative element is to be included in the assessment, and pointed out that, if so, the owner and occupier may be taxed (or rated) on values from which at present they can get no return. This speculative element enters into the unimproved value of land in a good many cases, and it is necessary to consider the most important of these cases in some detail in order to show how the speculative element affects the question of value.

The most important instance is, of course, that of land on the outskirts of a growing town. Surveyors call it "land ripening for building." Such land is used for agricultural and other purposes for many years after it has become evident that it will ultimately become building land. It cannot be properly farmed, or utilised in any way requiring continued occupation for a considerable period, since the owner does not know when he may be able to realise the coveted building price or ground rent. Thus it often lies vacant or is used for playing-fields or some other temporary purpose. During that time it is either much under-assessed (or not assessed at all) either to local rates or property tax. Immediately the question arises why, if that land has a greater value for building, should it continue to be used for a less profitable purpose? Why should so long a period as twenty or thirty years be needed for the stage of transition from agricultural to building use? Urban land is put to many different uses, but the transition from one to the other occupies far less time. When a row of houses in a main thoroughfare becomes suitable for business, shop fronts are put in without any such delay. Even when old houses have to be demolished to make room for warehouses, offices or factories, the only interval is that required to carry out the necessary building operations.

The answer to the question in the case of rural land is that the singular phenomenon of long delay in the transition from agricultural to building use is due entirely to our bad rating system, which rates improvements up to the hilt, but lets unused land (and unused buildings also) go free. It also differentiates between agricultural land and all other land, and this fact plays a part in producing the long delay in the development of land for

building. While land continues to be used agriculturally it is only rated on that basis. But the charge is very limited and the greater part of the rates on agricultural property is now born by State funds. Immediately such land is built on, it will be assessed on its full value as building land plus the value of the buildings; and the occupier has to bear the whole of the rates so calculated. No prudent land-developer will attempt to offer, and no prudent builder will take, such land for building purposes until the ordinary rate of building profit can be obtained. On the one hand the exemption of unoccupied property from rates is an encouragement to owners to leave land vacant, while on the other hand the assessment to full rates on the aggregate value of occupied land and buildings furnishes a strong deterrent to the enterprising builder. He knows that, before his enterprise can be made profitable, it must yield:

- (a) Ground Rent (or interest on purchase-price).
- (b) Rates and Taxes.
- (c) Expenses of maintenance, repairs and insurance.
- (d) A fair interest on the cost of building.

Until he is satisfied that all these will be met out of the rents likely to be obtained from the houses, it would be imprudent to embark on the project. Consequently he waits until the growth of the town creates enough demand for houses to enable him to obtain rents sufficient to meet all these charges. In this way the very prosperity and growth of the town is used to raise the level of house-rent and add enormously to the difficulties of the housing problem; while, during the long period when the land is said to be "ripening for building," the community is losing the benefits that would accrue from putting the land to its best use.

There are thus three influences at work to retard, and add to the cost of, the provision of new houses. First the difference in rating between agricultural and all other land; secondly the total exemption of unused land from rates; and thirdly the immediate increase in rates following the making of improvements—especially buildings. All three depressing influences have their roots in the present system of rating. And their baneful effects are not limited to the inequalities in rating they produce. The devotion of land to a less profitable use than it is fit for (or leaving it altogether unused) for such lengthy periods is a very serious loss to the community. And the consequent raising of the rent-level of houses is probably the worst evil of all; for it is not confined to new houses built on the fringe of a town. The long and needless delay in bringing land into building use of course increases competition for existing houses, and so the rent-level is raised all round. Little wonder that the housing problem is so acute.

What would be the result of at once levying all rates upon the

unimproved value of land? (Not that I would propose such a drastic step: I merely use this hypothesis to simplify the argument.) In the first place the rating differentiation between agricultural and all other land would disappear. Secondly, all unused land would be assessed to rates. And, thirdly, neither the erection of a house nor the making of any other improvement would add a farthing to the rate-assessment. The value of a site would generally be about the same, in the year after a house was built on it, as it was in the year before. The erection of the house would create an additional value, but it would be improvement value, not land value. Increase of the latter would depend on the prosperity and growth of the town; and the effect of the erection of a single house in this respect is negligible. And as, under the land value rating system, the demand for houses would be supplied as fast as it arose, there could be no long waiting period during which land values were being increased by a speculative element. In short, speculation, the evil which Professor Ramsay Muir fears, would be entirely eliminated and could not, therefore, be included in any assessment to rates.

It may not be out of place to refer here to the effect of the rating of land values upon the very serious coal difficulty. Coal mines are rated, under the existing law, on an arbitrary proportion of the net profits earned, called "the landlord's share." Railways, tramways, gas, water and electric undertakings are assessed by a similar method. In each case the cost of the service rendered to the nation is unduly increased, because such an abnormal basis of assessment is generally very much higher than true net annual value. But when coal mines are not working no rates are payable. If rates were confined to the basis of unimproved land value, not only would the coal industry be relieved of a large part of its present rate-burden but there would be created an additional incentive to keep coal mines working, since rates on land value would be payable whether the coal is mined or not. Further, by eliminating speculation, it would at once bring into working many valuable coal-seams unused at present because no rates or taxes are levied in respect of them, except on the death of the owner; and then only Estate Duty is chargeable.

The change in the rating basis would necessarily be made by stages over a considerable period. But the first step—however small the first rate levied on land value—would bring into the market the bulk of the land at present unused, excluding of course that which has no value. The advent of such a large addition into the land market would lower values all round; and the element of speculative value would be the first to disappear. Speculative values only arise when land is held up, for high prices or other

reasons, and so kept out of use. This practice is encouraged by the complete exemption of such land under our present system of rating. The maintenance of that system produces the very difficulty which Professor Ramsay Muir found himself unable to overcome. But that difficulty will disappear immediately a moderate rate or tax is levied upon all land according to its value, for it would at once become unprofitable to keep unused any land which has value. On the other hand the suggested exclusion from present assessment of the speculative element in the value of land would only encourage speculation, and so increase the difficulty which it is Professor Muir's object to avoid.

I have not addressed myself, in the first place, to the class of case upon which Professor Ramsay Muir founds the question which goes to the root of the difficulty. He asks: "Is the value for rating in rural areas to include the speculative element or not?" Now there is often in purely rural areas a land value over and above the value for agricultural purposes; but I should not describe it as a speculative value. When a rich man purchases a rural estate, he buys not only the farms from which he expects agricultural rents. In addition to the mansion and park—which do not affect this question—he also acquires territorial dignity, a footing in "county society" and large opportunities for sport. He can obtain rent for the latter, if he chooses to let the sporting rights; but from the former he derives neither rent nor any other pecuniary profits. He simply has the enjoyment of the advantages they bring, and no doubt a part of the purchase price is due to them—often a very considerable part. But they offer no "speculative" advantage whatever. (At the present time, it is unlikely that such a purchaser, if he bought before the war, could obtain nearly as much for the estate to-day as he then paid for it.) This special value should equitably be included in the assessment of the mansion, park and sporting rights; but under the present rating practice it never is. It would, however, form part of any assessment of unimproved land value; but as it does not attach to the farms, the farmers would not be assessed to a land value rate upon anything more than the agricultural use-value of the farm, exclusive of all improvements (i.e., not only buildings, but drainage, roads, fences, hedges, ditches, manures, laying down to pasture, cultivation, seeds, crops, etc.). Nor must it be forgotten that the exercise of sporting rights depreciates, to a certain extent, the agricultural value of the farm. Thus the owner can, if he chooses, increase his income from farm-rents by abandoning such sports as interfere with farming. The plain fact is that, under present conditions, farming is not—and cannot be—carried on as a business. Indeed, this is the root of many of our agricultural difficulties. I am here, of course,

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dealing with purely rural land. When growing towns begin to influence the value of land, a different aspect of the problem comes into view. This is dealt with in an earlier part of this article.

I desire particularly to associate myself with Professor Ramsay Muir's object of eliminating speculative value. In that respect, indeed, I go beyond him. I would eliminate speculative values not only from rating-assessments, but from rents and prices as well. Difficulty may arise upon the first land valuation for rating, since it must be made while unused land is still exempt from rates. As "market value" is the only reasonable basis, it is probable that this first valuation would include some speculative values. This result would, however, be quite ephemeral; and would no doubt be easily corrected on the first revision of the valuation.

But it is impossible to eliminate speculative value, either from prices or valuations, until all land which has a value is rated or taxed according to that value. If such rate or tax is limited to urban areas, nothing can prevent the growth of speculative values outside them.

EDGAR HARPER.

dent position in international relations has made all manner of combinations possible in the future, and we may be pretty certain that it is to the difficulties as to the Caliphate and to the internal changes in the various Islamic countries further west that we owe the fact that no very special effort has been recently made to demonstrate the political solidarity of Islam in the East. And it may easily be that the Mohammedan communities of Asia, such of them as are Sunni at all events, will make powerful efforts in the future to combine for what they, somewhat rashly perhaps, consider to be their common interests. It is sometimes said that the Prophet foretold, when he was dying, the dangers that lay before his followers owing to the spirit of disintegration and sectarian jealousy which he saw would be characteristic of their future history. The words he spoke have often been made the subject of admiring comment, and yet one may reasonably doubt whether he was not profoundly mistaken. The fact has been that the uniting principle has always been far more powerful amongst Islamic peoples than the capacity to make any reasonable use of it. "If you want to see how badly Islam rules" said a well-known Indian Mohammedan to me one day, "go and live in a Mohammedan country."

It is quite within the bounds of possibility, then, that the Afghan princes may attempt to revive the situation of a century ago and to extend their influence into India. But what is more likely and more dangerous is the possibility of the hand of welcome being stretched out from the Moslems of India. "The Mutiny" after all was a Mohammedan mutiny, and we make a great mistake if we think that the Mohammedans of upper India place as high a value on British civilisation and British justice as we do; that is, the Mohammedans who belong to the ruling families. They are glad enough to have us as things are, but when self-government has been granted to British India the situation becomes very different. The recent Afghan relations with the Soviet Government show what we are to expect, but it is best, perhaps, to confine ourselves to India, and to think whether a landowning chief would rather be what he is at present or the powerful and lawless baron of a large north-western Mohammedan State.

The Native States of India have hitherto been more or less controlled by the Foreign Office of the Government of India, working under the Viceroy; but in a certain and very powerful manner connected with the Secretary of State, and still more strongly, perhaps, with the King-Emperor as a personal Sovereign. But should we bestow self-government on British India, there must necessarily be a great change. For one thing, it is obvious that, relatively, the Native States will be far stronger in comparison with British India than they are

at present. They will be much more difficult to control. We are finding the beginnings of this difficulty even now, but it does not need much imagination to forecast that it must increase enormously when India becomes Indian in the sense that Canada is Canadian. I am afraid that an Indian Foreign Secretary, even if he speak with the voice of the late Sir Asutosh Mockherji, will not receive as much attention as he would wish from the good folks who live in the large and important Native States.

One could enlarge indefinitely on these very important questions. What we have to find out is the way to avoid them. As a great French statesman said on one occasion, when you raise certain political issues the very placing of them before the public settles them. The mere fact that they can be raised shows that a state of affairs has arisen involving a new and possibly unwelcome result, and the only method of avoiding the challenge is to give all concerned a stronger interest in another solution. In other words, we must make the whole of India a partnership which is very directly connected with the British Empire as one of its more important parts, and which has therefore a constant and increasing interest in strengthening that Empire. Hyderabad, Kashmir, Baroda, Gwalior and the rest of the Native States must work with Delhi because all are connected together as members of a larger whole; if Afghanistan can be induced to come in too, so much the better.

The task is not an easy one. There are considerably more than five hundred Native States; their powers and their forms of government vary indefinitely. But they can be grouped for common purposes, and as they must continue to be so grouped in any case, it will be well if we can try to make them members of the larger whole in a more real sense than they are at present. If we leave the Native States to their own devices, we risk, not only the external difficulties which I have hinted at, but another danger which is perhaps not at first sight so obvious. The Native States are, as a glance at the map will show, inextricably mixed up with British India, and a very little reflection will show how difficult the situation will become if we have as is probable various types of government, various sets of aspirations and traditions, all existing side by side. I do not say that a federal system will, or ought to remove such problems; they must and will arise. But it will provide a common centre and will tend to create a sense of unity which will at all events help to ward off many serious and obvious dangers.

A Royal Commission clearly can never establish a Federal System for India. We must begin with a Constituent Assembly. Its members must be chosen in such a way that they really do represent the most vital interests at stake, in the Native States as well as in British India. This does not mean that they must be elected; but

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THE condition of things in India, whether we regard it as a result of what has of late happened there, or as the beginning of a new era of civil and religious struggle, is so serious that we ought at least to face the problem before us and consider whether we are attempting the wisest solution. The Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme of Reforms has never had a complete trial for the simplest of reasons: the majority of educated people in India do not believe in it and want something different. This does not really matter very much because it is easy to see that even had it been put into full working operation throughout the country it would have given the Indians but a very limited idea of the difficulties and responsibilities of self-government, and hence would have been a training of but very slight value. Indeed, it is not at all certain that a fuller experience might not have misled them in many important respects. The really vital and really difficult departments of governmental activity are those concerned with the carrying out of the law, the preservation of order, and the arrangements regarding taxation and expenditure; we leave aside for a moment the question of public defence. Now it is perfectly obvious that if, as is the case under the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme, the people of India have no direct responsibility for the police and the finances of the country, it is not to much purpose that we allow them a large share in managing such matters as education and public works. Things go on smoothly, or reasonably so, and hence the impression rapidly gains ground amongst the Indians that it is a fairly easy business, the business of government. And for this reason and for no other, the recent communal disturbances have had a certain value. For, doubtless, they have caused the clearer-sighted amongst Indian statesmen to think a little as to where they were steering in so light-hearted a fashion.

In any case we have before us the revision of the Constitution—of the Constitution, that is to say, which was established under the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme. We have promised to revise it, and we shall have to do so in spite of the fact, indeed because of the fact, that it has never been properly and fully tried. And we have said that we shall do so by means of a Royal Commission not later than the year 1929. It is quite true that the Royal Commission might suggest that it would be better to make no alterations at all, but such is not likely to be the case, and it is quite certain that were such to be the result, the difficulties of governing the country to the satisfaction of the educated portion of its inhabitants would be much greater than they are to-day.

Now the method of making or even suggesting any serious

change in the government of India by way of Royal Commission is open to very serious objections. Royal Commissions are not very popular in India. They are regarded as convenient means of shelving troublesome questions; their Reports are almost necessarily the results of compromise; and it is very difficult to get, or perhaps to spare, men of really first-rate ability to serve upon them. Nor have they, in the majority of cases, been of much service to India in the past, although they have cost that long-suffering country a very considerable amount of money. A far greater objection, however, to them is that they have no real mandate; their members speak with only such authority as their personal character and experience give to what they have to suggest. They are thought, often quite wrongly, to be prejudiced; they focus opposition; at best they only say what nine out of every ten sensible men in India could have told the world without their help; in the majority of cases they, and their Reports, and their dusty volumes of evidence are quickly buried in a decent and kindly oblivion.

No one can say that the Report of a Royal Commission in any sense represents the opinions of the educated classes of India. When the Report is issued, if the Government of India approves of it, which is by no means always the case, it has to begin to convince the country that it is desirable to carry it out. Usually there is a certain amount of give and take, where the issue is not of the highest importance, and the result, being colourless, does not give much offence. But this is hardly likely to be the case in regard to a Report which deals with the form of the Government of India; it is more probable that any Report of the kind will excite the liveliest interest and the keenest criticism. And as the suggestions will come from what will be regarded as a creation of government, they will have no sort of initial velocity, none of the attractiveness which non-official proposals always possess.

There is yet another and a very important consideration; so important is it, indeed, that it ought to receive the utmost possible weight. It will affect the future of Indian politics to an extent which we can at present only roughly estimate. I need hardly say that I allude to the influence which will in future be exerted by the Native States, and to their relations with the British Government, the Government of India, and the countries outside of India. The Native States have, many of them, long and interesting histories. Some of them owe their origin to the break-up of the Mogul Empire, but many of them have records and traditions which connect them with the pre-Moslem India, as we are in some danger of forgetting. We need to be constantly reminded, too, of the fact that a large part of the Punjab and Sind were formerly portions of the Afghan Empire. The recent grant to Afghanistan of a perfectly indepen-

it does mean that they must very largely be men who are Indian by birth and service. If such an Assembly is called together, one thing is certain; the Indians will feel that they have been given the fullest possible opportunity of stating and discussing the great questions at issue. And I feel sure that when the result comes before Parliament there will be no reason for regretting the course that has been followed. After all the Constitution has to be worked by and for Indians in a great measure, and unless we have in them willing partners, unless the scheme is their scheme as well as ours, all our labour will be in vain. We have, let it always be remembered, gone so far in the direction of the grant of self-government that it is impossible to recede. There must be further steps in the same direction. We cannot look forward to a situation in which we stand aside and keep the peace by means of troops; neither we, nor the Indians, nor the troops will stand it. Hence we must make some effort to unite India. Hitherto we have looked at the matter too much from the point of view of religious differences. But it is only because they have become political questions too, that the quarrels between the Mohammedans and Hindus have become acute. In the old days Mohammedans (who are for the most part descended from Hindu ancestors) used to attend Hindu festivals, and there is no reason why the two communities should not live together peaceably enough, provided we can make politics free from religion. The only way to do that is, it seems to me, the federal way, and I am glad to know that many prominent Indian Liberals are of the same opinion.

W. A. J. ARCHBOLD.

IMPRESSIONS OF YUGO-SLAVIA.

A PRESS article of mine on the beauties of Alsace was the cause of my receiving an invitation to see the beauties of Yugo-Slavia. Picture-postcards arrived suggesting a land of loveliness and romance, a land of mountains, lakes, ancient castles and wonderful forests. My imagination was stirred and I decided to go. The journey seemed a formidable one, but in July I was in Lugano which is well on the way. It seemed necessary to equip myself with some Yugo-Slavian money, but for some months none was to be had either in London or Lugano. After a good deal of delay a bank in Lugano supplied me with some notes. They were rather mystifying, for on them was written KRALJEVINE SRBA HRVATA I SLOVENAC, and underneath KRALJEVINE SRBOV HRVATON IN SLOVENCEN.

The next difficulty was with regard to a guide-book. After a long search I discovered a little pamphlet called *Tours in Yugo-slavia*, published by the "Yugo-Slav Travel Bureau," which gave a glowing description of the physical beauties of the country. "In the natural beauties of the Slovenian Alps," according to the writer of this pamphlet, "the splendid gorge of Bosnia, the sunny coast of Dalmatia with the wonderful Boka of Kotor (Cattaro), the prosperous peasant life Croatia and Serbia with its picturesque costumes, or the romance and colour of the Mohammedan towns and villages of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the sightseer is offered a feast of beauty equalling any in Europe." Accompanied by an artist friend, I travelled viâ Milan and Trieste, staying a night at both these places. The journey from Trieste to Bled in Slovenia (formerly Veldes), our destination, was full of interest. Barren limestone hills reminded one of Palestine, more verdure and softer contours suggested our own Lake district. Again vineyards, maize fields, and *campaniles* took our thoughts back to Italy. A wayside cemetery and a war memorial recalled once more the tragedy of the Great War, and reminded us that the land we were traversing was once Austrian territory. We were now in the valley of the Isonzo, a little, narrow, jade-coloured stream whose name was not unfamiliar during the war.

We reached Bled before eleven a.m., and were met by the Estate Agent, a very handsome old man, who conducted us to a carriage and pair which brought us to our destination, the Château Wilsonia—formerly Schloss Grimschitzhof—an old castle transformed into a modern villa. Here we were the guests of Dr. Schvegel, at one time Member of Parliament, and for many years Consul-General for his country in the United States. Dr. Schvegel is renowned on both sides of the Atlantic for his unbounded hospitality. To

stay in his house is an adventure; one never knows how many unexpected guests may turn up during the day nor how long they may stay. I met there some of the most distinguished men of the country: first and foremost, the veteran Dr. Vladan Georgevitch, many years ago Prime Minister of Serbia, and famous alike as surgeon, politician, and author. He is now eighty-two, a very grand old man, full of wit and wisdom and still taking two hours' exercise daily.

I met also the famous M. Stefan Raditch, the Croat peasant leader, at one time imprisoned as a rebel, later Minister of Education in the Coalition Ministry. In December, 1926, we read that King Alexander had once more patched up the Radical-Raditchist Coalition for the fifth time since the previous April. A man of very heavy build, M. Raditch has the misfortune to have such defective eyesight that he is almost as dependent on others as if he were blind. He looks, however, exceedingly benevolent and optimistic and one soon discovers that he has great enthusiasm for his convictions. His chief theme is the virtue of the peasants; he spoke of their industry, their patience, their nobility of character, their philosophy. "After the peasants," he said, "come the astronomers who feed the mind as the peasants feed the body." "The good soul," he went on, "at the moment of death is immediately transported thither wherever it most wishes to be. The bad soul like heavy smoke cannot travel far." He told me he had visited Russia since the war, and was, therefore, accused of being a Bolshevik, "but," he said, "when I was Minister of Education the first thing I did was to allow all the clerical schools to carry on." In Russia, examining a school, he had asked a little girl if she believed in God. "Not in school," she replied, "but I do as soon as I get home." "Materialism," said M. Raditch, "is the curse of the world." His flow of conversation in French or German is inexhaustible. He is in favour of the spread of Esperanto. Prohibition rouses his wrath. "It is retrogression," he said, "interfering with the liberty of man." He is now on very good terms with King Alexander, of whom he speaks as by far the most intelligent statesman in the country. It will be remembered that the King married a daughter of the King and Queen of Roumania. Both King Alexander and the Queen seem to be very popular and their little son, Peter, aged three, has already won the hearts of the people.

The language of the Yugo-Slavs is full of pitfalls for the foreigner. It suggests that the letters have been shaken in a box and have tumbled out ill-assorted. Words in which as many as five consonants occur together are certainly baffling, particularly if the last letter happens, as it not infrequently does, to be a "j." For all

business purposes one can get on very well in German or Italian. It puts one at once on a pleasant footing with the peasants, however, if one can manage to say "Dobro jutro," "Good morning," and "zbogom," "Good-bye." In any case it is as well to understand "Prepovedana pot," as this signifies that trespassing is forbidden.

The little town of Bled is a delightful spot for a summer holiday, with its splendid air and its lake as of green jade, framed with wooded mountains and distant snowpeaks. Sir Humphrey Davy lived in this part of the world for many years and described it as the most beautiful country he had ever seen in Europe. Here are lush meadows full of familiar English wild flowers, with scabious and the blue succory predominating (in August) and in addition the exquisite wild cyclamen. The fields are bounded by hills and forests and beyond are the snow-crested Julian Alps, of which the highest mountain is the Triglav, the pride of Slovenia and the theme of legend and verse. The peasants are a fine, upstanding people of a northern type. The character of the people may be gauged by an ancient Slovenian custom. When the reign of a new prince or duke was inaugurated a peasant mounted a rock to await his coming. The prince always arrived dressed humbly as a peasant. The real peasant then demanded: "Who is it who approaches?" The crowd answered: "It is the prince of this land." The peasant went on: "Is he a good judge? is he a friend of truth?" On receiving a reply in the affirmative the peasant yielded his place to the prince who mounted the rock and, brandishing his sword, vowed to be the defender of the country. Evidences of the love of design and carving are to be seen in the cottages of the peasantry. The Slav is beyond all doubt naturally artistic, and this racial trait is also shown by the desire of so many of the youths of the country to devote their lives to painting and sculpture.

Yugo-Slavia comprises Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, and Montenegro. It is called officially the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, abbreviated into the initials S.H.S., a little disconcerting until we discover that the Slav word for Croatia is Hrvata. Bounded on the North by Austria and Hungary, on the East by Roumania and Bulgaria, on the West by the Adriatic, and on the South by Albania and Greece, the country is almost as large as Italy, and should Bulgaria be admitted into the Federation—as is greatly to be hoped—it will extend from the Adriatic to the Black Sea. It is a land of vast resources, boasting some twelve million acres of the most fertile grain land in Europe, a forest area of eighteen million acres, producing what is practically an inexhaustible supply of timber of fine quality. With regard to the mineral wealth of Yugo-Slavia, Mr. H. T. Smith,

an American mining expert, says, "The kingdom contains a greater variety of minerals useful to mankind than that of any similar area in Europe." Bosnia produces some of the best iron ore in Europe, Serbia is rich in copper; and other important ores as yet largely undeveloped constitute a considerable part of the nation's reserve wealth.

Yugo-Slavia is one of the few countries in Europe not over-populated: her soil could indeed support three times the number of her inhabitants. With her natural advantages she is of necessity pre-eminently an agricultural country, and out of a population of 13,000,000 88 per cent. are agriculturalists. Her grain yield is second to that of no country in Europe, and of recent years it has increased by leaps and bounds. The 1923 yield, which was considered fairly normal, was exceeded by over 30 per cent. in 1924 and by about 40 per cent. in 1925. If it be true that the lasting future of a country is on its soil and not under it, Yugo-Slavia is greatly to be envied. With her vast grain lands, her abundance of raw material, and a growing agricultural population, her future prosperity is to a great extent assured. While improving her agriculture, Yugo-Slavia is building up her industries, strengthening her currency, balancing her budget. Her export trade is growing rapidly. This can be seen by the fact that whilst in 1919 the exports amounted in dollars to \$31,652,00, in 1924 they had risen to \$129,541,600. This enormous increase was in a great measure due to the inauguration of an export extension programme to which substantial support has been given by the Government. Railway transport and port facilities have been improved and rates on shipments have been reduced. Whilst the financial resources of the country with regard to its immediate needs are held by many to be stronger than that of any other country in Europe, Yugo-Slavia needs foreign capital to develop her railways and her road communications. Since the Armistice five hundred miles of railway have been completed but to meet the transport needs of the country many hundred miles will have to be constructed, and, at the present moment, something like 9,000 engines and 20,000 cars are urgently needed.

Evidence of the internal business developments of Yugo-Slavia during the years 1920-24 is given by a comparison of the gross annual earnings of the State Railways during that time, as set forth in the following table:

1920	...	...	...	371,000,000 dinars
1921	...	...	...	884,000,000 "
1922	...	...	...	1,267,000,000 "
1923	...	...	...	1,879,000,000 "
1924	...	...	...	2,487,000,000 "

Exports greatly exceed imports. The chief items of export are: Timber, cattle, cereals, eggs, meat, copper, horses, cement, dried plums, flax, beans, furs, lead, cheese, hops, carbide. Imports are: Woollen and cotton goods, iron products, raw cotton, machinery pig iron, linen goods, hides, electrical instruments, rice, petroleum, leather, railway materials, vegetable oils, hosiery, gloves, glass, nails, etc. The value of the *dinar* is to-day a little lower than that of the French franc.

Politically, Yugo-Slavia has made great progress. She has balanced her Budget and stabilised her *dinar*. The general income of the country has increased considerably, the revenue estimate for 1926-7 being three times the revenue for the year 1922-3. She has overcome internal strife and has signed amicable treaties with her former foes, Austria and Italy. With a homogeneous population—no less than 88 per cent. of the inhabitants are Slavs—she is immune from the difficulties that arise where there are unassimilated minorities. The Croat Peasant Party at one time constituted a menace to the country's internal peace, but with the formation of the Coalition Government this principle cause of discord was eliminated. With regard to the relations of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, if there is a hitch in the union of the three races it is perhaps that Serbia is rather too dominant a partner in the eyes of the others. She comes first by reason of her larger population and military achievements, and by the fact that the chief town—Belgrade—is within her borders. The Slovenes, owing perhaps to a long period of German ascendancy, have a higher culture than the other two races, having less than 15 per cent. illiterate against 80 per cent. among the Serbs, and 55 per cent. among the Croats. They were the first of the European Slavs who migrated westward from Russia. The Serbs use the Cyrillic or Russian alphabet, the Croats and Slovenes have almost the same dialect and both use the Latin alphabet. The Slovenian dialect is an older form than the others and much more complicated in grammar. I trust the time will come when the simpler form of the language, with the Latin characters, will be universally adopted throughout Yugo-Slavia. The Serbs profess the orthodox Greek faith whilst the Roman Catholic religion is more generally adopted by the Croats and in Slovenia it is paramount.

It is sometimes thought that Serbia alone wishes for the Yugo-Slav union simply to promote a greater Serbia, but a resolution passed by the younger Slovene intellectualists in 1913 shows their "Yugo-Slav aspirations":

"As it is a fact that we, Slovenes, Croats and Serbs, constitute a compact linguistic and ethnical group with similar economic conditions, and so indissolubly united by common fate on a

common territory that not one of the three can aspire to a separate future; and in consideration of the fact that among the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs, the Yugo-Slav national thought is even to-day strongly developed, we have extended our national sentiment beyond our frontier to the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs, just as among them also the idea of national reciprocity with the Slovenes is spread abroad. By this we all become members of the united Yugo-Slav nation. This is the spirit by which all Yugo-Slavs must be animated."

While the extraordinarily rapid growth of the export trade of Yugo-Slavia is one of the most encouraging signs of her increased prosperity, I understand that a wider distribution of foreign trade would be welcomed by the Yugo-Slavs. At present the greater part of Yugo-Slavia's foreign trade is concentrated on three countries—Italy, Austria, and Czecho-Slovakia. In pre-war days, the absence of any sea coast and the consequent ignorance of maritime commerce, the lack too of commercial organisation and commercial intelligence with regard to the trade demands of other countries, with the dependence of pre-war Serbia on Austria-Hungary—all tended towards trade limitation. Now, however, with 400 miles of coast line and with an enterprising people, more experienced in commerce and more capable of tackling industrial problems, the situation is very different, and the Yugo-Slav may be trusted to make use of these wider opportunities. Would-be travellers may be interested to know that this spring the Canadian Pacific Railway proposes to inaugurate a cruise to the Dalmatian coast.

From the politicians and men of affairs I encountered at the Château Wilsonia, I gathered much about the hopes and aspirations of Yugo-Slavia. I learnt of her sympathy for Great Britain, and that the interests of both countries lie in the same direction. I have come to the conclusion that there is no land on the new map of Europe more worthy of our attention than this country of the Southern Slavs; few have a more interesting past, none a more promising future.

EDITH BUCKMASTER.

NATURE PAINTING IN THE DIVINA COMMEDIA.

DANTE'S close observation of and delight in Nature have been recognised by writers of our own and the preceding generation, such as Burckhardt and Ruskin, and have been made the subject of several monographs.* He is no longer contrasted with Chaucer, that lover of April out-of-doors, as the seer from whom Mother Earth was hidden by the murk of Hell or the blinding radiances of Heaven. Although his first concern was undoubtedly with man, yet his love of Nature for her own sake, and not merely as a setting for man, has become increasingly realised. The same is the case with the early Italian painters, whose technique, however, was no such perfect instrument for expressing it as the terse and vivid language of which Dante is a master. There was certainly nothing in his day that could have been called landscape art from which he might have derived inspiration, though we see him influenced by other forms of art, as in the sculptures of the terraces of the Mount of Purgatory.

Some of Dante's illustrations from Nature are undoubtedly drawn from Vergil and Ovid—for example, his similes of the dolphins, and of the falling leaves, and his famous "trembling of the sea"; some may be conventions of the *trouvères*; in others, he may turn to the Vulgate or the popular Bestiaries for symbolic allusions to plants and animals. But even these derivative pictures are rendered fresh and as it were his own by his genius and observation, while many of the Nature references are not literary in origin at all, but drawn straight from life. Perhaps we should have had fewer of them if the poet had not been driven from his city walls to wander far afield—if he had never heard the wind sighing through the pine-woods near Ravenna, or climbed the steep, solitary cliffs "twixt Lerici and Turbia." Sometimes we find homely similes used to clothe the ineffable, as when the blest soul swathes itself in light like a silkworm in its cocoon. Sometimes the familiar, lovely things are brought into poignant contrast with their awful setting, as when in Hell a parched sinner yearns for the little cool streams running down from the Casentino hills, or the slow rain of fire is compared to falling snowflakes on a windless day in the Alps.

The *Purgatorio*, the most human, surely, of the three *Cantiche*, and the nearest to Earth—is not the Garden of Eden imagined by Dante as on the summit of the Holy Mountain?—contributes perhaps most of these Nature pictures. Not, of course, that memor-

* E.g. A. Stoppani, "Il Sentimento della Natura e la Divina Commedia"; L. O. Kuhn, "The Treatment of Nature in Dante's Divina Commedia."

able instances may not be quoted from the other two. In the *Inferno*, for example, the famous simile

Quali colombe dal disio chiamate
which introduces the Paolo and Francesca episode, is unparalleled in tenderness, while earlier in the same fifth canto had occurred the splendid onomatopoeic line of the sea bellowing in tempest. In the *Paradiso* one recalls the lark silent through sheer joy in her just-ended song; the opening rose on the harsh thorn; the exquisite *l'eterna margarita* applied to the Moon; the falling star whose passage seems to leave heaven no emptier.

For our purpose, the astronomical references may be left aside; valuable as they are for chronology, they belong to the realm of learning rather than to Nature painting, and though often beautiful, are sometimes (dare one confess it?) tedious. The device by which each *Cantica* is made to end with the word *stelle* (stars) has been sufficiently noticed. But it is, after all, the heavens, their aspects, and the elements that furnish Dante with some of his finest Nature passages. In the *Purgatorio* we have several. The ruddy blaze of Mars through thick mists over the sea images the distant, glowing Angel as he speeds across the waters; the moon in the clear sky of midnight, and the rainbow, are recalled by the wonders of the Divine Pageant; the swift cleaving of fiery clouds at sunset by the swifter wheeling of troops of spirits. The effect of instantaneous lightning and crashing thunderclap, twice repeated, which is suggested by the lamentable cry of Cain and of Aglauros, and the intense stillness after, are vividly conveyed. Later, when, on a sudden, the whole Mount quakes "like a falling thing," and an icy fear grips the poet, we too tremble in its clutch.* In the *Inferno*, earthquake, lightning and thunder make terrible the brink of the Valley of the Abyss which "gathers to itself the thunder of infinite woes." "Black air" and thick fog hide the smouldering city of Dis; the air is "dead." Intensely realistic—though, of course, enhanced by features of unearthly torment—is the description of the dark, ice-bound sea, swept by biting blasts, of the lowest circle; this seems to have been painfully real to Dante, for he tells us simply that its recollection makes him "always shudder at sight of frozen pools."

The lines sketching the forest storm† are superb and, one thinks, onomatopoeic—the fearful, crashing sound (*fracasso d'un suon pien di spavento*) of wind shattering, beating down, and carrying away the boughs—*li rami schianta, abbatte, e porta fuori*—whirling the dust before it, putting wild beasts and shepherds to flight. The sudden tempest that sucked under the ship of Ulysses on his last,

* *Purg.* XX, 127 † *Inf.* IX, 65 seq.

far voyage—*l'Odissea dantesca*—is given in a few, powerful words, with a suggestion of its being supernatural.

Pre-eminent among the storm and mountain descriptions is the great, tragic story of Buonconte's death at Campaldino.* There, in the high Casentino valley, in the sombre twilight, gathering storm-clouds lower over the mountain range—the *gran giogo*; torrents of rain swell the raging streams that sweep into the Arno, and the river, in its turn, bears onward the frozen body wrapt in its upturn sedges and spoils. Dante here, as elsewhere, shows a correct knowledge of condensation, the cause of rainfall, etc. :

Ben sai come nell' aere si raccoglie
quell' umido vapor, che in acqua riede
tosto che sale dove il freddo il coglie . . .

. . . il pregno aere in acqua si converse. . . .

The frozen, wind-beaten snow covering the Apennines—*le vive travi per lo dosso d'Italia*—that finally melts and trickles at a breath of warm air, magnificently images the melting of the ice that had held the poet's heart fast bound, when the pitying Angels' song seemed to plead for him with Beatrice. The appeal: "Reader, if ever among the mountains a mist hath overtaken thee,"† followed by the description of the sun gradually penetrating the damp fog, can only have been penned by one who had had such an experience himself. Dante knew too of tides changing with the moon; they are used to illustrate the ebb and flow of fortunes in Florence.

A Nature picture of incomparable delicacy is drawn in the first Canto of the *Purgatorio*, and another in the description of the Earthly Paradise. The former breathes the early freshness and peace of Easter morn—the long ascent from darkness just over, the sun arisen with healing in his wings—all the atmosphere of the old Easter hymns and pictures. One touch after another contributes to it, heightening the contrast with *l'aura morta* of the *Inferno*—the dawn; the "trembling of the sea"; the dewy grass in which Vergil plunges his hands that he may gently efface the stains of hell from Dante's cheeks; the lovely vision of the Angel—*l'uccel divino*—"thou bird of God," as Browning calls the Angel of one of his tenderest poems. How perfect, too, is the comparison, later on, of angelic wings and raiment to the fresh green of young leaves!

The Earthly Paradise speaks of ripe summer rather than early spring, with its grass sprinkled with vermeil and orange flowers, its fragrant breezes and bird songs. How limpid is the picture of the little brook, which with its

picciole onde
piegava l'erba che in sua riva uscì . . .

* *Purg.* V, 88 seq. † Ditto, XVII, 1.

how exquisite the allusion to Proserpine that follows close on it! All the streams of the *Paradiso* and *Purgatorio* are fresh and cold, shadowed by trees, or on the mountain pastures, or murmuring as they drop from stone to stone—a delicious contrast to the *onda bruna* of Acheron, the ghastly rivers of blood and filthy swamps of the *Inferno*. Many-coloured, fragrant flowers, and grass “greener than fresh-split emerald” are found in the Valley of the Princes: elsewhere they sweeten “the May breeze, dawn’s harbinger.” A flower-clad hill stoops to its own reflection in the lake below. Dante’s colours are carefully chosen, clearly conceived and described, reminding us how he tried his skill with the illuminator’s brush. He attempts to give accurately the hue of a blossoming tree by saying that its buds were *men che di rose e più che di viole*. If, as the context would lead us to believe, the tree is an apple-tree, *viole* would seem to mean some pale variety of viola or pansy. Few flowers, as Professor Kuhns has pointed out, are mentioned by name, and no wild ones, while there is, strangely enough, no reference to the horse or dog as friends of man.

Several illustrations show man’s labours in connection with Nature, e.g., the gap in the hedge that the peasant fills with a forkful of thorns at the season of ripening grapes; the herdsman, guarding his flocks of goats or sheep, whether in the hot sun or in nightly vigil; the bird-watcher or snarer, with his eyes searching the leafy boughs; the very vivid simile of the shepherd in early spring, who has no fodder, and is in despair at the sight of hoar frost, simulating snow, on the fields, but takes new heart when it melts quickly. One is linked with a countryside proverb—the black-bird that at the first spell of fine weather cries to God: “Now fear I Thee no more”—*omai più non ti temo*, one hears the piping call—the winter being past. (A commentator remarks that fine days at the end of January are known in Lombardy as *giorni di merla*.) Others are simple observations of animal or insect habits: the silly sheep huddling out of their pen; doves scared from their grain; ants in dark troops rubbing against one another “perhaps to spy out their way”; the hum of bees in the hive; the tired falcon; the wary beaver; gleaming fireflies; the wasp drawing back its sting; the lizard flashing across the hot path like a streak of lightning; the baby stork that wants to fly, but shrinks from leaving the nest. One simile is of a matchless terseness—a spirit vanishes through the flames “as a fish going through the water to the bottom.”

It may be admitted that in a few exceptional instances the Nature pictures suggested by the classics do strike one as rather frigid and purely academic, such as those of the cranes flying “some to the Rhippean mountains, others towards the desert”; of the swallow and her “sad lays . . . mindful perchance of her ancient woes”;

and of the cheeks of Aurora turning from rosy to orange as day advanced. But the couchant lion to whom Sordello is likened can be no mere literary reminiscence. Dante must have seen one surely, to describe so well how the haughty Lombard spirit was silent

solo sguardando
a guisa di leon quando si posa

Dante himself had been acclaimed by Vergil in Hell as *alma sdegnosa*—a different spirit, indeed, from his who first in Italian had sung of sun and moon, earth and water, wind and fire. Very different, too, are the untutored rhythms of the *Cantico delle Creature* from the intricate, polished verse of the great *Commedia*. Yet, in their deep love of Nature and the *curiosa felicitas* of their language describing her, St. Francis and Dante touch hands.

EMMA GURNEY SALTER.

THE SENSE OF HUMOUR.

THESE seems a principle in psychology corresponding to the conservation of matter. Rabbits die and their bodies help to feed the trees in the forest or the grass for the new generations of rabbits; trees go down and become coal; we burn coal and free the matter in gaseous form. Nothing in all these changes is wasted or lost; even the sunlight that made the forest green remains stored in the dark till it bursts into light and heat once more on our hearths. Matter changes, reassociates itself with other matter, but cannot perish. Once anything is, it is for ever; we cannot make nothing out of anything. The study of psychology suggests that this holds also in the region of thoughts and feelings and impulses. The child's terror of a dog or a dark room remains in his mind. It may change and become another terror, or escape as the sunlight escapes from the coal, but once the fear has come into being it lingers in the cosmos of the mind. Possibly all desires, thoughts and experiences live in our personality; and perhaps after our personality dissolves, they persist in the influence of our memory. If we suppress a desire, we may go on suppressing it for the rest of our life, or until we gratify and so change it. If we feel sorrow or a shock, we may go on feeling it in the twilight of our consciousness. And so of pleasant experiences or feelings as well as unpleasant. Just as an unhappy childhood may surround our life with gloomy shadows, so a happy one may frame it in a glory. Psychology tends to dwell among the sinister in the subconscious—that temple of ghosts—but it might with equal truth dwell among the angels, only there is no need, the problem being to lay the unwelcome ghosts.

We can do a variety of things with our unwanted impulses and experiences, suppress the one and put the other out of our consciousness by acts of will. That is how we ought not to deal with them. We ought rather to change harmful or ungratifiable impulses into something harmless, and reconcile nasty experiences by making them acceptable. We find practical ways of doing this. The arts may relieve us of evil spirits in a passive or subjective way. Yet the greatest art, by stimulating, developing and strengthening the good impulses, feeds the healthy hunger of our minds rather than doctors the unhealthy. In it we may escape from the frittering annoyances of our actual experience, and live a life which meets our desires smoothly and without that friction with reality we call discontent; we either make life seem ideal or else exercise only our good imagination. The sort of art that gives an outlet for evil imaginings, hurts the imagination of most readers, and may fairly, I think, be called bad art; for what we cultivate grows, and as good art stimulates noble emotions, so must an indulgence in bad art

stimulate the unwanted feelings. In dreams also, we are told, unreconciled experiences or suppressed desires disguise themselves and find reconciliation by stealth. We desire to hit our enemy. We dream we hammer a nail, and its hat belongs to our enemy. Perhaps Aristotle's theory of tragedy rests on some such psychology. We enjoy tragedy because there we work out our own submerged tragedies by sympathy with another's, so finishing them, reconciling them to our souls and getting purgation from their oppression.

The escape from unpleasant realities, both by idealising experience and by disguising it, really begs the question; we escape by running away, not by overcoming the enemy. But there are ways of stopping the irritant by really conquering it, by turning our foe into a friend. We may sublimate an impulse, vaporise it, giving it free play in another medium. Games sublimate the fighting instincts, and indeed it is wonderful how many players reach top form only when anger spurs them on. A sense of humour purges away bitterness by lifting our hurtful experiences to a plane where they delight our minds instead of harassing them; by it we can enjoy our discomforts, especially in retrospect. In fact, this makes the whole significance of humour, its origin and *raison d'être*. Things are not funny in themselves, only as we think them so; humour depends more on an attitude of mind than on something intrinsically ludicrous in the thing or situation. And it is not an emotion so much as a point of view; the expression "a sense of humour" recognises this, for we do not talk of a sense of love. People with a sense of humour easily lift feelings or experiences on to the plane where nothing has any consequence and everything provokes mental sunshine. The humour lies precisely in not taking the situation seriously. In comedy we look at life from an altitude where all things seem too trivial to hurt, and indeed, delight us the more they are awry.

All humorous situations are disagreeable taken seriously. Very few disagreeable situations cannot become humorous, perhaps none. It is out of these that humour grows. When circumstances become too much for us, as we reach breaking point, the humour of the situation often strikes us; our overwrought emotions escape into the land where nothing can hurt. It is not that the tangle we struggle in takes a funny turn, but that we cannot bear it any longer and must find some way out. We find that way by suddenly thinking the whole thing funny. We say the funny side struck us, but it was we who made it seem funny. The tragic laugh of melodramatic fiction comes from very good psychology. If we could not find this way out, we should succumb to the trouble. By this sense of humour people come unhurt through calamities that would hurt them otherwise, and the memory of their suffering does not sadden

their lives as it may gloom over a solemn sufferer. The apparently idiotic laughter that sometimes bursts out in a theatre when the strain of a tragedy pulls tightest, possibly has this origin; someone is using the emergency ladder to step down from the sublime. Many jokes arise from a shock to our reason, or when our expectations are suddenly completely upset. Practically everyone laughs at these jokes; their sanity depends on it. Similarly, anything strange or without our reckoning discomposes us, almost threatens us. John Bull, who once preserved himself against the stranger by heaving a brick, now laughs. And so with minor disappointments and discomforts. Why should it tickle our humour to come out with a "duck," or when our mighty swing leaves the ball still on its tee? A great effort giving a small result does not account for our mirth, and though we may enjoy seeing others make fools of themselves, most humorous people laugh at their own follies. The humour turns aside the humiliation, and the humorous man enjoys his own bad luck. The solemn hate to find themselves in a ridiculous situation and must always stand on their dignity, for they have not the means of turning their discomfiture into a delight.

We may escape from violent emotions as well as from violent experiences by thinking them funny. Anger being the commonest violent emotion since many other violent emotions escape into it, gives the commonest instance. An angry man can always seem funny. People say the most absurd things when they lose their self-control; and the mere sight of their extreme self-absorption seems ludicrous. Quite a usual escape from the fury comes by noticing the comic in the situation, either our own comicality, but more often, I think, the comicality of our adversary. Our enemy threatens a fit of apoplexy; he appears to swell like the frog in the fable; we suddenly think him comic. Thus, besides the humour created by discomfort, there is the humour of exaggerated feelings, or extravagant behaviour. This humour prevents us wearing ourselves out in sympathy with our excitable neighbours. We preserve ourselves from the maudlin and the sentimental in the same way.

Much humour arises as an escape from the irritation of people's mannerisms. If we had to live with the Jew in *The School for Scandal* we should be sick of his: "I'll take my oath on that." And so with mannerisms due to irritating qualities of character. The egoist whose belongings always surpass other people's, the righteous man who never knows what the world is coming to—their company would rouse our uncharitable emotions if they did not stir our sense of humour. When the model housewife tells us how badly the new maid was trained by her last mistress, our friend, we can hardly keep from a breach of drawing-room etiquette; but when this model lady finishes: "However, she's improved greatly already

and she's only been here three days," she has gone farther in her self-admiration than human nature can bear, and so become comic, and we part with smiles. In a similar way *Punch* may do almost as much towards keeping peace between the nations as the League. Then humour saves us from indignation against those who think differently from us on matters about which there ought to be only one opinion, or against those who fail to keep our laws. We no longer burn heretics, partly because we find their absurd beliefs amusing. We caricature the prophet and the innovator instead of persecuting them. We still ill-treat law-breakers because the general public cannot yet think lapses from morality humorous. But a good day is coming, for we are beginning to think it comic when the old reprobate pleads guilty to his one hundred and twenty-seventh charge. Though *Ruthless Rhymes* has a very complex humour, a similar escape from the pressure of the sordid makes one of its ingredients. Its appearance in an age of prison reform and greater understanding and sympathy with the criminal is significant. As long as men think Falstaff funny they will easily forgive drunkenness; he shocks the real spirit of prohibition. *The Beggar's Opera* likewise makes a good test of the charity of provincial towns. It shocks those who cannot forgive the failings of their neighbours. The old appeal for charity brought up to date would run: People who live in glass houses should make jokes.

Besides its own special way of acting as the rag-bag of the mind, humour gets rid of the unwanted impulses by sublimating them. A joke may have many different strands in its composition, and we cannot always know how far the humour comes from sublimating some unpleasant impulse, and how far as an escape from the unpleasantness of life. Teasing almost certainly arises as a sublimation of cruelty. The delight of writing paradoxes and unexpected epigrams and figures of wit may be a farther refinement of the same impulse. It does instead of sticking pins into people. The surprises of wit often resemble the surprise of the child who sits down on a couch and finds it a covered hole between two chairs. Then, as the stupidities and mistakes of others emphasise our superiority, we like to let our minds dwell on them. But as this makes us both smug and intolerable, our better nature sublimates the delight in humour, and we laugh at the mistakes of the illiterate, the ignorant, the fool, and the child.* Malapropisms and spoonerisms refine this sort of humour which perhaps mixes with more of our laughter than we should imagine, for we human beings are a conceited lot. Envy

* The opposite sort of joke that delights in the precocious child may hide our shame at finding the rising generation as advanced as we, or it may derive from the parents' pride in their clever offspring. Much of the humour generated by children comes from our natural love of them, whereby we are ready to be delighted by all means.

and hatred, too, contribute to many jokes. Jests against the self-satisfied, the successful, or the newly rich have a tincture of relieved envy in their spice. Humour also saves us from malicious gratification at the misfortunes of others. If a hen breaks its leg, the other hens in the poultry-yard peck it to death. Even dogs are not above worrying their comrade, knocked down by a car. The vestige of this beastliness lingers in human nature. It gives zest to the comedy of misfortunes, and as comedy delights most in things that have gone wrong, it must play an important part in the comic.

Humour, by its very nature, when it does not come off, shocks the morals, the feelings or the reason. A sense of humour is the ability to delight in such shocking things; it acts as the buffer of our minds against them. Nearly every joke seems improper to some one, or in bad taste, or heartless, or unsocial, or insane, and inevitably so. The fault lies in those who cannot turn this improper, this uncharitable, this unsocial, this absurd thing into their mental rag-bag. The solemn man keeps his shocking experiences and unsocial impulses bottled up within his personality, where they remain dangerous. Yet there is such a thing as crude humour which still has the savage alive in its pranks, or bad natured and spiteful humour. Humour that arises from sublimating our crooked impulses is particularly liable to flaw. Just as even cricket fails to sublimate the fighting instinct when the bowler aims at the batsman instead of the wickets, so humour cannot always succeed in sublimating our gleeful emotions and may retain some spite or superiority. Social satires often have humour not properly converted. The eighteenth century taught by this half-caste wit. Part of Jane Austen's triumph lies in that her humour, though social, realistic and sometimes meant to teach, escapes altogether into the domain of smiles. Genuine wholly converted humour can have no bad quality and cannot preach directly, since it looks at things as if they were not serious but purely provocative of mirth.

Always seeing the funny side of things may prevent a man from taking himself seriously and doing sublime things, but it will also save him from doing dirty ones. The man with a sense of humour would be society's darling if it were not that he hurts the solemn by laughing at things they reverence. Besides keeping one from unsocial actions, humour does its best to save one from tragedy. "Tragic Characters" have always a narrow sense of humour. And from the other point of view, solemn characters, though not always tragic, remain badly protected against their feelings. Even in drama, Malvolio by his rigid solemnity almost becomes tragic. He is the sort of character that makes Lear. If he were ambitious he might be Macbeth, if jealous Othello. We can rely on those with a well-developed humour not to be petty or malicious, and not

to give way to harmful feelings or impulses save where their humour fails them. The more ill-endowed our nature, the more opportunity we have of developing our humour, for the more of its raw material do we possess. They say that criminals make the most delightful society in the world save, one supposes, for people who might be criminals if they had not learnt to fill their mental rag-bag. Those who find their way from the slums to the prisons are the bright, merry, irresponsible wits. They have not learned the necessity of suppressing all their wrong impulses, and, therefore, do not turn them to mirth. The virtuous in uneducated and untrained societies are stolid and cow-like. The heavy, slow, unimpressionable man with few emotions and impulses, requires no sense of humour and commonly has none. If his solid virtue is tempted too far, it breaks. The fiery, impetuous, quickly impressionable man needs a sense of humour and commonly has one. His virtue tempted too far may weather the strain by escaping into humour. This becomes noticeable when we think about races instead of individuals, if we compare the slow northern races with the fiery southern. The unrestrained Frenchman or Celt probably makes an irresponsible sinner, the undeveloped Teuton or Saxon a cow. The trained Celt or Frenchman usually has an innocent and inconsequent wit, and a capacious humour. The trained Saxon or Teuton finds his "end" either in keeping the conventions or in pursuing some ideal with an exclusive earnestness. In the millennium there should be the two types. A completely moral life is not necessarily a dull one, all saints not having white sheets for souls. If we admit the white saint who takes life solemnly, we must also admit the saint in motley. Surely the gates of heaven stand wide for the makers of jokes as well as for the singers of psalms.

KATHARINE M. WILSON.

The traveller who lands at any port in Peru and crosses the desert towards the interior will soon reach the foothills of the Andes, and in clear weather will see their enormous peaks rising ahead of him 20,000 feet high. The whole country is traversed from north to south by parallel ranges of Cordilleras, here rising to their highest points and completely shutting off the west of Peru from the East. The merchant who wishes to reach Lima from Iquitos usually takes a ship a couple of thousand miles down the Amazon and then proceeds by sea, either by way of the Panama Canal or by Buenos Aires and over the Transandine railway to Valparaiso. Indeed, sometimes it actually saves time, it is said, to take a steamer direct to England and another back to Lima.

The overland route from Iquitos to Lima entails over a month's hard travelling, and is by way of river steamer, motor launch and Indian canoe up the Amazon and its tributaries, and then by mule-back through the forest. The usual route, known as the Pichis trail, takes eight days from the head of navigation to La Merced. Travellers must take their own food and bedding and be prepared for emergencies of every kind. From La Merced an automobile road now runs over the eastern Cordilleras to Oroya where the Central Railroad of Peru is reached. The difficulty of communication between Iquitos and the capital is typical of the whole country. No other land is divided into two sections by such a high and impenetrable mountain range as is Peru, and it is this fact more than any other which has stood in the way of the development of the country. The Central Railroad rises to 15,800 feet and is the highest standard gauge railway line in the world. The Southern system from Mollendo to Titicaca and Cuzco reaches 14,600 feet, and narrow gauge mining lines go higher than either. It is therefore little wonder that there is as yet no railway from Lima to Arequipa, the second city in the country, and that travellers for the south must go by sea from Callao to Mollendo.

The development of road and railway communication is the second great task to which the Peruvian Government has set its hand, for in the higher parts of the Andes lies mineral wealth in copper, gold and silver far greater than ever crossed the Atlantic in the golden galleons of Spain. Of the many new railway lines now under construction one of the most important is that from Huancayo to Huancavelica. Huancayo is the terminus of the Central system. The new line is being laid with a three-foot gauge. This is narrower than the Central, but it is held to be more suitable for the country to be traversed. The immediate object is to tap the rich mineral area of Castro Virreyna south of Huancavelica. Copper ore is now being brought down from the mines on the backs of llamas, but these animals will only carry a load of about 70 pounds, and the working

of a copper mine on modern lines requires something better than this mediæval method of transport.

The line has now reached the neighbourhood of Huancavelica, 12,000 feet above the sea, close to which town are situated the famous quicksilver mines of Santa Barbara. Here the Spaniards mined the quicksilver necessary in those days for the extraction of silver from its ore, but when they were expelled from the country they destroyed the mines, and hitherto the vein has not been rediscovered. From Huancavelica the new railway will cross a pass, 16,000 feet high, before reaching Castro Virreyna, and it is then proposed to carry it down to the sea at Pisco. Another branch will follow along the ridges of the Cordilleras eastwards to Cuzco, where it will at length reach the Southern Railway system. The Southern Railway is connected with La Paz, in Bolivia, by means of steamers on Lake Titicaca, and from La Paz there is now direct rail communication with Buenos Aires. As yet there is no trans-Andine railway in Peru. No line goes right "over the hill" into the valley of the Amazon. Yet here are immense areas of land so fertile that the only task of the farmer would be to keep down the tropical jungle which now covers it. It is here that the moisture from the south-east trade winds condenses into rain and forms the copious rivers of the upper Amazon basin. Here can be grown coffee, cacao, tea, rubber, spices, cinchona, and in fact practically every tropical crop. Yet the region is inhabited only by savage Indian tribes, and its only commercial products are timber and wild rubber. Even the timber cannot be marketed. It could not pay the cost of carriage over the Andes even from La Merced to Oroya.

This forest region of Peru on the eastern side of the Andes is called "The Montaña." Various schemes to colonise the area have been put forward. Some have failed through lack of transport facilities for the colonists; others are hanging fire for the same reason. An Italian has secured a large concession from the Government on the banks of the Ucayali, a navigable tributary of the Amazon, and intends to settle colonists from California there next year. But this scheme depends on a road (which has not yet been built) to connect the river through Huanuco with the Cerro de Pasco Railway and Oroya.

The railway which has actually penetrated furthest towards the head-waters of the Amazon is the narrow gauge line now being constructed by the Public Works Department from Cuzco along the valley of the Urubamba. This river is a tributary of the Ucayali, but is not navigable at the point at present reached. The immediate objective is Santa Ana or Quillabamba, the capital of the Province of La Convencion. Quillabamba consists of one street only, and it is difficult to realise that it is the capital of an area almost as large as

THE HIDDEN WEALTH OF PERU.

IN all the world there is no land more desert than the coast of Peru. On this narrow strip between the Andes and the Pacific rain never falls, for the south-easterly trade winds lose their moisture on the other side of the Cordilleras, and the Antarctic current which creeps up the shore cools the southerly sea-breeze and prevents precipitation over the land. Consequently the entire coast of Peru, from Tumbes, where Pizarro first landed, away down past Arica into northern Chile, is bare sand. One may travel along by the edge of the sea wherever the sand is hard enough to bear the weight of a car, and see nothing for hundreds of miles but the whitened bones of cattle and horses which have died on the march. Only in the rare river valleys is any green to be seen. Wherever it is possible to draw off water from a river the land shows its natural fertility by bearing great crops of sugar, cotton and bananas. Under the Incas there were extensive irrigation works, particularly in the narrow gorges leading down to the coast; but the Spaniards allowed the canals to fall into disrepair, having no eye for any other riches but gold and silver.

It has been left to the Peruvian Government of to-day, inspired by President Leguia, its head and driving force, to resow the desert. President Leguia belongs to the rare order of practical visionaries. When he talks of his irrigation schemes he says: "we shall go on until we have transformed our 1,200 miles of coastal desert into fields of sugar and cotton." This is looking far into the future, but already one small scheme has been completed and another much larger one is in progress. Under the direction of Mr. Charles Sutton, an American engineer, the water of the Cañete river has been tapped and a canal led off through the hills on to a neighbouring *pampa* where excellent crops of long staple cotton are now being harvested. Experiments are being made with Californian fruit under the direction of an American expert, for there seems no reason why Peru should not grow oranges, pears, apples and peaches equal in quality to the best of North America. Cañete is close to the little port of Cerro Azul where produce can be shipped direct on to ocean steamers to Liverpool. The Government is offering favourable terms for the irrigated land, and it is being taken up and developed with rapidity. The sight of these acres of tall cotton bushes growing in the middle of the scorching desert is most impressive to a traveller who has seen nothing but sand and bones on the hundred-mile journey from Lima.

The success of this scheme at Cañete augurs well for the more ambitious one on which Mr. Sutton is now at work in the north. This is known as the Olmos scheme, and is intended to irrigate the Department of Lambayeque and part of Piura. The Andes here

retire from the sea coast, leaving a wide extent of level ground suitable for cultivation. These conditions, together with the large amount of river water available, have caused this area to be selected for the first large irrigation scheme. A total of 225,000 hectares is included in the project, and the magnitude of the task will be realised when it is stated that before anything else is done 1,250 miles of road must be constructed to enable machinery and equipment to be transported. Public works and development of all kinds in Peru are dominated by this lack of means of communication. A further 1,250 miles of roadway must afterwards be laid to enable the irrigated lands to be populated and worked.

Roadmaking and other preliminary work at Lambayeque is now costing about £1,000,000 a year, and this expenditure is likely to continue for five years, by which time it is hoped the work will be finished. The necessary loans have been raised on the security of the match monopoly. When the roads have been laid the most dramatic part of the work will be undertaken. A tunnel will be cut through the Andes ten miles in length which will divert the waters of the Huancabamba river from the Amazon to the Pacific. By means of a reservoir a constant volume of twenty cubic metres of water per second will be secured, and the fall will produce a force of 120,000 horse-power, available for driving machinery in the irrigated lands.

Over one thousand miles of canals will connect the various river systems included in the scheme, enabling the flow of water to be regulated according to the needs of each area, supplying the deficiency of one from the excess of another. These works include many miles of drainage canals in the lower valleys. Drainage is important both from the point of view of cultivation and health, for in these low-lying parts of tropical Peru the danger of malaria and other fevers is always present. Lambayeque is within seven degrees of the Equator. Sugar is expected to be the principal crop in this section. The nucleus of an agricultural population exists already along the river valleys, and the Government anticipates no difficulty in attracting settlers of the right stamp from other parts of the country. Bananas and cotton should also thrive.

The completion of the Olmos project will mark an important step in the great task which the Peruvian Government have set themselves—the abolition of the coastal desert, where men and beasts have starved and died from the days of Pizarro and Almagro. Only water is needed to transform this waste of sand into fertile fields, for the very absence of rain has preserved in the ground the mineral salts essential to agriculture. Years hence the voyager down the West Coast will see not merely the small oases of green at the river mouths as he sees to-day, with long stretches of barren land between, but a fertile shore with sugar and cotton fields and banana trees above them.

England. Irrigation is easy in this region, for the rivers and mountain torrents are fed by frequent rains in the hills. Coffee, cacao, and sugar are the chief crops in the open districts, and lower down are the dense Amazonian forests awaiting development.

This one province, small in comparison with the whole huge *montaña* region of Peru, contains the possibility of agricultural development on a scale undreamed of by those who talk of world famine. But the fruits of the earth now drop from the trees, for in default of transport it is hardly worth while to pick them. Sugar juice is distilled and made into rum, which can be bought at the farms at twopence a bottle. Coffee and cacao, being of high value compared with bulk, can be sent on mule back along the narrow trails to railhead, some days' journey away. But the path is so narrow that animals are often pushed over the edge into the river when attempting to pass each other, and both beast and pack are swept away and lost. Even when the goods reach railhead (now at Ollantaytambo) they have a journey of 500 miles to make, with two ranges of Cordilleras to be crossed before reaching the coast. It is evident then that even when the railway reaches Santa Ana from Cuzco it will not have solved the problem. Railway connection across the Andes is the only way out for the products of this region. There must be another exit by way of the Amazon to the Atlantic. Therefore, when the railway reaches Santa Ana it must not stop there but proceed at least another 150 miles down the valley of the Urubamba to its junction with the Mishagua River. From here the river is navigable by small craft, and goods can be sent by water down the Ucayali to Iquitos.

This river service should be fed by other short railroad tracks coming down from the cultivable lands in the Departments of Junin, Huanuco and Loreto, so as to draw the whole agricultural wealth of the Peruvian *montaña* down the stream of the mighty Marañon to the markets of the East. This third great problem—the development of the *montaña*—is the one with which least progress has been made in Peru, but it is in some ways the most important, for the enormous extent of the territory awaiting exploitation makes it a source of potential wealth greater even than the copper and silver mines in the Andes. What will eventually happen in the *montaña* can be seen to-day in the Panama Canal Zone, where tropical jungle is fast being cleared for banana plantations. This is the result of sanitation and transport facilities; and when motor launches and barges are plying freely on the upper waters of the Amazon tributaries, fed by rail and automobile roads on the banks, the virgin forest will rapidly fall before the settler's axe. The world will lose some of its romance but gain in sustenance, and there will still be enough forest left for entomologists and botanists to be happy in. Whether there will be enough for the tribes of primitive savages

who now roam through the jungle and paddle their canoes up and down the rivers is another matter.

While these great schemes are awaiting maturity the Government is pushing forward the work of road-making. One hundred new roads are under construction this year, and about 5,000 men are constantly engaged on them. Every citizen is obliged to give a certain number of days' service on road-laying either personally or by payment of a substitute. In this way wheeled traffic is steadily increasing, and mule tracks are being converted into roads wide enough for small motor trucks. But only those who have seen the Andes can form an idea of the difficulties confronting road engineers. There is no level ground except along the sea coast. The whole central portion of the country is a tumbled mass of precipitous mountain intersected by deep and narrow gorges.

In the days of the Incas roads were laid along the ridges of the Cordilleras, but they had only to serve for foot passengers, llamas and the carrying chairs of the nobles. They were remarkable feats of engineering for so primitive a people, tunnelling through hillsides and spanning chasms on rope bridges. But where necessary steps were cut in the rock, and men and animals climbed over them. Nowadays an easier gradient must be followed and the road surface must be wide and smooth enough for the wheels of an automobile, with a few inches to spare. There are literally only a few inches to spare on some of the new roads. That from Tarma to La Merced down the Chanchamayo valley is a ledge cut in the cliff side, and winds round overhanging rocks with a margin in some places of only four inches. The smallest miscalculation on the part of the driver sends the car and its occupants over the edge and down a couple of thousand feet into the river bed. Only experienced drivers use this road and accidents are rare; when they occur they are inevitably fatal.

The new road from La Mejorada on the Huancavelica railway to Ayacucho is almost equally perilous. It is a hundred miles long, and for most of the way is cut out of the cliff-side of the Montaro canyón. The journey takes eight hours with stops, and if a truck breaks down on a narrow part of the way the following ones have to stop also. The rivers are crossed by suspension bridges built exactly on the old Inca principle by cables stretched between rocks on either bank; but nowadays these cables are of steel. The Incas used ropes made from the American aloe (*maguey*). Many of these bridges cannot carry a laden truck. It has to be emptied and all the goods carried over by hand.

Such facts as these may give some idea of what travel is like in Peru. Railway engineers have their own story to tell of cloud-bursts, landslides and washouts, and the marvel really is that the service is maintained so well and with so few accidents.

ANTHONY DELL.

RENEGADE SAINTS OF ISLAM.

IN 1270 S. Louis, King of France, while crusading against the Moors of Tunis, died of a fever on the site of Carthage. His remains were embalmed and duly buried in his native land. In 1841 the government of Louis Philippe erected on the spot where the royal saint had breathed his last a commemorative cenotaph in the Arab style. Twenty years later Beulé, the excavator of the ruins of Carthage, noted the curious tradition current there, to the effect that S. Louis was identical with a *marabout* named Bou Said, who was patron saint of a village of the same name in the immediate neighbourhood. The pious Christian, the story ran, had before his death embraced Islam and assumed a Mohammedan name.

To those familiar with the vagaries of popular canonisation in Mohammedan countries, the existence of a Mohammedan cult of S. Louis will cause little surprise. There is every probability that the tradition is, as Beulé in his "*Fouilles de Carthage*" suggests, late, and that its immediate cause was the erection of the French cenotaph in the style of the country. For the Tunisian peasant such a monument implies a saint: the presumed occupant of S. Louis' cenotaph doubtless proved no less gracious to his petitioners than any other *marabout*, and the legend of S. Louis' conversion and his identity with Sidi Bou Said accounted for the apparent anomaly of a Christian saint's efficacy as intercessor for Moslems. The legend is particularly interesting as focussing several ideas widely current in Mohammedan circles and often closely paralleled, as we shall see, in Christian hagiology. These ideas predicate a special aptitude for sainthood in persons spontaneously converted from the rival religion, their secret leaning towards the true faith being manifested only by posthumous miracles. Inside this class, potentates and men of authority like S. Louis form a characteristic and interesting category.

We may take first the Franciscan legend of the deathbed conversion of the Sultan of Egypt. The legend is history up to a certain point, for S. Francis was really received and well treated by the Sultan. The tale goes on to say that the Sultan was so much impressed by the preaching and personality of S. Francis that he gave him every facility for preaching. The saint, however, saw that his mission was more profitable elsewhere and decided to leave Egypt. On his taking leave of the Sultan, the latter said he was prepared to embrace Christianity but that, if he did so, both he himself and S. Francis would be assassinated. S. Francis therefore promised that after his death he would send two friars who would baptise and so save the Sultan. It happened that after S. Francis' death the Sultan, being ill and on the point of death, remembered

this promise and stationed guards on all his frontiers, with orders to conduct to him at once two Franciscan friars, if they should appear. At the same time S. Francis appeared to two friars and ordered them to go to the Sultan and save his soul. Thus, the Sultan received absolution and died in a state of grace.

With this Franciscan story may be compared that of the supposed conversion to Islam of the Emperor Heraclius. It is historical that Mohammed sent to him, as to other potentates of his time, an embassy, which Heraclius seems to have received less rudely than did the others. Arab writers therefore boast that Heraclius was converted to Islam, in conformity with which tradition the Turks treated, as if it were a saint's, the remarkable sarcophagus which about 1837 was discovered in or near the arsenal at Galata and was reputed that of Heraclius.

In this and the Franciscan stories polite treatment from a potentate of a rival religion is considered explicable only on the hypothesis that the potentate was secretly in favour of the religion represented by the persons politely treated. In the same way Christian tradition represented Gamaliel as a crypto-Christian because of his generous treatment of the Apostles. And the younger Pliny, because of the mildness of his letters about the Christians, is supposed to have been converted by Titus in Crete. Granted such a hypothesis, then, it is easy to understand why the simple folk of Tunisia were ready to believe that a Christian King could help them in their need.

In contradistinction to such a fortuitously Moslem saint as S. Louis, authentic renegade saints, of which there are probably numerous examples, admit of a rational explanation. A convert to Islam is, not unnaturally, regarded as a person specially illuminated by God, being thus enabled to see the true faith in spite of the errors of his upbringing. There is ground for such a supposition in the fact that real converts see themselves in this light. For instance, S. Paul and S. Augustine, converted by instantaneous miracle in the one case and after a long spiritual struggle in the other, assumed that their conversion was proof of their election and framed their theory of predestination accordingly. In Islam the idea is definitely assisted by a passage of the Koran, which says explicitly, "They unto whom we have given the Scriptures, which were revealed before it [the Koran], believe in the same; and, when it is read unto them, say, 'We believe therein: it is certainly the truth of our Lord: verily we were Moslems before this.' These shall receive their reward twice."

The prototype of the spontaneous convert is, of course, Abraham, who, according to Talmudic and Koranic tradition, was the son of an idolater who was divinely called to the worship of the true God.

Similar conversions are related of saints in historical times. At Bagdad is the tomb of Maaruf Cerchi Abu Daher, who was born of Christian parents but steadfastly refused to recognise the Trinity by repeating the formula, "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit." For these he substituted the Mohammedan monotheistic invocation, "In the name of God, all merciful." His mother punished him for his obstinacy by shutting him up in a dark cellar and feeding him on bread and water, details which indicate that she supposed a demon to have possessed him. Maaruf refused the bread and water and after forty days was found surrounded by a halo of miraculous light, a sure sign of sanctity. His mother, however, confirmed in her idea of his possession by a devil, drove him from the house. He then openly confessed to the faith of Islam and eventually became a great Mohammedan *savant*.

The same theory of divine instruction may be predicated of any spontaneous convert. A curious instance is reported by the Chevalier d'Arvieux from Syria, where in the seventeenth century a young Venetian "turned Turk" for the basest motives. He was so ill instructed that he could only lift his index finger, thus attesting the unity of God, and say, "La, la, Mehemed," but this was accepted as proof that God had assuredly predestined him to be a Mussulman and had put the soul of a Turk into the body of a Christian, for the express purpose of manifesting Himself by a miracle, inasmuch as, without being instructed, the convert had pronounced the name of the Prophet.

Even after death a Christian, dead in the Christian faith, may be received into the true faith. Savary de Brèves relates how Mussulmans believe that among *giaours* there are some whose understanding God has been graciously pleased to open, in order that He may guide them to the true path of safety. They believe also, he adds, that some Mussulmans are such reprobates that God cannot permit their dead bodies to defile by their proximity the bodies of the good and has therefore commanded 72,000 ghostly camels to exhume wicked Moslems from their graves and, replacing them with good Christians, bury them in the graves of the said Christians. This again, like the theory of secret believers above, is warranted by a text of the Koran, which runs, "O true believers, whoever of you apostatiseth from his religion, God will certainly bring other people to supply his place." Illustrative of this is a story told at Mecca itself to a French writer. An Indian king had come to Mecca, intending to assure his salvation by burial in the Ma'ala cemetery there. To prove to him that such ideas were vain and superstitious, he was taken by night and shown the camels engaged in bringing there for burial the bodies of pious Moslems who had died elsewhere. The same ghostly agency was transferring

to the former graves of the just the bodies of reprobate Moslems who had been buried in the Ma'ala. This tale is not only reminiscent of the Koran but is also a rebuke to formalism, implying that the holiest graveyard does not secure salvation and that, since God alone knows the heart, judgment by externals may be wrong.

In another story told the Frenchman at Mecca, a romantic *motif* is introduced. The son of a Moorish king of Andalusia, he was told, was enslaved and in the service of a Christian monarch as gardener, when he fell in love with his master's daughter. She begged him to change his religion and marry her. He refused, however, and eventually persuaded her to pronounce the sacred formula, "There is no God but God and Mohammed is His Prophet." Their intrigue was discovered and the princess died. The captive prince, wishing in memory of his love to keep a bracelet, which had been his own gift and was now buried with her, opened her tomb in order to take the bracelet. To his surprise he found in the tomb the body of an old Arab, with a pearl rosary, which he took. On going later to Mecca, he was challenged by a Meccan to account for his possession of the rosary, for the Meccan recognised it as one that had been buried with his father at Mecca. The prince told his story and the old man's grave was opened to test it. In the grave was found the body of the princess, transferred, as that of a true believer, by the camels. This story, like many others told at Mecca, is evidently widely circulated. At Monastir an open *turbe* (mausoleum) is said to mark a grave where a man was buried, but in which they afterwards discovered the body of a non-Mohammedan princess. A similar tale of recent and historical transference and exchange was told to Lady Duff-Gordon in Egypt, and she herself was assured that, wherever she might die and be buried, she would certainly lie in a Moslem grave.

To return to renegade saints, it is clear that a genuine convert to Islam would be likely in his enthusiasm for his new faith to exhibit all the outward marks of saintly life, and on the other hand, as the following story shows, an impostor had everything to gain by punctiliousness in matters of religion. A learned young Moslem was advised by a certain Sultan of Turkey to curry favour with the great in order to procure his own advancement. Meeting soon afterwards a Greek priest, he stripped him of his priestly robes and hat. Then he retired with his spoils to a lonely inn and there remained, until his hair and beard had grown sufficiently to enable him to pass for a Greek priest. Clad in the priest's garments, he called on the Sheikh-ul-Islam at Constantinople, and in a private interview informed him that for three nights running an old man, dressed in robes like Mohammed's, had appeared to him in a dream and taught him the first chapter of the Koran. This he recited and then begged the Sheikh-ul-Islam to undertake his further instruction. That

dignitary felt himself signalled out by Mohammed to instruct the "convert" and received him into his own house. The next night the "convert" again had a vision of Mohammed, who taught him the second chapter of the Koran. The following night he was taught the third chapter, and so on, until he professed to have learned half the Koran from his august teacher. His "conversion" was naturally much talked about, and pious Moslems, struck by the distinction bestowed by the Prophet himself on the Sheikh-ul-Islam in sending the "convert" to him, heaped gifts on Sheikh and "convert" alike. Nor was that all. The news came to the Sultan's ear, so that he sent for the "convert." As he recognised him immediately, the scamp acknowledged the fraud, but protested that he was only carrying out the Sultan's own prescription of currying favour with the great. The Sultan could not but laugh, took the "convert" into his own service, and advanced him to high posts.

In addition, the numerous class of renegades who "turned Turk" for convenience and rose by their ability to enviable positions might affect fanatical zeal as a protection from their inevitable detractors. Such was the case of an Armenian renegade mentioned by the Chevalier d'Arvieux. Instigated by fear of jealous rivals, who threw doubts on the genuineness of his conversion, he proclaimed it by a signal act of piety, which took the form of seizing a Christian church and consecrating it as a mosque. Similarly, the Caliph el Hakim is alleged to have destroyed the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, in order to prove his anti-Christian tendencies to those of his enemies who accused him of favouring the Christians because of his Christian mother.

Not a few renegades to Islam were of western origin. A remarkable example of this comes from North Africa. A celebrated *marabout*, who had formerly been a blacksmith, died at Cairouan in 1856, leaving behind him a number of prophecies engraved on sword-blades, which in times of stress were consulted like oracles. In 1881 the French were about to march on Cairouan and so caused the city the greatest consternation. Thereupon, the *imam* in charge of the prophetic swords proposed to consult them. This was done: the oracle left no doubt that the city must be surrendered without resistance, and the white flag was at once hoisted. The curious part is that the *imam* in question was a French renegade, born at Elboeuf, who had been a Trappist monk and a Mormon before embracing Islam. He had himself forged the sword-blade consulted and was in touch with the French consul-General; but no one questioned his authority, for, learned and a good orator, talking Arabic well, and accustomed to fastings and mortifications of the flesh, he had acquired a great reputation for sanctity by his impassioned preaching in the cafés of Tunis and the mosques of Cairouan. He died a Moslem in 1885.

(The late) F. W. HASLUCK.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

BOILING POINT IN CHINA.

EMOTIONALLY China boiled over on March 24th. On that day a rabble of Cantonese troops perpetrated certain outrages on the foreign population, official and private, of so gross a nature that normal diplomacy was knocked out of court. The negotiations which were to have followed the Hankow Agreement by an attempt to regulate the future status of Shanghai were indefinitely postponed. It had already been agreed between the British, Japanese, and United States Governments that the International Settlement at Shanghai should not be surrendered after the manner of the British Concessions at Hankow and Kiukiang. Far greater international commercial interests were involved at Shanghai; the problem of defence was held to be easier; the pacifist method had been tried at Hankow, and although it seemed at first to have succeeded, there were those who regarded the subsequent disorders in Hankow, Kiukiang, and Nanking, as due partly to the contempt in which the foreign Powers were held. It was considerations of such a kind that mainly decided, at any rate, British policy, in what may be called its Shanghai aspect.

There was, however, another view of the matter. Before the Shanghai Defence Force appeared in China, there had been no outrages of an extraordinary kind. It was after the military precautions had been taken that the outrages at Nanking and elsewhere were committed. The Official evidence, British, Japanese, and American, all suggested that the Nanking outrages were deliberately organised as a ritual of humiliation for the foreigner. He is an unwise man who dogmatizes about any human situation; an almost frivolous man if he attempts to dogmatise about causes and effects in so chaotic a situation as that which is tearing China to pieces: yet it is difficult for reasonable people not to recognise the force of the argument that the presence of foreign troops in China acted more as a provocation than as a deterrent to the Chinese malcontents. Chronology, at any rate, seems to support that argument, for the major disturbances did take place after, not before, the foreign troops arrived. It would be an interesting piece of research, if a competent historian could undertake it, to examine how far throughout history military precautions have prevented or precipitated disaster.

What actually took place at Nanking on March 24th is now clear. The Japanese Government published a detailed account, stating that all the foreign women in Nanking had been subjected by Cantonese troops to a "physical examination of an indescribable kind"; that the outrage was of a uniform nature, as though its nature had been

decided on in detail cold-bloodedly and in advance; that the outrage had been carried out by the troops as if it were a military operation, and was, indeed, controlled by whistle and bugle. Official British and American accounts omitted the realist details, but equally stressed the apparent organisation that lay behind the event.

The first official reports that reached London from the British and American Consuls in Nanking were incomplete. They merely reported the personal outrages above alluded to. The effect was immediate, and perhaps inevitable. The British Cabinet at once decided that the limit of patience had been reached, that a stand must be made, and that the Cantonese troops must be taught the lesson that British subjects could not be outraged with impunity. In the first excitement the British Government appeared to take for granted something which subsequent experience showed could not be taken for granted. It was apparently assumed that as American and Japanese nationals had been outraged equally with British nationals, the United States and Japanese Governments would co-operate with the British Government in demanding immediate and signal redress from Canton. The British Government, acting on that assumption, proceeded to draft a form of "ultimatum" such as was sent by Mr. MacDonald to the Egyptian Government after the murder of Sir Lee Stack, Sirdar of the Sudan, in 1924: a form of Note, that is, which was inspired by the spirit of an ultimatum, yet refrained from the full form of an ultimatum. In the orthodox diplomatic form, an ultimatum has three elements. It makes certain demands in satisfaction of the alleged wrong; it stipulates the limit within which such satisfaction is to be given; and indicates the punitive action to be taken unless that satisfaction be given within that time limit. Hence it is that an ultimatum is normally regarded as the last step before a declaration of war, which can be averted only by the victim's unconditional capitulation. In 1924 Mr. MacDonald made certain demands, omitted to give any precise time limit and vaguely reserved the alternative right to punitive measures unspecified, yet he himself, in a subsequent speech, referred to his Note as an "ultimatum."

Such was the kind of "ultimatum" which Sir Austen Chamberlain was understood to contemplate after Nanking. Telegrams were at once exchanged with Washington and Tokyo with a view to drawing up a joint Note of the kind indicated. It was explained in British official quarters that the step contemplated in no way affected British high policy, that the diplomacy which had been set in motion by the British proposals for a general settlement with China was merely in effect interrupted by the Nanking episode, but that the interruption was of so serious a kind that the major diplo-

macy could not be resumed until the separate issue of the security of foreigners in China was satisfactorily disposed of.

At first it seemed as though the United States and Japanese Governments were disposed to welcome the British proposal. The cross purposes, however, which have characterised the Chinese diplomacy of the foreign Powers for the last two years soon again manifested themselves, and delayed the drawing up of a joint Note. It was the desire of the British Government that in addition to demanding of Mr. Chen's Government in Hankow some quick, signal and spectacular act of amends, the three foreign Powers should privately prepare some course of punitive action to be adopted in case the Hankow Government refused. It soon became obvious that both Washington and Tokyo were not averse from allowing Great Britain to be in the forefront of any action that might be taken, and the negotiations were prolonged for more than a week.

Such an attitude on the part of the United States and Japan was not new. There are those who criticise the British Government for a lack of finesse and an excess of simplicity in its Chinese policy. There is the same curious element in both the Russian and the Chinese aspect of British diplomacy. In China all through the Customs Conference right up to the beginning of the present year the British Government was in a minority of one among the Powers represented at Peking by advocating a policy of conciliation. The British proposals of last December to China offered in effect to give up the capitulations and to restore the Concessions. That policy was well in advance of the views entertained by any other Government interested in China. Yet up to a few weeks ago Great Britain was the chief victim of xenophobia in China. In the case of Russia the British Government for many years advocated the re-absorption of Russia into the European family of nations, whereas France, for instance, was conspicuous for an opposite policy. Yet Great Britain is the chief object in Russia's hostile propaganda throughout the world. Those realists who argue that British diplomacy in the East of Europe, in the Middle and Far East, has not of late years been conspicuous for its cleverness certainly have some material on which to base their case. Yet an impartial judgment of British policy will concede that the British Government has been straightforward, and has not been actuated by considerations of material gain. The figures of foreign trade with China during the last two years reveal the interesting fact that in proportion as British trade has gone down, American and Japanese trade has gone up.

There were indications towards the end of March of this year that the anti-foreign activity of the Southern Chinese propagandists was no longer directed solely or even chiefly against British Nationals.

An American destroyer was fired on. Exclusively anti-British posters were supplanted by a new and larger batch of posters inciting the native population to "rise and kill the foreigner." At Nanking, as elsewhere, the foreigners of all nations were equally involved in the outrages. The American, Japanese, and British Consulates were alike ransacked. On March 24th the Cantonese troops hauled down the American flag from the American Consulate and cut the ropes. They knew it was the American flag and they hauled it down after the American Consul had presented his card to them, his card being printed in both English and Chinese. It was commonly expected that such facts would make more impression on American and Japanese official opinion than in fact they did make.

As a result of some few days telegrams the three Governments appeared to be agreed on two things: (i) that the guilt of the Cantonese military authorities for the Nanking outrages was established; (ii) that something must be done to put an end to such outrages. At the beginning of April the French Government was not concerned in those exchanges. Its policy, so far as could be judged by the attitude of French representatives in Shanghai and by Press statements inspired from Paris, was equivocal; but the three Powers kept France fully informed of what was taking place. By the beginning of April the original British proposal had been dropped, and alternative formulæ were examined with a view to embodying in the proposed Note the greatest common measure of agreement between the three parties. The Japanese Government had made it known that it advocated the delivery of a Note at Hankow simply making a demand for a prompt and adequate measure of redress on the part of the Southern Chinese Government without specifying or preparing for any further steps whatever. The United States Government made it known vaguely that it was prepared to take whatever measures might, in America's judgment, be called for by any danger there might be to American citizens. It was clear that the American Government was thereby playing for time, because the Nanking outrages had already taken place. The British Government, while ready to modify the strength of the proposed Note in deference to the more timid or the more Machiavellian views of Washington and Tokyo, was still anxious that some plan of action should be evolved against the contingency of non-compliance by Hankow. Those commentators, however, who speculated about the feasibility of a general sanction by naval bombardment were out of touch with affairs. Not only was there little chance that the three Powers would agree about such a naval bombardment, even if the efficacy of such a sanction were to be upheld by the naval experts; but no serious person ever thought that it would be so upheld. It was one of the hypotheses of the Powers that the Cantonese military

authorities should be punished for their exclusive guilt in the Nanking affair. It would be impossible for a naval bombardment to distinguish in its objective between the innocent and the guilty.

While the discussions were proceeding about this question the British military authorities in Shanghai quietly took steps which revealed the opinion they held of the seriousness of the French military authorities. The said French authorities however did not apparently take offence. A barbed-wire barrier was put up along the whole length of the border between the French Settlement and the International Settlement.

The question of casualties in war or in the state of affairs that reigns in China always leads to divergences of calculation. After the affair of March 24th Mr. Chen calculated that one hundred Chinese had been killed to every foreigner. Certain sections of the European Press who were interested in what Sir Auckland Geddes has recently described as the game of twisting the lion's tail, proceeded heartily and without evidence to agree with Mr. Chen. British and American official sources in Nanking however reported Chinese authority to show that only three Chinese had been killed in the short bombardment which American and British ships jointly carried out on March 24th. That bombardment had the specific and limited object of enabling a party of foreigners to leave Nanking. The party at the time was being subjected to rifle fire from the Cantonese troops. Moreover, both the American and British shells all fell on open agricultural ground near the Standard Oil Company's Hill; no property was damaged and no fires resulted. General Chiang Kai-shek himself told a number of Press correspondents in Shanghai that the estimated casualties suffered by the Cantonese on that occasion were six killed and fifteen wounded.

On April 5th the three Powers reached an agreement so far as the first part of the Nanking problem was concerned. It was agreed that each Power should present a separate, but substantially similar Note, to the Cantonese Government, demanding an apology, the punishment of the culprits, and material reparation. Such diplomacy was an eloquent mirror of the paradox known as the "Concert of the Powers." Having refused to participate in a joint Note and thereby having demonstrated to Mr. Chen that they still reserved their right to fish in the troubled waters of Great Britain's commerce, the United States and Japan proceeded to agree to what may be called a disintegrated joint Note in order to demonstrate to their respective Nationals that they in no wise lagged behind Great Britain in their determination to protect their nationals' life and property.

There was this much common ground thrust willy-nilly under the feet of the Powers, that Mr. Chen wanted something, and the

same thing, from them all. He wanted his Government to be recognised as a serious Government, even as the most serious Government in China. The foreign Powers therefore found that their lever in dealing with Mr. Chen was a common lever, and to that extent they were simply forced to act in "concert." Hence it was that after another week of negotiation it was agreed that France and Italy as well as Great Britain, Japan, and the United States should present Notes to Mr. Chen's Government, and it was even agreed that the Notes should be not merely coincident in substance, but textually identical.

After going to such lengths of agreement those Powers next became anxious that their five separate, but identic, Notes should not be accidentally lost or overlooked after being delivered. The relations between Mr. Chen and General Chiang Kai-shek were known to be as original as were most things in China. It was important that General Chiang Kai-shek should see the Notes, for it was from him that the chief retribution was expected. It was therefore decided that not five, but ten Notes be prepared, all identic, one set of five to be sent to Mr. Chen, the other set of five to General Chiang Kai-shek. Those final adjustments of procedure were decided by the Ministers of the five Powers in Peking.

On April 11th, therefore, the five Consular representatives in Hankow of the British, Japanese, French, Italian, and United States Governments delivered the one set of Notes to Mr. Chen. The corresponding Consular representatives in Shanghai presented the other set to General Chiang Kai-shek's military representative for transmission to the General, who at that time was directing operations from Nanking. The Notes demanded satisfaction for the Nanking outrages of March 24th in the following terms:

"(1) Adequate punishment of the commanders of the troops responsible for murders, personal injuries, and indignities, and material damage done, as also of all persons found to be implicated.

"(2) Apology in writing by the Commander-in-Chief of the Nationalist army, including an express written undertaking to refrain from all forms of violence and agitation against foreign lives and property.

"(3) Complete reparation for personal injuries and material damage done.

"Unless the Nationalist authorities demonstrate to the satisfaction of the interested Governments their intention to comply promptly with these terms, the said Governments will find themselves compelled to take such measures as they consider appropriate."

Concurrently with the delivery of those Notes the Ministers of the five Powers in Peking issued the following statement to the Press:

Upon the entry of the Nationalist forces into Nanking there were perpetrated against the foreign Consuls and other residents by uniformed and organised bodies of troops of the Nationalist armies during the morning and afternoon of March 24th systematic outrages upon their persons and properties. A number of American, British, French, Italian, and Japanese Nationals were murdered or wounded, many others were brutally assaulted and their lives jeopardised; they were robbed and treated with the utmost indignities, and the women were subjected to nameless outrages. American, British, and Japanese Consulates were violated, and their national flags insulted. Houses and institutions of all foreign residents at Nanking were systematically looted, and in many cases burnt.

"In view of these manifestly premeditated assaults upon their official representatives, and upon their Nationals peacefully engaged in their lawful occupations, the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, have found it necessary to formulate demands for satisfactory amends by the responsible Nationalist authorities. The terms thus agreed upon are studiously moderate, covering only the minimum of what would in the circumstances be done by way of honourable amends by any Government conscious of its own dignity and of its duty towards other friendly peoples in the family of nations.

"These demands are not made in derogation of the sovereignty of the Chinese people, whom the interested Governments are glad to believe friendly, and with whom they earnestly desire to continue and improve relationships, goodwill, and co-operation; they are directed rather towards those influences, both foreign and Chinese, which have made themselves responsible for the Nanking outrages by their activities in seeking to break up the existing friendship and to inflame the Chinese people to distrust, hatred, and violence towards the people of friendly Powers."

The interesting diplomatic question how a series of Notes thus delivered to two rival authorities within the same sectional authority in China would be answered was left in suspense at the time when this paper was written. The diplomatic horizon was certainly complicated. Mr. Chen was mostly regarded as the Foreign Secretary of the Southern or Cantonese Revolutionary Government; General Chiang Kai-shek was mostly assumed to be the commander-in-chief of the army which in theory was the instrument of that revolutionary government. Yet, on April 1st, a date which has no significance amid such chaos, a Chinese official person called on the British Consul-General at Shanghai. He introduced himself as "Commissioner for Foreign Affairs appointed by General Chiang Kai-shek as Commander of the Nationalist Forces." He explained

that he came on behalf of General Chiang Kai-shek to express regret for the events at Nanking, to assure the British Government that General Chiang Kai-shek accepted full responsibility for those outrages, to promise "satisfaction" in due course, but to reserve the right to protest against the British-American naval bombardment of March 24th. Truly it is difficult for conventional diplomacy to know how to behave in Southern China. Two days later, on April 3rd, a mass meeting was held in Hankow to welcome the head of the Labour Bureau from Changsha. The speakers were mostly Russian, the audience mostly the political followers of the Southern Government whose Foreign Secretary was Mr. Chen, and whose military generalissimo was Chiang Kai-shek. Yet the chief slogans exhibited from the platform to the cheering audience were "Kill all foreigners!" and "Down with Chiang Kai-shek!" Whether or not it may be possible to obtain real satisfaction for anything from so chaotic an organisation as that which controls South China there is no doubt that South China in present conditions does not reciprocate to the foreigner the security which other civilised countries, say England, offer to Chinese residents. Sir Austen Chamberlain emphasised this point in the House of Commons on April 6th when he said: "Why do we have these concessions at all; why do we talk of Treaty Ports? Because there is no equality of treatment at the present day between Chinese in England and British citizens in China. A Chinaman can come here and settle in any part of the country; he can be sure of justice. Chinese have been settled here and are settled in our great towns; they enjoy freedom and the justice which we enjoy, and can move freely about our country and own property in our country. No foreigner can own property in China outside these special concessions, and there is no equality for us under the present system." Moreover, the authors of atrocities that have been committed on foreign residents in the territory controlled by the Nationalist Government have not been punished or apparently even discouraged by that Government; which Government, therefore, forfeits the claim to be considered as an effective civilised Government.

THE PEKING RAID.

The events of Nanking and the beginning of the Nationalist campaign northward created something of a panic in Peking. The panic extended not only to the foreign residents, many of whom were quickly evacuated, but to General Chang Tso-lin and his associates. The effect of panic on a Chinese mind is drastic and immediate. The cutting off of heads and their public display is a familiar and commonplace device for dissuading malcontents from further activity. When, therefore, on April 6th General Chang Tso-lin decided to raid the Soviet Embassy in Peking and to arrest a large

number of Russian and Chinese Communist agitators, reports immediately circulated that those agitators had been promptly executed. The report was unfounded, but the completed story is not yet told. Some British commentators complained that the British Government ought not to have allowed Marshal Chang Tso-lin's troops to enter the Legation Quarter, and that having done so the Government had virtually taken sides in the Chinese civil war. That charge was based on incomplete knowledge of what took place. The first official account of the raid was made known by Sir Austen Chamberlain in the House of Commons on April 11th, when he quoted from a dispatch of the British Minister in Peking the following passages:

"The chief of the Metropolitan Police called on the Senior Minister on April 6th with a letter in duplicate calling attention to the subversive activities of Russians in the Legation Quarter, and requesting authority to search certain specified Russian property, namely, the Dalbank, the Chinese Eastern Railway building, not actually inside the Russian Embassy itself, and the building belonging to the Russian Indemnity Commission. The original of this letter was duly counter-signed by the Senior Minister, authorising ingress for the Metropolitan Police, and handed back to the authorities. The Senior Minister had previously consulted the representatives of the other Protocol Powers, who decided that the hospitality of the quarter must not be used against the local Government, and agreed that, provided the local authorities came furnished with the proper warrant, the Legation Quarter police should be instructed under a specific order from the Senior Minister to allow them to search any suspected Russian private property specifically named in the warrant.

"The search began at eleven a.m. and continued throughout the day. It was effected by the Metropolitan Police, some gendarmes, and many plain-clothes detectives. An attempt was made by the Russians to burn some documents, but this was frustrated. The Senior Minister has informed His Majesty's Minister that among the captures was a list of names of 4,000 agents in Peking ready to stir up trouble and commit acts of violence at a given moment. Other seizures comprised one machine-gun, thirty rifles, and a quantity of ammunition, together with a number of flags with inflammatory slogans, which were to be used for demonstrations.

"Official seals were captured of the 'anti-British Committee' whose special function appears to be agitation against Great Britain. The seals of similar committees for agitation against Japan and France were also seized. Twenty-two Russians were arrested and between forty and fifty Chinese, for whom the authorities had long been searching, including the recognised leader of the Communist party of North China, who had taken refuge with the Russians.

"The Russian Embassy itself, which is shut off by a high wall, was strictly respected, though the raiding party exceeded their authority by overflowing into the barracks of the Imperial Russian Legation Guard, which are separated from the Embassy proper and lie west of the wall. Though it can be argued that the barracks have no claim to diplomatic immunity, seeing that Russia has no longer any right to the guard, the Protocol Powers, through the Senior Minister, thought it well to address a protest to the Government against the action of the police in thus exceeding the specific authority given by the Senior Minister."

That was a preliminary report. The Northern Chinese Government promised to provide the Senior Minister in Peking (Mr. Oudendijk, of the Netherlands) with a full report. On the evening of April 6th the Chinese Government issued a communiqué stating that "The Chinese Government, having been informed of the presence in the Dalbank and the office of the Chinese Eastern Railway of arms and ammunition, and knowing that these places have been centres of Communist agitators, decided to conduct a search. The search has been made on the basis that these places are not covered by diplomatic immunities and that the Soviet Government has renounced the privileges provided for in the Protocol of 1901, as well as the rights of extra-territoriality. Therefore the Embassy itself only has the privilege of inviolability. The search was effected at eleven this morning by Chinese police, after the Chinese authorities, on the presentation of a regular warrant from the judicial authorities, had received from the competent authorities of the Legation Quarter the necessary authorisation for the execution of the warrant."

The diplomatic position is that Chinese troops and police are not allowed to enter the Legation Quarter unless the authorisation of the Ministers representing the Powers party to the Protocol of 1901 has first been obtained. Such authorisation was duly obtained, and Sir Austen Chamberlain was clearly justified in his contention that "the protection of the Legation Quarter should not be given to conspirators against the local Government."

HOT AIR OVER ALBANIA.

An unusually frivolous crisis arose in the Balkans in the first half of March. The heavy people, who began suddenly to recollect Serajevo, were left high and dry by the sudden subsidence of the excitement. On March 17th alarmists reports appeared in the Italian Press about Yugoslav military preparations on the Albanian border. On the following day those rumours were reprinted and slightly exaggerated in most of the European Press, including the British. A prominent London daily, which is regarded abroad as

epitomising British official feeling (which it does not) reproduced the allegations that had been made in the Italian Press and proceeded to take a grave view of the matter. Thereupon the allegations were again reproduced in the Italian Press, this time as the joint allegations of British and Italian opinion. A transparent manoeuvre which, however, caused some mischief.

In London official quarters the excitement was never taken seriously except as still another symptom of European neurasthenia. Diplomatically there could be no importance in Italo-Yugoslav tension at a moment when the big Powers of Western Europe, Germany, France, Italy, and Great Britain, were more united in their general outlook than they had been since the Great War. The original current of hot air emanated, of course, from Rome; and equally, of course, every European capital that was concerned in the matter proceeded to counteract it by emphatic protestations that there was no ground at all for anxiety. Such protestation was a normal diplomatic routine, but in the circumstances it required some agility on the part of Rome to take a hand in it.

Jugoslav quarters, while emphatically denying that there was any truth in the Italian allegations, did not discourage those commentators who pointed out that the popular feeling in Yugoslavia towards Italy had been seriously affected by the Italo-Albanian Treaty of Tirana which was signed on November 27th, 1926. The reason for the change was clear and natural enough. The spirit of friendliness between the two countries which had been symbolised by the "Treaty of Friendship and Cordial Collaboration" concluded by the two countries on January 27th, 1924, for an initial period of five years, had been shaken by what Yugoslav opinion regarded as the unnecessary Treaty of Tirana. There was more-over a persistent suspicion, not allayed by official Italian denials, that a secret clause was annexed to the Treaty of Tirana. Since November 27th the President of the Albanian Republic, Ahmed Bey Zogu, had been conspicuously reserved in his attitude to Belgrade. The reaction in Belgrade was such that Mr. Ninchich, the Yugoslav Foreign Minister, whose personal influence had been mainly responsible for the Italo-Yugoslav understanding, felt impelled to resign. Although the ground he himself gave for his resignation was that Belgrade had not been consulted before the Treaty of Tirana was signed, it was commonly enough known, and he allowed it to be known, that in his view he could no longer defend his policy of an entente with Italy.

The only interest aroused by the Albanian crisis lay in its ridiculous aftermath. It was reported from a disinterested European source, which had no doubt been inspired by Rome, which was not a disinterested source, that the British Minister in Belgrade had

for those curiously numerous people who in all their philosophic speculation about the phenomenon of Mussolini have debated every explanation except a lack of intelligence on the part of Signor Mussolini. Yet his Balkan diplomacy of March, 1927, can hardly be explained by any intelligent hypothesis.

The aftermath of the noise he made about the Yugoslav army did not enable Signor Mussolini to cut a heroic figure. The Governments of Germany, France and Great Britain began discussing among themselves the precise form which the proposed Peritch inquiry should take. Germany having no military attaché at Belgrade, it readily became common ground that the personnel of the proposed commission should consist of military experts instead of military attachés. The whole business, however, was regarded as equally tiresome in Berlin, in Paris and in London. Naturally enough Signor Mussolini too began to find it tiresome. It was somewhat unfortunate for him that the grave allegations he had made against Belgrade should be adjudicated by a tribunal on which Germany and France were in a majority. Mr. Peritch, equally naturally, became keener on satisfying Signor Mussolini in proportion as Signor Mussolini became more unwilling to be satisfied. The ridiculous agitation started by Rome threatened to become a source of embarrassment of a minor sort to the three Western Powers. An attempt was made to set up a larger commission in order to avoid the possibility of Germany, for instance, having to give a casting vote on some Franco-British divergence of opinion about any point that might arise. It was impossible, however, to induce any other Power to take a hand in so unnecessary and so invidious a job. The three Western capitals were, therefore, thrown back upon the original Peritch proposal. They discussed it leisurely, and by slow degrees came to the conclusion that it would be best to hold an inquiry on the Yugoslav side of Albania in the event of Signor Mussolini having any further occasion for anxiety in the future, but that it would hardly be necessary to investigate the bases, if any, of Signor Mussolini's anxiety in the recent past. Rome relapsed into silence.

A MATTER OF ARITHMETIC.

International misunderstandings are often difficult to remove because there is no definable issue. Such, for instance, is the case between Russia and Great Britain. It is, therefore, an occasion for innocent pleasure when an international misunderstanding arises which can be put right by the simple arithmetic of any schoolboy.

Mr. Mellon has recently made one of his periodic statements about international debts. This time his concern is to prove that in the future the payment of the British debt to the United States

will not cost the British Treasury anything at all, because from 1927 onwards Great Britain is due to receive more from Europe each year than she is due to pay the United States.

"The fact is," said Mr. Mellon on March 17th, "that all our principal debtors are already receiving from Germany more than enough to pay their debts to the United States; and France and Italy—with the exception of this year in the case of the latter—are receiving from the same source more than enough to pay their debts to Great Britain also."

Mr. Mellon's statement of "fact" was true enough about the French and Italian payments to Great Britain. His arithmetic, however, was wrong about Great Britain. What he said about Great Britain was this: "It is true that Great Britain in the past two years has received from Germany, France and Italy about \$100,000,000 (£20,000,000) less than she has paid the United States, but it is equally true that from this year on Great Britain will every year receive from her debtors a substantial amount more than she will pay us, so that her American payments will not constitute a drain upon her own economic resources."

He went on to specify his figures for each year. In the present year (1927), he said, Great Britain will receive \$2,000,000 (£400,000) more than she pays to the United States; in 1928 \$15,000,000 (£3,000,000) more; in 1929 \$70,000,000 (£14,000,000) more.

It happens that the figures on which such calculations must be based are public property. Anyone who has mastered the accomplishment of being able to add figures together can discover for himself that the situation is as follows: during the present year Great Britain is due to receive £12,750,000 from Germany under the Dawes Plan, inclusive of the Belgian War Debt, and a further sum of £9,500,000 from other European countries in payment of their War debts. The total for 1927 is, therefore, £22,250,000. On the other hand Great Britain has this year to pay £33,000,000 to the United States. Mr. Mellon's arithmetic is hardly reliable as far as 1927 is concerned. It is equally unreliable for 1928. In that year Great Britain is due to receive £16,750,000 from Germany and £11,500,000 from Allied War debt payments: a total of £28,250,000. Her payments to the United States that year will be again £33,000,000. From 1929 onward it is true that, if the Dawes transfers were duly carried out, the sums received by Great Britain would be enough to meet the corresponding liability of Great Britain to the United States, a liability which by 1933 reaches the figure of £38,000,000: but when Mr. Mellon's arithmetic goes right, his memory goes wrong. He appears to have forgotten that by the terms of the Balfour Note itself the British Government is

represented to the Juglo-Slav Minister that the British Government shared the fears and supported the allegations which Signor Mussolini had seen fit to bring to the notice of the British and other Governments. No one with any sense of humour believed that report. But it was given such a run in the European Press that the Yugoslav Minister in London on March 21st construed it as his duty to visit the Foreign Office. When the accredited representative of a foreign Power visits the Foreign Office to ask if certain rumours about the British Government are true, he is not simply told that the rumours are rubbish, even if such be the case. He is given a reasoned exposé of what the Government feels about it. In this case the issue was a simple one. The Italian Government had advertised its fears about Yugoslav military intrigue. The Yugoslav Government had categorically denied the charge. No misunderstanding could be more easily disposed of. All that was needed was a prompt, impartial investigation to establish whether Italian fears had any grounds. Mr. Peritch, the Yugoslav Foreign Minister, did the obviously wise thing by immediately offering such an inquiry, and by suggesting that it be carried out by British, French, and German military experts. It was a particularly wise offer for the reason that it was safe to expect the French and German military experts to be hard of conviction that Italy was right. The prompt and unreserved way in which the offer was made was generally interpreted as vindicating Yugoslav good faith, and finally disposed of the matter in the minds of all serious people.

There were, however, certain puzzling features in the case. Italian concern about Yugoslav designs on Albania necessarily wore an unconvincing air to those who had followed Italian propaganda about the Adriatic for a generation past. It was natural that the informed commentators should regard the whole agitation as of Italian origin, and as being still another symptom of Italy's craving for the *mare clausum*. By virtue, however, of the Treaty of Tirana Italy already effectively controls Albania, for, by the terms of that Treaty, Italy is pledged to resist any attempt from without or from within to overthrow the existing régime of Ahmed Bey Zogu. It followed that the President could invoke Italian help against any internal attempt to change the Government. The practical corollary was that Ahmed Bey Zogu was little more than an Italian puppet. The preamble to the Treaty of Tirana started thus: "Italy and Albania, with the object of more closely binding their reciprocal interests of friendship and security in relation to their geographical situations and with the further object of contributing to the consolidation of peace; actuated by the desire to maintain the political, juridical and territorial *status quo* of Albania . . . etc." ("L'Italie et l'Albanie, dans le but de resserrer les rapports réciproques

d'amitié et de sûreté au sujet de leur situation géographique et de contribuer au renforcement de la paix, poussées par le désir de maintenir le *statu quo* politique, juridique et territorial de l'Albanie. . . .") The first article read thus: "Every agitation directed against the political, juridical and territorial *status quo* of Albania is contrary to their mutual political interests." ("Toute perturbation dirigée contre le *statu quo* politique, juridique et territorial d'Albanie, est contraire à leurs intérêts politiques réciproques.") The second article began thus: "To safeguard the said interests the high contracting parties undertake to give to each other mutual support and cordial collaboration . . ." ("Pour sauvegarder l'intérêt susdit, les hautes parties contractantes s'engagent à se prêter un appui mutuel et une collaboration cordiale . . .")

It might follow from the wording of the Treaty that Italy would have the right to enter Albania on the strength of her own judgment of a crisis in Albania. After the Treaty was signed, however, the Italian Government gave a formal assurance to the British Government that no Italian forces would be landed in Albania except as the result of a direct invitation from the President of Albanian Republic. That assurance has since been embodied in diplomatic documents, and the British Government, for instance, regards it as an essential attribute of the Treaty itself. In practice, however, such a limitation of Italy's competence is a point of academic interest only in high diplomacy, its essential importance being diminished by the means of pressure which Italy is able to exert on Albania's President.

In view of the wide power given to Italy by the Treaty of Tirana, what motive, it might be asked, could there be in any further attempt at virtual control by Italy? There were those who, while normally critical of Signor Mussolini, maintained in this case that he had acted in good faith. Their argument was something like this. If Italy's object had been to stampede Yugoslav military bands near the Albanian frontier into some rash and compromising act which would have afforded the desired pretext for an Italian landing, why was the apparently organised Italian Press campaign of March 18th made to synchronise with the Italian Government's Note to the Powers informing them of Italy's fears? In the corresponding case of Corfu the Italian fleet moved before the ultimatum to Greece could be answered, and the Powers were ignored. Corfu was a palpable case of attempted annexation. No doubt Italy's subsequent experience at Geneva had some influence on Italy's Balkan policy in March, 1927, but those who disputed the analogy of Corfu in 1923 and Albania in 1927 had something to say. On the other hand, it is difficult to see why Signor Mussolini started all the pother if he had no ulterior motive. It is at any rate difficult

committed to pay back to her European debtors any excess there may be of payments from them over and above what is needed by Great Britain to pay America.

In no circumstances, therefore, can Great Britain receive more from Europe than she has to pay the United States.

The crowning surprise, however, of Mr. Mellon's propaganda is that he forgets what happens to the body of the loans granted by Great Britain during the war. Great Britain lent some £2,000,000,000. The money was raised in London in the form of War Loan. Even if the sums received in London year by year were enough to pay the interest on the British debt to America, that merely means that Great Britain receives no effective payment whatever on the debts owing to herself; and the British taxpayer for all time will be burdened with that unpaid debt.

Fortunately the dead weight of British financial burdens is occasionally relieved by lighter matter. An odd development, for instance, took place in the debt relations between France and Great Britain at the beginning of April. Looked at from a British point of view the matter called for some sudden exercise of one's sense of humour. Monsieur Moreau, Governor of the Bank of France, spent some days with Mr. Montagu Norman discussing the 1923 Agreement for the progressive repayment of the Bank of England loan to the Bank of France. Mr. Norman paradoxically had to agree to the immediate repayment by the Bank of France of the whole amount of debt then outstanding, namely, £33,000,000. Such unwonted haste on the part of France to settle a debt was wholly explained—if one might call a spade simply a spade—by the desire of the Bank of France to recover at once the £18,000,000 of gold which was deposited in London as part security for the loan. We were thus brought to the ironical pass where the French Government persistently refused to fund the political loan to the British Government which sorely needed such a funding, whereas the Bank of France insisted on speeding up the repayment of the Bank debt to the Bank of England which particularly did not want it thus to be speeded up. British quarters, political and financial, were as usual unmoved by that perverse development, having formed the habit of not being moved by the results of lending money. No matter what the circumstances may be, it is hard for a creditor to refuse repayment of a debt. Nor apparently would any British authority use an enforced repayment of one debt as a lever for exacting repayment of another debt at a time when the latter repayment would by contrast be welcome. Those commentators of a cynical bent who collect examples of what happens to those who lend money are given more grist for their mill.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

April 14th, 1927.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

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CHINA PAST AND PRESENT.

1. *The Government of China (1644-1911)*. By Pao Chao Hsieh. The John Hopkins Press, Baltimore. \$3.
2. *The Family in Classical China*. By H. P. Wilkinson. Macmillan. 12s. 6d. net.
3. *Chinese Religious Ideas: A Christian Valuation*. By the Rev. P. J. MacLagan. Student Christian Movement, 32, Russell Square. 6s. net.
4. *Problems of Industrial Development in China: A Preliminary Study*. By Harold M. Vinacke. Princetown University Press: Oxford University Press. 9s. net.
5. *The China of To-day*. By Stephen King-Hall. The Hogarth Press, 52, Tavistock Square. 2s. 6d.
6. *China and Britain*. By R. O. Hall. Edinburgh House Press, 2, Eaton Gate, S.W.1. 2s. net.
7. *China To-day Through Chinese Eyes*. Second Series. Student Christian Movement. 2s. 6d. net.

THIS selection of books on China and Chinese history and problems and the interactions of East and West give some idea of the many complexities that surround the present curious position in this ancient empire. China is in a state of endemic war with the personality of the great Manchurian Marshall, Chang T'so-lin looming large, with Bolshevik pressure and propaganda emanating through Asia eastward in ominous evidence (repre-

sending in new guise the time long Russian threat), with the great Powers of the West assembled on the coast ready to protect their nationals and the trade which is the life-blood of China.

The Chinese writers in the volume entitled *China to-day through Chinese eyes* declare that despite the present discontents the Chinese "are essentially a homogeneous people and their spirit of unity is steadily growing in strength, and is in full evidence in various national conferences and movements, commercial, educational, industrial, political, religious and student." They declare, however, that there is no "leader of most extraordinary personality who will be accepted throughout the whole country," and plead for provincial autonomy and a Federal Government. It is urged that the Chinese are truly patriotic but the patriotism is for the highest ideals and achievements of their race and is different from that of Western peoples. But the growth of nationalism is a *fait accompli* and these writers resent what Mr. D. Z. T. Yui, who is a Harvard man of distinction and the leader of the Y.M.C.A. in China, calls "the imperialistic designs of the foreign Powers, and the inequalities imposed on China by sheer force." This view is hardly fair since it is China which has vastly benefited by trade with Europe while the great treaty ports are huge cities created by European commercial enterprise. If there had been no European traders there would have been no Shanghai. However, Mr. Yui is hopeful, despite the illiteracy and ignorance of the working classes in China.

It is admitted by Mr. Tchou that the Canton Government "has close contact with Soviet Officials" but he declares that in the main the Labour movement in China is a Chinese movement. He ominously adds "how long it will remain purely such a movement will to a certain extent depend upon the attitude and action of other classes, as well as the authorities." He sets forth a programme of housing, universal education, better industrial economic conditions and the promotion of industrial democracy. These are the conditions precedent to a better world in China. On this point it will be well for the students of Chinese affairs to study Professor Vinacke's book on problems of industrial developments in China. He makes the point that "if it reaches its fullest fruition, Chinese industry will not slavishly imitate the West, but will develop its own methods and organisation in the light of the past experience of China." But new unrest is evident. Mr. T. Z. Koo, writing on the spiritual life of students in Christian colleges declares that he observes what he did not feel five or six years ago "an atmosphere of very great contempt for Christianity and Christians on the part of many students." But he also finds in each college "a small band of students who are genuinely concerned about their spiritual growth." He pleads that the teachers should "live the Christ

life." The relation of Christian life to industrial conditions cannot be neglected. Dr. MacLagan's book on Chinese religious ideas shows the essentially religious nature of the Chinese mind. Practical Christianity will have a place in Chinese life.

The Chinese writers above quoted show some misunderstanding, at any rate, of the British point of view. Mr. R. O. Hall in *China and Britain* traces the clash of views to the history of the relationship of China and Great Britain. Historically the Chinese regard all foreigners as barbarians and barbarians as beasts, while on the other hand, the British, from at any rate the days of Lord Elgin, believed that "the Chinese yield nothing to reason and everything to fear." Both views were due to ignorance. The Japanese held the same views as to foreigners but with amazing speed they saw their errors and secured national equality with the races from the West who had come to them originally as mere traders. Cannot this happen in the case of China? Mr. Hall's book provides evidence that the thinking Chinese desire a *via media*. Learned Chinese who have lived in England and taken advantage of our university system know as well as the Japanese know and knew that we have a humanism as real as, and perhaps more living than, that of China. But it is clear enough that the Chinese humanism is noble in a way quite other than ours. The idea is not that of dominance over others. In the Chinese architecture there is "no gathering up of the whole in one dominating point as in a Gothic spire." Instead there is "the perfect contentedness of pure symmetry." Mr. Hall points out that Chinese placidity is not mere conservatism. The Chinese "trusts the ideal of the past; trusts it not because it has been tried but for what it is in itself, a positive creative thing, the ideal of harmony." The very homes, and homes that, in the case of palaces, are temples of ancestor worship, show that the sense of ancestral continuity goes to the very root of Chinese life. The family is everything. Harmony and family life are the fundamental things in Chinese life.

Here we get something so essentially antagonistic to Bolshevistic notions that it is difficult to believe that Soviet propaganda can have any permanent effect in China. "China puts the family above the State; we put the State above the family." That would be a fundamental difference if it were true. But in Great Britain, at any rate, it is not true that "we put the State above the family?" The two work together and family life is very sacred among British peoples. That fact should prove a great help in the future relation of Great Britain and her Dominions with China. But it is true to some extent that "educated Britain is still ignorant of the culture of China." Yet it is far less true than Mr. Hall thinks. We know in this country more about the history of Chinese philosophy,

religion and art than is probably known in most parts of the world and we might even say in most parts of China itself. 'The trouble in China is that she has lost the benefits of autocracy and strong government and has not gained the benefits of liberalism and just government. No one can speak for her. Between 1913 and 1916 the apparently Liberal Yuan Shi-kai, endeavoured to found a new dynasty on a liberal basis, and he almost succeeded. Some rare porcelain exists that was to celebrate his coming to the Dragon Throne. But Mr. Stephen King-Hall, in his book on *The China of To-day*, gives the reason for his failure. Japan was opposed to the restoration of the dynastic system.

Yuan wrote after his failure :

My sincerity has not been sufficient to move the heart of the people, and my misunderstanding has not been able to read the signs of the time. It is the lack of virtue on my part. . . . All steps for the restoration of the monarchy are stopped. Thus I hope that, by imitating the repentance and remorse of the ancients, the love and grace of heaven will be received . . . so that trouble will be averted and the people will obtain peace and tranquillity.

Yuan died in June, 1916, and more than ten years of growing misery have followed. Mr. King-Hall felt in 1923 that "China is still waiting and waiting" for a really strong Liberal. "After an interval of four years these are still my opinions." Is Chang Tso-lin that strong Liberal? He has recently announced the adoption of the broadest Liberal principles and he is beyond doubt a very strong man. The coming year will show what he can achieve. In April last he defied the Soviet authorities and has checked the Northern rush of the Southern Bolshevized forces. How far can he achieve success and give to China a Federal Constitution? Mr. King-Hall believes that Great Britain can help in the unification of China "by negotiating a series of local treaties on common principles dealing with matters which affect all parts of China where British interests are at stake." It may be then that the North and South would find a common purpose in meeting our reasonable views.

Our English thinkers should study not only the Chinese religion and Chinese art but the history of China. It is fortunate that at this moment a book has appeared by Dr. Pao Chao Hsieh on *The Government of China from 1644*, when the Manchus subjugated China, to the fall of the Dragon Throne in 1911. It is the work of a Chinese scholar who writes perfect English and the chief value of it is that it is a scientific work which describes in detail the whole of the elaborate Chinese Governmental system from the time when the Manchus were faced "with the task of ruling over a civilised people with 21,068,609 adult males [between the ages of sixteen and sixty] who might at any moment turn against their new conquerors and

drive out the invaders." The new emperors (their work recalls the great Norman Kings of England) soon learnt the secret of Chinese civilisation "and were converted into Chinese emperors in thought and action as well as in name." The recent break-up of the Manchu system of control was, in Dr. Hsieh's view, due to the Chinese desire to modify their ancient civilisation with Western ideals :

With the destruction of the firm belief in the superiority of the Chinese civilisation in every way went the superstitious reverence and unqualified loyalty to the Emperor. Also the Western theory of nationalism helped to strengthen their old racial consciousness and turn their hidden racial feelings into angry anti-Manchu outbursts. With part of the Chinese civilisation modified, many kinds of old prestige gradually disappeared. The inevitable change had to come; changes were needed. So when the political change, a part of the civilisation, came, the people gladly took it, and the Manchu dynasty fell.

The racial consciousness remained and that consciousness has taken the form of nationalism. But what is that consciousness? This is the question to which English statesmen must find an answer since it is the cultural fact that must determine all future dealings with China. If the North again conquers the South and a new Manchu dynasty is seated on the Dragon Throne there will be this difference that the essential elements of Chinese civilisation will have play in a fashion not possible when the ancient Ming Dynasty was replaced by the Manchu Dynasty. To-day racial consciousness must be reckoned with by any ruler of China.

Some help in estimating the racial consciousness will be found in the study of Mr. H. P. Wilkinson's substantial work on *The Family in Classical China*. It is a very useful book from the point of view of the study of Chinese Customary Law, a book from that point a view which was greatly needed, and fortunately it has been compiled by a lawyer of great legal and judicial experience in China. But the political value, if the term may be used, of the book is that it emphasises the immemorial continuity of the classical conception of family life. Professor E. H. Parker in his volume on *Comparative Chinese Law* dwells on the fact—the passage is quoted by Mr. Wilkinson—that :

Dynasties may come and go, but the connection of each Chinese with the eternal past is not necessarily affected thereby. Each individual is theoretically, if not practically, rooted to the land, and views his connection with the past as a holy and sacred fact. This is the one feeling, which is strong, universal, unalloyed amongst all classes of Chinese, and against which Christian dogma struggles in vain for mastery. It is thus the supreme instinct of all families to be kept together.

This universal view is not contrary to the dogmas of Christianity. Professor Parker thinks that such a view explains infanticide of

daughters since these are not necessary to the family. But that must be an extreme case otherwise to be explained: the insistence on the immortality of family life, the worship of the ancestors, the love of the soil, are facts that play a root part in the racial consciousness of the Chinese people and statesmen must realise this fact if there is ever to be full contact between the civilisation of the Far East and of the Far West. The spread of Christianity in China may do much with this immemorial racial consciousness which we are facing to-day.

REVIEWS.

THE JOHANNINE WRITINGS.*

The veteran scholar, Dr. Estlin Carpenter, in his new volume on *The Johannine Writings*, has published two courses of lectures on the problems of the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel, which were delivered to Summer Schools of Theology at Oxford in 1920 and 1923. The work fully sustains the very high reputation of the author. The treatment throughout is reverent and lucid. While commanding the respectful attention of well-informed students, the book is so written as to attract and sustain the interest of all who are concerned with Biblical questions. The exposition is enriched throughout not only by accurate knowledge of the Old and New Testament Scriptures, and by wide acquaintance with classical literature and apocalyptic writings, but also by Dr. Carpenter's extensive familiarity with Oriental Religions. If at every point the author reveals his indebtedness to other investigators, and especially to Dr. Charles in regard to the Apocalypse, he never fails to display independent judgment and sound caution, as well as spiritual insight. While courageous he is never combative.

It is impossible within the limits of a short notice to enter into details in regard to the argument and the exposition, or to indicate the points at which conclusions may be reached that differ from the inferences, which Dr. Estlin Carpenter draws from the facts that he elucidates. It must suffice to say that reasons are elaborated for the general view that the Apocalypse and the Gospel cannot be ascribed to the same author, that, in particular, neither was composed by the St. John, the Apostle, but that the Apocalypse is the work of a certain John the Prophet and the Gospel that of John the Presbyter, both of whom probably lived and wrote at Ephesus at the end of the first century.

* *The Johannine Writings. A Study of the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel.* By J. Estlin Carpenter, D.D., D.Litt. Constable. 30s.

In regard to the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, Dr. Carpenter justly remarks that "all attempts to explain the origin of the Fourth Gospel involve hypotheses by which to connect the broken links of fact, and every student has to construct his own interpretation" (p. 250). These "broken links of fact" may perhaps be summarised as follows:

1. The authorship of both books is Jewish. For this conclusion many cogent reasons can be given.
2. The Apocalypse was written at a time of severe conflict and persecution; probably in the reign of Domitian.
3. The Gospel presents incidents in the Ministry of Christ which are treated as historical and embody a tradition that is independent of the Synoptic Gospels. These incidents are selected and arranged in order to lead up to a definite conclusion, namely, "that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God; and that believing ye may have life in His Name" (xx. 31). It was because of this purposive handling of the material that Clement of Alexandria spoke of the Gospel as a "Spiritual" Gospel, and not in the sense to which Dr. Estlin Carpenter inclines that it was created by pious imagination, and not by historic tradition.
4. The differences, not only of language and style, but of theological presentation and emphasis between the Apocalypse and the Gospel are incontestable. The former emphasises the decisive deeds of Almighty Power; the latter the continuous activity of Spirit. In qualification, however, both of this contrast and of the inferences as to authorship that are drawn from it, it should be borne in mind that Apocalyptic treatment is necessarily scenic and demands such dramatic displays of power. Yet this does not absolutely exclude the possibility of other moods and other ways of thought in the same writers. These contrasted moods and conceptions, for example, may both be found in well authenticated writings of St. Paul.
5. The most continuous and strongly supported tradition fixes the residence of St. John the Apostle at Ephesus in extreme old age. It is difficult to suppose that this tradition is baseless, although other Johns may well have been there, since the name was common. Furthermore, this tradition attributes to the Apostle the authorship of all the Johannine writings.

6. The Gospel, as we now have it, and the Epistles have certainly a common authorship and the author of the latter describes himself as "The Presbyter."

7. Both the prologue and the conclusion of the Gospel can be detached from its main contents. The Logos doctrine of the prologue does not appear in the subsequent narrative or in the dis-

courses, while Cap. xxi is clearly an appendix, with a concluding authentication (vv, 24, 25).

8. The Gospel suggests the combined activity of memory and reflection, enriched by prolonged spiritual experience and meditation.

While frankly recognising all these factors of the problem it is possible to put a more conservative construction upon them than that of the present volume. It is, however, simple truth to say that, if this be done, honest and competent scholarship must first take full account of Dr. Estlin Carpenter's reverent and dispassionate discussion of the questions that are involved.

J. S. L.

* * *

ALUMNI CANTABRIGIENSES.*

The first two volumes of this monumental work were published in 1922, but its inception dates back to 1909. The third volume was issued in 1924, having been somewhat delayed by the death of Dr. Venn, the honoured President of Gonville and Caius College, to whose conception and splendid industry a great part of this great work is due. Many years of labour were necessary before publication could begin. The records of matriculation, which begin in 1544, had to be verified and supplemented by information from the college registers of those duly entered who failed to perform the statutory duty of matriculation. This was often the case when the member of the college was a person of social or political importance, and Dr. Venn and his son and their team of workers were able to add some three thousand names between 1544 and 1659 from this source alone. The list includes Oliver Cromwell, who neither matriculated nor graduated and, of course, had no official university record. The *Alumni Oxonienses* relies almost entirely on the matriculation lists and is, therefore, presumably, seriously defective. No doubt in time Mr. Joseph Foster's work with respect to Oxford will be supplemented in this respect.

The new volume of the Cambridge lists not only completes the period from the earliest times to 1751 but also contains invaluable supplements to each of the four volumes, material that enriches this great collection of some 76,000 names. The sources from which this noble collection of biographies of Cambridge men are drawn are very diverse. There are first the University records, including the

* *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of all known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900.* Compiled by John Venn and J. A. Venn. Part I, *From the Earliest Times to 1751.* Volume IV, Saal-Zuinglius, with an Appendix containing additional information relative to previous volumes. Cambridge University Press. 1908. net.

imperfect matriculation register, the Degree lists compiled from the Grace Books, which are continuous from 1454, the *Ordo Senioritatis* beginning in 1491, and the *Supplicats*. There are next the College Records. The ancient Hostel or Boarding House records have vanished, apparently past recall. They must have contained many names before these hostels disappeared in the mid-sixteenth century. College account books and absence books will one day yield many names, while episcopal records and public documents at the Record Office, the Inns of Court and Probate Registries, furnish much material. Thus we have the names of students who took part in riots in 1261. There are, of course, many more names. The lists of ordinations of Cambridge men from every diocese are not complete, and in the preface to the first volume the scandalous fact is noticed that in the case of some dioceses "fees are sometimes demanded that are practically prohibitive." This fact in the present year has been emphasised in the case of other research workers. It is monstrous that public documents should be withheld from public use by a system of fees that makes research impossible. The question should be raised in the Church Assembly at an early date. A list of fees charged for searches in the various dioceses should be brought before the Assembly, and a crying scandal from the point of view of historical research ended. Fortunately Dr. Venn and his colleagues have been able to secure the majority of the available ordinations of all the dioceses which principally concern Cambridge students. In the case of lists of incumbents there is the same difficulty of this shark-like demand for fees. It is noted in the first volume that at one registry there was a charge of six and eightpence an hour "and no relaxation was made for those whose object was purely historical or literary." The material is very important, as the Bishops' registers go back as far as the thirteenth century and commonly assign the University degree. The withholding from Cambridge use of the transcript made for Oxford use by Mr. Foster of the Institution Books in the Record Office seems churlish, but the catalogue is in private hands, and private owners may have private reasons. In any event, the additional research involved has been very fruitful.

The present volume, Mr. J. A. Venn states in his preface, contains fuller information of the persons enumerated—which run from John Saal, who took his doctorate before 1456, to Rudolph Zuinglius, who was admitted at St. John's about 1571 and died the next year in London, "a very pious youth of extraordinary promise"—than the earlier volumes. There is an average of thirty-six biographies to a page as compared with thirty-eight in volume III, forty in volume II and forty-three in volume I. The biographies are excellent examples of condensation with all the necessary references and very often a

EDUCATIONISTS IN COUNCIL.*

This substantial volume forms a complete record of the important Annual Conference of Educational Associations held at University College this year. It is the fifteenth time that the Conference has been called together and that veteran educationist, Miss Busk, must be congratulated on the growing success year by year of a meeting that has become what may be called a clearing house of current educational thought. The admirable inaugural address on this occasion was delivered by Sir Henry Miers, who spoke on "the choice of what is good for others." He notes a changed situation in social life:

While those in authority may be endeavouring to give what they think the best, those under authority are at the same time getting for themselves, or having forced upon them, much that is in direct opposition to this, or at any rate that appears to be much worse, and are getting it in a more attractive form. I am speaking now not only of the cinema and broadcasting, though these are the latest and most conspicuous examples; it is equally true of literature, art, instruction, entertainment, and a thousand other things. What is the result? Side by side with the desire so often expressed for freedom of thought and expression and a choice you will find a growing fear of external influences and a desire to resume the old shielding or defensive attitude; not only to give people what you think good, but to prevent them from receiving what you think the worse. That is a much more difficult task. There is one feature of the present situation which seems to me remarkable. It is no longer those members of the community who fear change by whom this defensive attitude is most conspicuously adopted, but by the advocates of change and freedom.

It is the old struggle between freedom and authority. But if good and bad are merely relative terms (which few people even in art would admit) then Sir Henry Miers suggests that "the surest education of the critical faculty" is "to be found in an attempt to sift the better from the worse." He declares that this can be done best "by seeking the good everywhere and seeking with sympathy. Sympathy is at the root of true criticism as it is at the root of successful human relationship." This is very true, but it is difficult to understand how we are to know the good when we see it unless the doctrine of relativity can be called in aid and we are able to build up a universe that is essentially good because we feel it is good in relation to other things that we feel are not good. This after all, was Milton's final conclusion. Freedom is in the soul and there only.

There were no less than fifty-three affiliated Associations that met

* Report of the Fifteenth Annual Conference of Educational Associations held at The University College, London, January, 1927. The Conference Committee, 29, Gordon Square, W.C.1. 4s. 6d. (including postage).

in the Conference and there was hardly a field of education that remained unploughed. Even religious education—a new departure—was admirably discussed in a paper by the Headmaster of Westminster School. Most of the Associations discussed their own problems and their own affairs, but in the two joint conferences many common points of view came under consideration. Voluntary enterprise and education was discussed at great length and it is indeed an important theme. The volunteer is a necessary coadjutor with the paid worker in education. The State cannot do everything. It is the joint effort that is going to make national education effective. The second joint conference dealt with practical instruction in different types of schools, and there again the speakers realised a dualism, the practical playing on and giving new efficiency to the theoretical. Educationists throughout the world will find very great benefit from these thoughtful expositions of the two great dualisms in educational work: voluntary effort supplementing professional effort, practical work supplementing pure theory. One other feature of the Conference must be mentioned: the debates on Empire settlement and development. These were practical indeed and showed how the Empire can be built up and strengthened. The book is admirably edited and must find a place—as indeed the whole series of reports should find a place—in all educational libraries.

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THE POETRY OF WILLIAM CANTON.*

The general reader is but barely acquainted with the work of William Canton as a whole. It is as the author of *The Invisible Playmate*, of *W. V. Her Book*, in memory of a little daughter, and of *A Child's Book of Saints*, and also as a contributor to reviews and periodicals, such as *THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW* (of which he was assistant editor in 1891), the *Sunday Magazine* (of which he was the editor), and *Good Words*, that he is best known. This volume of poems will create a desire to know him and his works more fully, for his poetry presents the man, and he and his reader rapidly become intimate. His poetry is full of "content," not ornament and nothing else, as the note on the cover of this book expresses it. Readers tire of empty verse. In this collection of poems it will be recognised what a rich and overflowing mind William Canton brought to bear on the simplest, and also on the deepest themes. Child life appealed to him strongly, and his sense of fatherhood

* *The Poems of William Canton*. George G. Harrap. London, Calcutta, Sydney. 5s. net.

* VOL. CXXXI.

contemporary phrase that gives a key to the character or attainment of the man.

The record at every turn brings the reader face to face with famous figures. Two instances must suffice. Thomas Swift matriculated as a pensioner from Trinity at Easter, 1611. He was born at Canterbury and was the son of the rector of Harbledon, near that city. At the age of twenty-four he became curate to his father, and later vicar of Goodrich and Bridstow, near Hereford, whence he was ejected in 1646 during the days of trouble. He was prebendary of Hereford at the time of his ejection, a devoted Royalist who suffered great persecution and died in 1658. Now it so happens that this person has a title to memory. He married Elizabeth Dryden, sister of the poet, and his son Jonathan was the father of Dean Swift. It is a fact not without significance that the great Swift had Dryden blood in his veins. Thomas Swift was, in fact, far older than John Dryden, who was admitted pensioner at Trinity in 1650, matriculating in that year from Westminster school, where he was a scholar. Dryden must have been very much younger than his sister who married Swift, since her father, Erasmus Dryden, was admitted pensioner at Emmanuel in 1618, the year before Thomas Swift took his M.A. Something may be said as to the Cromwells, many of whom were at Cambridge. Robert, the Protector's father, matriculated as a fellow commoner from Queens' in 1579. He was admitted at Lincoln's Inn in 1582, and was member for Huntingdon in 1592. He died in June, 1617. His brother Oliver also was at Queens' as a fellow commoner in 1579, and was admitted at Lincoln's Inn on the same date as his brother. He was knighted in 1603, and was a strong Royalist, sitting for Hunts in seven Parliaments. He died in 1655 at an immense age. Henry Cromwell a cousin of the Protector (the son of Sir Oliver Cromwell of Hinchinbrook) was also a fellow commoner at Queens'. He was a royalist and his estates were sequestered, but restored by the Protector. The Protector himself was admitted as a fellow-commoner at Sidney on April 23rd, 1616—the day that Shakespeare died—but left college on his father's death in 1617 and settled on the paternal estate at Huntingdon, which he represented in Parliament in 1628-9. His second son, Oliver, was admitted as a pensioner at St. Catherine's in 1642. The Protector's youngest son, Henry, was admitted pensioner at Emmanuel in 1644, and was M.P. for the University in 1654, and Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1657. The Protector's third son, Richard, was M.P. for the University in 1656, and succeeded as Protector in 1658. He died at Cheshunt in 1712, at the age of eighty-six. The family of the Protector was not in any sense persecuted by the Stuarts, and it is strange to think that the man who had been practically King of England lived in peace and comfort well into the eighteenth century.

His nephew, the son of Henry, was admitted as a fellow commoner at Emmanuel in 1675. He was born in Dublin when his father was ruling Ireland. He died in Lisbon in 1711, the year before Richard, sometime Protector of England.

There are only two Shakespeares in these lists, both Warwickshire men: John, admitted as a sizar at Magdalene in 1662, who became vicar of Austrey in Warwickshire in 1670; and Edward, who was admitted as a sizar at Clare in 1725. Edward Shakespeare was the author of various sermons. In 1544 there was a Shakespere (the Christian name unknown) at Christ's. So it would be possible to go on indefinitely quoting famous names. These four volumes are a veritable storehouse for the antiquary and the historian. They are a perpetual monument of what Cambridge meant to England and the world from the thirteenth to the mid-eighteenth century.

The great task lies before Mr. J. A. Venn and his helpers of bringing the work down to the beginning of the present century. Dr. Venn announced in 1921 that "materials exist in manuscript for Part II which is planned to extend from 1752 to 1900 with a further 60,000 names." For some time it had been doubtful whether it would be possible to find the funds for this completion of a noble work. The labours of Dr. Venn seemed to demand some great effort to complete his cherished design, and it is now certain that this effort will be made. Mr. J. A. Venn writes in the preface to the latest volume, after mentioning the economic difficulties, "it is, therefore, exceedingly gratifying to be able to announce that the Syndics of the Press have, with the utmost generosity, decided to provide the financial means whereby the whole work can now be completed." He expresses the natural hope that this public-spirited action will result in further support being accorded to the part of the work that is now completed. There can be no doubt that every university and university college throughout the world should possess this unique record of a university that has adorned the life and done so much in successive ages to promote the faith, the learning, and the happiness of the world. This is especially true of the American Universities, since in a very real sense they are spiritual children of Cambridge. It may be taken, indeed, that all universities in the English-speaking world will acquire this work, and it is certain that no substantial library, public or private, will be complete without it. It is a work of reference that goes far beyond the confines of Cambridge life into all the activities of Englishmen in successive ages. For that reason it is a work that public libraries, at any rate throughout the Empire, should possess. It is necessarily costly, but the cost will be a capital expenditure in every sense of the word.

reached from earth to heaven, and very perfectly he expresses it in the poem entitled "Crying, Abba, Father":

"Abba, in Thine Eternal years
Bethink Thee of our fleeting day:
We are but clay;
Bear with our foolish joys, our foolish tears,
And all the wilfulness with which we pray!
And Thou—wouldst Thou be wroth in such a case?
And crying Abba, I am fain
To think no human father's heart
Can be so tender as Thou art,
So quick to feel our love, to feel our pain.

All these things, Father, a father understands;
And am I not Thy son?"

This poem is one of the gems of the book, it is full of the deepest faith, the outcome of the purest love.

William Canton was born in the island of Chusan off the coast of China in 1845. The first ten years of his life were spent in Jamaica. His father died at the close of this period and William came to England with his family, and after some time at a school in the north was sent to the Benedictine College at Douai, where he spent six happy years. On leaving Douai he went to Saint Sulpice in Paris, and on from thence to Belfort, but, finding that the Church was not his vocation, he turned to teaching and subsequently to journalism. In 1876 he went to Glasgow and remained there for fifteen years, first as editor of the *Glasgow Weekly Herald*, and later as sub-editor and leader-writer of the *Glasgow Herald*. In 1887 Blackwoods published his first book of verse, *A Lost Epic and other Poems*.

The poetry of science inspired him, and his son in the preface to this volume quotes both Huxley's and Max Muller's appreciations of his genius in dealing with scientific and classical themes. Walter Pater three years later expresses his admiration thus:

"I greatly relish an intellectual cast in poetry, such as you have found a way of writing to real melody and hang of expression in those primeval, pre-adamite, or prehistoric, subjects. Just there you seem to me to have struck a distinctly new note. Some, I know, fancy that the material of the poetry of the future will be those half-proved, half-imagined, truths of scientific research into 'origins.' You have certainly made their poetic side your own."

In November of 1891, he resigned his position as general manager with Messrs. Isbister. He was invited to write the official history of the British and Foreign Bible Society. This great work in five volumes occupied nine years to complete and left him but little time for poetry but, notwithstanding, he published *The Comrades: Poems Old and New* in 1902. *Comrades* is included in this volume.

It might have been a post-war poem of our present time. After the completion of the history of the Bible Society in 1910, he wrote, as Mr. Guy Canton says, some of his best prose works. In 1913 he began, but never finished, *The Mask of Veronica*. This uncompleted poem is given in this collection. He had contemplated publishing a revised edition of his poetry, but was never able to carry it out. He died in May, 1926. His son, with the help of notes left by his father, has now published the present edition, which all lovers of poetry will welcome and be grateful that such rich and abundant poetry is within their reach.

William Canton in all that he touches dips into the future. In that fine poem "The Latter Law," he sees the kith and kin of all nature:

"Oh, joy! I found this stern new Law reveal
Romance more rare than poesy creates:
Your blood, it said, is kindred with the sap
Which throbs within the cedar, and mayhap
In some dim wise the tree reciprocates,
Even as a Dryad, all the love you feel!"

These thoughts are only now taking shape in knowledge. Poetic thought inspires, creation follows train. It is poetry such as we find in the prophetic pages of the Bible, which many look upon as æry nothings, that differentiates man from monkey. Inspiration is aspiration, and without it "What's a heaven for," as Browning would ask. Max Muller compares William Canton with Matthew Arnold, and finds him his equal. Might it not be said that Robert Browning was his master, for his thought follows closely in Browning's mould, not so much in method or in metre, as in the far-reachingness of outlook and in the wide horizon. The small and petty things which hide God from his creation Canton swept away. "Pearls and Simples: an Idyl" strikes this note:

"Though we by tender gloamings moved may weep,
He smiles; his sunset's but the other side
Of some one else's morning. When he lies
Beneath a tree to sleep,
He thinks how leaves and little cares can hide
God in his heaven and systems in their skies."

We hear the pathos of things in "In Sicily," a charming little poem on a picture of a lad plaiting rushes:

"For one Theocritus, it seems,
Beheld and sketched this urchin so
Twenty-two hundred years ago!"

We feel quiet humour in "The Choir Boy":

Let him slumber; do not blame!
In the heat his eyelids fell,
And the preacher's voice became
Water babbling down a dell.

Some of these minor poems are delightful. What mother can pass "Suspirium"? These little shoes! They reach the heart of things, and that is what poetry is meant to do. Much more might be quoted but it is enough to show how varied and full of good things is this little volume of poems. To read it and to know it is a privilege.

S. DE M.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

Dr. Ernest S. Griffith's massive work entitled *The Modern Development of City Government in the United Kingdom and the United States*,* is a substantial compilation of evidence as to the method of government in great cities in the most populous parts of the English-speaking world during the past sixty years. The earlier period is dealt with to some extent, but Dr. Griffith's book does not claim to be "an adequate history of the cities of either country; much less a study of the technique of the city functions." He concentrates "upon the few really great contributions which the cities of either country seem to have made towards a solution of problems that are common to both. This implies a study in political science, rather than in history. For such a purpose, the period subsequent to 1870 is of more value than the earlier years. This was the time when the city in the modern sense came into being." It is very difficult to admit these conclusions. It is dangerous to separate history from economics, and though the vast increase in bulk and the birth of new efforts to meet the increase belong to the mid-nineteenth century, yet the previous history is all important. Moreover, it is doubtful if in such a comparison it is wise to have omitted consideration of other great English-speaking urban areas in Canada and Australia. Sydney presents the slum problem as vividly as New York or London. Dr. Griffith is quite frank about the failures in Great Britain and the United States. He lays great stress on the educational side of things in the evolution of great cities and thinks that America has the advantage. In fact, education is far better organised in the United Kingdom than in any American State, despite the fact that fabulous sums have been spent on American educational buildings. School attendance is still bad in the United States, and much of the secondary education is still illusory in consequence of the short period spent in the secondary schools. Again, while statistics speak volumes for the American University grade, in fact a great number of those colleges are not up to the standard of the higher forms of our public schools. Civic corruption has been the great trouble in America. The last decade of the nineteenth century witnessed a civic awakening in both countries, while in America after 1910 "the adolescence of the nation seemed to have passed, and evidences of maturity and saneness of thought became more frequent." During the same period Dr. Griffith thinks that he detects a lessening of popular interest in municipal government in England. That is a mistake, as is the alleged decline of local initiative. The truth is that the English local bodies and electorates do not advertise their thoughts

* Oxford University Press. 42s. net.

and their activities, and no doubt they lack the artificial stimulus given to crowds of sheep-like electors by American "bosses." Moreover, the "spoils" system has never existed in England. Dr. Griffith thinks that interference in city government by the central government is bad, and that cities should tax the capital value of local lands. If he knew England better he would know that both proposals are wholly contrary to the wishes of localities. Everyone in England who has studied our local problems believes that a wise partnership between the State and the City is the line of progress.

* * * * *

Mr. J. W. Robertson Scott in *The Dying Peasant and the Future of His Sons** lays stress on the fact that the outlook of the farm labourer to-day is wholly other than that of thirty years ago. In fact, the outlook of all the English-speaking world has wholly altered in the same period of time. The word "peasant" is misleading. There never were any peasants in England. The word was introduced on a book title by Dr. Jessopp and others half a century ago but the word peasant is purely French, and the only persons who could be compared to the French peasant died out early in the seventeenth century when the manorial bondmen finally disappeared. But after all if it pleases Mr. Robertson to use what he calls "the most arresting title I can think of" it does not affect the substantial value of his book which shows "what sort of men do the work the smocked peasants did, how they do it, and the terms on which they are willing to go on doing it." Mr. Robertson, the friend of the farm worker, does not "underrate the skill and the decent feeling of our best farmers." Moreover, he does not despair of farming. Things are coming swiftly along. If Mr. Robertson would study Mr. William Dannatt's book on farming (perhaps he has), the lines of advance are quite clear. The farmer to-day if he is to succeed must rise with his men early in the morning, must have their interests at heart, and must also be fully acquainted with all the latest thought in the great science and romance of agriculture. If we are to stop the exodus from Arcady, housing must be improved, education must be improved, the village "pub," the village institute, the interest in life must be improved. That there is a substantial struggle towards true citizenship is certain and it is equally certain that combination is a help towards a better world. But a renewed love of agricultural life, a deepening of the knowledge of local history and an understanding of both economic and humane problems are also necessary and those things can come from the hands of the Local Education Authority and the local clergy. But the main person that requires education is the farmer. If the farmer is a first-class man of business who knows and loves his fellow workers then Arcady will come back with something better than the good old times.

* * * * *

Tobacco is a universal luxury of to-day and the early history of the trade is one that makes very attractive reading. Mr. C. M. MacInnes in his volume entitled *The Early English Tobacco Trade*† with its eight contemporary illustrations, draws upon the original authorities in the State Papers and Manuscripts, in various famous collections as well as

* Williams and Norgate. 10s. 6d. net.

† Kegan Paul, 7s. 6d. net.

upon Elizabethan and later publications. Shakespeare apparently does not refer to tobacco and certainly does not use the word though several phrases about smoke might refer to this notable herb. For instance, the line in *Love's Labour Lost*: "Sweet smoke of rhetoric! He reputes me a cannon," and another in *Timon of Athens*: "Mouthfriends! Smoke and lukewarm water is your perfection," looks as if the poet were making play with a practice well known in his time. The reference to "nose-herbs" in *All's Well* (iv., 5, 19) also may refer to tobacco. Mr. MacInnes writes: "certainly by the seventies of the sixteenth century its use by the English people had become sufficiently widespread to attract the attention of several writers, and during the eighties and nineties it became almost a universal custom among courtiers and men about town." Shakespeare must have known of the use. The phrase "this same filthy tobacco" occurs in Ben Jonson's *Everyman in His Humour* (i., 4), and Spenser refers to it in *The Faërie Queene* (Rom. iii, canto 5, stanza 32). Mr. MacInnes holds that the original habitat of tobacco was America. Columbus was the first European to record its use. The account of the spread of its use into Europe and Asia is well done. The legend that Sir Walter Raleigh was the father of English smoking is discredited, but "he probably does deserve the credit of having introduced the practice to the Court and to polite society." The economics of the subject are somewhat amazing. James I and Charles I objected to the use of tobacco on moral grounds but they could not be blind to the fact of its importance in the colonial trade. Raleigh's association with Virginia probably gave rise to the tradition that he was the introducer, though Hawkins described the uses of the herb in 1565. By 1602 16,178 pounds of the dried herb entered the port of London and the price was high. The average price was about one pound sterling a pound. According to Barnibe Rych there were in London alone in 1514 some 7,000 tobacco shops, and the sale in a year fetched over £319,000. The history of the importation of the herb and of the English planting of it, suppressed with difficulty, is dealt with in detail. Everybody who takes an interest in or a dislike to tobacco will find matter of interest in this well-written, well-compiled book.

* * * * *

Dr. J. F. Scott's *Five Weeks: the Surge of Public Opinion on the Eve of the Great War** is a useful study of the utterances and the influence of the press in Austria, Germany, Russia, France, and England during the last weeks of peace in 1914. It was a difficult task to obtain all the material that he required, but his researches were assisted by librarians and specialists in the countries concerned. While most writers on the outbreak of the war confine their attention to the statesmen and the soldiers, Dr. Scott reconstructs the popular mind week by week and almost day by day, and endeavours to estimate the effect of opinion and passion on the march of events. His survey leads him to the conclusion that "in the surge of public opinion in the various countries, not in the orders and telegrams of statesmen and diplomats, lies the fundamental explanation of the disastrous outcome of the crisis." This is perhaps going a little too far; but the author is quite right in denying that peoples are always peace-loving and only governments bellicose. The peoples were, as they always must be,

* The John Day Company, New York, 1927.

the chief victims of the catastrophe; but they were not without responsibility for the fate which overtook them. "Once machinery had been set in motion by the crime of Sarajevo and the errors of ensuing Anglo-German diplomacy, issues developed which threw the peoples of five great European countries into angry excitement, issues for which they were determined to fight rather than yield." It is a sad story, the moral of which is the necessity of a new international order which will prevent the passions of the masses from taking control of the situation and of putting civilisation into the abyss.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

"The Mind of Rome" * edited by Mr. Cyril Bailey is an excellent and ingenious attempt to provide through adequate translation the means by which the general reader may obtain some synthesis of the outlook of the Latin mind on life. The plan is the same as that of Mr. R. W. Livingstone's "Pageant of Greece": "the various departments of Latin literature have been dealt with separately; and each section is designed to show the historical development of its particular branch." Standard versions are given but in some cases the writer of the section is responsible. Mr. Bailey provides an introduction showing how the Roman forces of virility, dignity, patriotism, practical wisdom, the sense of form and beauty are reflected in Latin literature. The sense of discipline is certainly so reflected. Each department of verse and prose is introduced by a specialist—the contributions coming from Mr. J. Bell, Mr. J. G. Barrington-Ward, Mr. T. F. Higham, Mr. F. N. Bryan-Brown, Mr. H. E. Butler, Mr. Maurice Platnauer, and Dr. Charles Singer. It is needless to say that the translations are excellent and have a native vigour that does not hide the individual qualities even of Tacitus.

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In "This Believing World"† Mr. Lewis Browne gives the reader "A Simple Account of the Great Religions of Mankind" and illuminates the text with more than seventy illustrations and "animated maps." Mr. Browne assumes that for the human mind in evolution magic paved the way for religion. The reverse is quite possibly the case and degraded religion may have given birth to the dogmas of magic. Progress may consist in the doing away of inhibitions. Certainly in the case of religion there have been many inhibitions. The second book deals with the development of religion among (1) the Celts, (2) the Babylonians, (3) the Egyptians, (4) the Greeks, (5) the Romans. The Celts are placed first, though they are late in time because "records of their rites and beliefs have come down to us with comparative fullness." Celtic students will hardly admit this. A series of books or sections deal with India, China, Persia, Israel, Christian Europe, Muhammedan Arabia. The book has the merit of bringing the various faiths into comparative position.

* Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 8s. 6d. net.

† Ernest Benn Ltd. 7s. 6d. net.

It is pleasant to record the publication of a second and revised edition of Mr. and Mrs. Quennell's delightful and instructive volume in the "Everyday Life Series" entitled "Everyday Life in the Old Stone Age."* The book is one that should turn many a schoolboy and schoolgirl into an antiquary anxious to delve into the mysteries of human life in the Stone Age. The Stone Age still exists in Australia and the Pacific. In this book the man of the Stone Age is judged by his work that survives. The various stages of the Old Stone Age are carefully described and the authors have had the advantage of the advice of Professor H. J. Fleure and Dr. A. C. Haddon. The prehistoric vestiges are illustrated by the actual life and activities of the Australian aborigines. But the definition of these living people as quoted from Messrs. Spencer and Gillen's book is misleading. The Australian natives have a substantial idea of a Supreme Being; they have the most complex language known to man, and their art is by no means negligible. They are certainly a race that belongs to the originals of the race that entered Europe, while the complexity of their social customs seem to indicate decadence from a higher civilisation. They fully understand barter. The account given of them and of other races in this book is, however, very helpful.

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Mrs. Octavia Gregory in "Sweet Lavender"† bring to bear her gift for excellent light verse, and many of these short poems are the outcome of a happy observation of nature, and are brimful of the sentiment of bygone days. Horace Walpole and Strawberry Hill fill a large place in the author's regard, and she writes of Gray, Laurence Sterne, Leigh Hunt, and others, with a loving and a lingering pen, as if to bring them back to the haunts that some had filled near two centuries ago. Mrs. Gregory dedicates her small volume to "Sweet Lavender," the twin sister of Valentine the Saint, who still holds his own in spite of the revision of the calendar.

Sweet Lavender! Sweet Lavender!
I love it for the perfume sweet
Its purple blossoms hold,
But more, because those misty buds
An old-world charm enfold.

* * *

In "Ceremonies of the University of Cambridge,"‡ the Rev. H. P. Stokes sets forth the official procedure in force in the University prior to October 1st, 1926, though some account is given of the changes brought about by the New Statutes. Here we read all about the officials, the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, the Registrary, the Proctors and Squire Bedells; of the days of the "Order of Merit" in the Triposes and especially the Mathematical Tripos; of great ceremonies, of honorary degrees, of costumes, sermons, discipline, the commemoration of benefactors. The officers of old time find a place in these pages, such as the Master of Glomery. The University Arms were granted by Clarencieux, King of Arms, on June 9th, 1573.

* B. T. Batsford. 5s. net.

† Gray and Hancock.

‡ Cambridge University Press. 7s. 6d. net

JOFFRE, GALLIÉNI AND THE MARNE: A REPLY TO MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL.*

MUCH of the last two volumes of Mr. Winston Churchill's book on the Great War is, and I imagine was intended to be, highly controversial. Many of the points of controversy raised are not yet susceptible of historical treatment, for we still lack the authoritative information to enable us to form a considered judgment upon them. But in the early part of the first of these volumes Mr. Churchill returns to 1914, and for the period of the war up to the eve of the battle of the Marne we have now, at least as far as the conduct of the higher command on both sides is concerned, material as complete as is to be found for any period of military history. We have the British, French, and German official histories, and we have the personal accounts of almost every commander of armies on both sides, with the important exception of Marshal Joffre, who has maintained a resolute silence. Fortunately from the point of view of the historian that silence is not now a matter of much importance, for at the end of 1925 there was published the Second Part of the First Volume of the French Official History. This deals with the preliminaries of the battle of the Marne, and exhibits to us, in two large volumes of annexes, every relevant official document. It is a cold narrative of fact, without comment and without description, but it and the documents attached enable us to read Joffre's mind from day to day, and at times even from hour to hour.

Now it is remarkable that these large and important volumes should have escaped the notice of Mr. Winston Churchill, more especially as he sets out to demolish Joffre's military reputation. "This bull-headed, broad-shouldered, slow-thinking, phlegmatic, bucolic personage,"‡ was, it appears, dragged reluctantly forward to the victory of the Marne by a man of energy, vision, and genius. Joffre, Mr. Churchill tells us,

"issued orders for a general retreat of the French armies, which contemplated their withdrawal, before resuming the offensive, not only behind the Marne but behind the Seine, and comprised the isolation or abandonment both of Paris and Verdun . . . Joffre and the French Headquarters were withdrawing their armies with the avowed intention of turning on their pursuers and fighting a decisive battle at an early date. Exactly where and when they would fight they had not determined. All the armies were in constant contact, everything was in flux. But certainly they contemplated making their supreme effort at some moment when the five pursuing German armies were between the horns of Paris and Verdun.

* Adapted from a lecture given in the University of London, May 10th, 1927.

† Churchill, *The World Crisis*, 1916-1918, vol. I, p. 22.

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"Galliéni's intervention decided this moment and decided it gloriously. He it was who had insisted on the defence of the capital when Joffre had advocated declaring it an open town. He inspired the Government to order Joffre to place a field army at his disposal for its defence. When the endless columns of the right hand German Army skirting Paris turned south-east, he decided instantly to strike at their exposed flank with his whole force. He set all his troops in motion towards the east; he convinced Joffre that the moment had come to strike; and he persuaded him that the flanking thrust should be made to the north rather than to the south of the Marne, as Joffre had proposed. Finally he struck his blow with all the sureness and spontaneity of military genius; and the blow heralded the battle that saved Europe."*

Alas, most of this thrilling description is fiction! Let us turn to cold fact. General Galliéni was appointed Military Governor of Paris on August 26th, 1914, and as such he took a very prominent part in the events leading up to the battle of the Marne. After the battle was over and during the war he wrote an account of his part in those events, which, we are told, he put away in a drawer without even re-reading it.† This document is an honest description of one part of a great whole, viewed from an angle. Galliéni was, throughout the period he describes, in or in the immediate neighbourhood of Paris. He was given by the commander-in-chief just sufficient information of events and of the latter's plans and intentions to enable him to play his part and no more. It is obvious that he knew little or nothing of the facts and influences which were determining Joffre's actions. If one may be critical of an account written in such circumstances, it may be said that it discloses a somewhat exaggerated view of the importance of the writer's actions, and it omits, probably owing to lapse of memory and haste in preparation, certain important facts and documents. After the War General Galliéni's family published this document under the title *Mémoires du Général Galliéni: Défense de Paris*. I am reasonably certain that had he lived General Galliéni would have revised it very considerably. As it is it does him scant justice, but it is the way of pious relatives to injure by injudicious publications reputations which they hope to enhance. The book was welcomed and was the parent of numbers of subsidiary publications, all attacking Joffre. A scapegoat was required for the failure of Plan Seventeen and of the battles of the frontiers, and here was a handy stick to beat the victim, whom no blows could cause to break silence. Mr. Churchill has accepted Galliéni and the assailants of Joffre as historical authorities of the first rank, and has neglected the French Official History which tells a very different story. To that story I now turn.

On August 24th, 1914, the breakdown of Plan Seventeen had

* Churchill, vol. I, p. 25, et seq.

† *Mémoires du Général Galliéni: Défense de Paris*, p. 6.

become apparent. The French invasion of Alsace had failed, the battles of the frontiers had been lost, the Belgian Army was shut up in Antwerp, the full strength of the German turning movement through Belgium was disclosed, and the British Army had begun its retreat from Mons. In these circumstances of grave peril Joffre the next day issued General Instruction No. 2 which contained his new plan. The essential paragraph of this instruction runs: "The projected offensive manœuvre being impossible of execution, future operations will be regulated with a view to the reconstruction on our left by the co-operation of the 4th and 5th Armies of the British Army, and of new forces drawn from the region of the east, of a mass capable of resuming the offensive, while the other armies contain for the necessary time the effort of the enemy." Here is the genesis of the battle of the Marne. For this plan promulgated on August 25th was brought to final and triumphant execution on September 9th. For a "slow-witted, phlegmatic, and bucolic personage" it strikes me as remarkably prompt, bold, and broad of vision. It remained Joffre's plan for the next critical fortnight. Despite grave military friction and under the almost overwhelming burden of responsibility it is adhered to with sane resolution, being modified only in detail to meet changing circumstances from day to day. It envisages no piecemeal counter-attack but a great offensive by four armies in combination. Its execution is at once begun and the new formation, Maunoury's 6th Army, later to be known to fame as the taxi-cab Army, begins to assemble on the Allied left about Amiens.

On the same day on which Joffre issued his new plan, August 25th, General Galliéni as military governor designate of Paris had an interview with M. Messimy, then Minister of War, at which the defenceless position of the capital was discussed, and, on Galliéni declaring that at least three active corps would be needed for its defence, in addition to the Territorial and Fortress troops, the Minister telegraphed to Joffre: "If our armies are not victorious and if they are compelled to retreat, an army of at least three active corps should be directed upon the entrenched camp of Paris to assure its defence."* At that time the question of declaring Paris an open town or leaving it isolated had not arisen. The method of executing the Minister's order was left to Joffre. The French commander-in-chief had, indeed, hoped to begin his counter-offensive on the Somme about the end of August but the German pursuit was too rapid. On August 25th von Kluck caught up the 2nd British Corps and forced it to fight the next day at Le Câteau. Thereafter Sir John French retreated as rapidly as possible. He considered, and with justification, that he had been badly let down at Mons by General Lanrezac, the commander of the 5th French Army,

* *Les Armées Françaises*, Tome I, vol. 2, p. 581.

armies "*se recomplèteront par les envois des dépôts.*" Obviously dépôts of supplies and drafts must be well behind the possible limit of withdrawal of the fighting troops. In order that there may be no mistake a reference is given in the note to the paragraph in the General Instruction No. 4 which contains the warning that the line indicated is a possible limit not necessarily to be reached. The note of September 2nd goes on to say that when the army has been sufficiently withdrawn the offensive will be assumed on the whole front and concludes: "The British Army will be asked to participate in this manœuvre. . . . Simultaneously the garrison of Paris will act in the direction of Meaux";* that is eastwards against von Kluck's flank. The plan grows in precision, and the armies are now told not only that the garrison of Paris will co-operate but also the direction of its action.

Meanwhile on September 1st Sir John French had had a conference in Paris with Lord Kitchener and MM. Viviani and Millerand, the French Prime and War Ministers, M. Millerand having taken M. Messimy's place. In arranging for the future action of the British Army Sir John had proposed to the War Minister that it should stand behind the Marne. M. Millerand had passed this offer on to Joffre, who replied to him on September 2nd: "The present positions of the 5th Army do not allow of the realisation of the programme which Marshal French has indicated,"† and in a letter to Sir John he amplifies this statement as follows: "The present position of the 5th Army does not allow of that army assuring the British Army of effective support on its right. In view of what has happened in the past two hours I do not think it possible at the present time to envisage a combined manœuvre on the Marne with the whole of our forces."‡ What had happened during the past two hours was that a German force had penetrated as far as the communications of the 5th Army. Despite this Joffre still adhered to his plan.

That night, September 3rd, Joffre having, as I have explained, now got definite information that von Kluck was not marching on Paris at all, wired to Galliéni: "Part of General Maunoury's army should be pushed at once towards the east to menace the German right flank, in order that the left of the British army may feel that it is supported on this side. It would be well to inform Marshal French of this and to keep in constant relation with him." So, on September 1st, Joffre had asked the War Minister to place Paris under his orders in order that he might combine the operations of its mobile garrison with those of his field armies; on the 2nd he had in his note to the commanders of armies and to Galliéni indicated

* *Les Armées Françaises*, Annexe 1993.

† *Les Armées Françaises*, Tome I, Vol. 2, p. 538.

‡ French, 1914, p. 97.

Meaux as the direction of attack of the garrison of Paris; on the 3rd he had told Galliéni to move a part of Maunoury's army eastwards. All this before the smallest suggestion had come from Galliéni that his command could or should be used for offence. At 6.30 p.m. on the evening of September 3rd Galliéni, on returning to his headquarters from a visit of inspection of his troops and defensive works, received his first intimation of von Kluck's swerve to the south-east, which, as we know, had, with a partial and temporary interruption on September 2nd, been in progress since August 30th, and of which Joffre was informed. He at once saw the opportunity which this movement offered him, but at first he thought the news too good to be true, and he required confirmation of it. That evening, therefore, having not yet received Joffre's instruction to push Maunoury eastwards, he issued an order to his 6th Army giving the information of the German movement south-eastwards and directing Maunoury to remain in his position: "*Demain 4 Septembre la VI^{me} Armée ne bougera pas. Elle renforcera son front par des travaux défensifs.*"* At the same time he directed that cavalry and air reconnaissances should go out at dawn to confirm the information already obtained. At 9 o'clock on the morning of September 4th, having received both this confirmation and Joffre's instructions that a part of Maunoury's Army is to be pushed eastwards, he issues a warning order to Maunoury to be ready to move in that direction, saying that he will give more precise instructions when he knows what the British army will do. At the same time he made arrangements to reinforce Maunoury with all the mobile troops which Joffre had placed at his disposal for that purpose. That done he caused his Chief of the Staff, General Clergerie, to telephone to French G.H.Q. to say what had been done, and in a second telephonic communication Clergerie added that Maunoury was ready to move either to the north or to the south bank of the Marne. Clergerie expressed a preference for the north bank as being the quickest way of getting at the enemy.† Colonel Pont, the staff officer who replied, said that Joffre preferred the south bank as giving more time for the development of his full strength, and at noon Joffre confirmed this in a telegram to Galliéni saying that of the two confirmed this in a telegram to Galliéni saying that of the two proposals he preferred the south bank, the reason being that he was not yet assured that his 5th Army and the British Army were ready for battle. This is the sole foundation for the story that Galliéni himself on the telephone repeatedly urged Joffre to attack at once.

After these communications with G.H.Q. Galliéni soon after 1 p.m. set out with Maunoury for British Headquarters. Sir John French was out, but the French generals found Sir A. Murray,

* *Les Armées Françaises*, Annexe 2187.

† *Les Armées Françaises*, Annexe 2354.

who had retreated while we were still fighting at Mons without letting him know. Distrusting his French neighbours and having a somewhat exaggerated view of the losses of his 2nd Corps, Sir John thought primarily of bringing the little British army into a position of greater safety. This upset Joffre's plans and he moved the French President to telegraph on the matter to King George, with the result that the Prime Minister sent Kitchener to France. Meanwhile Joffre, in order to assist the British Army in its exposed position, had ordered Lanrezac to attack von Bülow's 2nd German Army, which he did on August 29th in the battle of Guise. While the 5th French Army was attacking, the armies on its right and left were retreating, so that the position of that Army became dangerously exposed, the more so as von Kluck had, on August 30th, decided, in response to an appeal from von Bülow, to swerve south-eastwards against Lanrezac's left flank. Lanrezac's right was simultaneously threatened by the advance against it of von Hausen's 3rd Army. But this 5th French Army was the largest of those designated for the counter-offensive, which could not therefore be made without it on the scale proposed. So from now on for several days Joffre's mind is mainly concentrated on disengaging his 5th Army, and on the date when it is disengaged depends the date of the counter-offensive. He endeavours to assist his 5th Army first, as we have seen, by trying to moderate the rate of the British retreat, and secondly by forming the left of the 5th Army on Lanrezac's right into a separate command and placing it under Foch. This detachment soon became the 9th French Army.

On September 1st Joffre issues a series of important orders. The most important of these is General Instruction No. 4, the salient passages of which are :

"Despite the success gained by our 3rd, 4th, and 5th Armies on the Meuse and at Guise, the enemy's outflanking movement, directed against the left of our 5th Army and insufficiently checked by the British Army and our 6th Army, makes it necessary to continue our retreat pivoting on our right.

"As soon as the 5th Army shall have escaped from the menace of envelopment, the 3rd, 4th, and 5th Armies together will resume the offensive. . . .

"The limit of the retreat, without any implication that this must be reached, may be taken to be for the 5th Army behind the Seine."*

On the same day Joffre ordered Maunoury's 5th Army to cover the northern and north-eastern fronts of Paris and placed that army under the command of Galliéni. He had already ordered the 45th Algerian Division to Paris, and had directed Lanrezac to send his left Corps, the 18th, to the capital. But he found that the

* *Les Armées Françaises*, Tome I, vol. 2, p. 532.

position of the 5th Army was too perilous to allow of this detachment, so he ordered Sarrail, who with the 3rd Army was covering Verdun, to send his 4th Corps to Paris.* This Corps began to entrain on September 2nd, and its leading divisions began to arrive on the 3rd. It was a part of one of the divisions of this corps which was sent forward by Galliéni in the taxis. Lastly, Joffre wired to the Minister of War also on September 1st :

"The Commander-in-Chief requests that the fortress of Paris should be placed under his orders . . . in order that, if opportunity arises, he may be able to combine the operations of the mobile garrison of the fortress with those of the field armies."†

This message to the War Minister contains the first hint that has come from anyone of the manœuvre which eventually was carried out. It is in complete accord with the spirit of the order of August 25th, but for the first time the possibility of a sortie from the defences of Paris is indicated. In fact, on September 1st, Joffre had already received, mainly from the reports of British airmen, indications of von Kluck's swerve south-east. On the 2nd these indications were confirmed, but that evening some doubt set in. Part of the 1st German Army seemed to be advancing on Paris again. The reason for this was that some of von Kluck's cavalry and advanced guards in an incautious attempt to reach the flank of the 5th Army had bumped on September 1st into the British army at Néry and Villers-Cotteret, and had been roughly handled. In the hope of once more outflanking the British army von Kluck had turned part of his army southwards, and it appeared to be again heading for Paris. The next day von Kluck, finding that we had eluded him, resumed his march south-eastwards, and of this Joffre had information on the evening of September 3rd. He then knew that Paris was in no immediate danger.

But, like the German armies, I have advanced too rapidly, and I must return to September 2nd. On that day Joffre issued a note to Galliéni and his army commanders in amplification of the general instruction of September 1st. This note, taken out of its context by certain critics, is the one which is produced as proof of Joffre's intention of abandoning Paris and Verdun, and, read superficially, it appears to indicate, particularly for the 3rd Army, the army of Verdun, a deeper retreat than does the General Instruction No. 4. But these critics have either wilfully or stupidly misread the note, and they have misled Mr. Churchill. Whereas Instruction No. 4 merely specified a general line for the limit of the retreat, with the saving clause which I have quoted, the note specifies a number of railway stations farther back on mainlines of railway, where the

* *Les Armées Françaises*, Tome I, Vol. 2, p. 529.

† *Les Armées Françaises*, Annexe 1785.

the British Chief of the Staff, and arranged with him, subject to Sir John's approval, for a combined attack by Maunoury south of the Marne against von Kluck's left flank, while the British army attacked the German left front. This was as far as Galliéni's proposal went: he did not envisage the co-operation of the 5th Army, which as we know was a main element in Joffre's plan, in fact as compared with the latter Galliéni's plan was a local effort to take advantage of a local opportunity. Having sent off a staff officer to French G.H.Q. with the scheme provisionally arranged with the British, Galliéni returned to Paris arriving at his headquarters about 7.30 p.m. Meanwhile decisive measures had been concerted elsewhere.

At 12.45 p.m. Joffre had telegraphed to the 5th Army, now commanded by Franchet d'Espérey, Lanrezac having been removed:

"The circumstances are such that it may be advantageous to deliver battle to-morrow or the day after with the whole of the 5th Army in concert with the British Army and the mobile garrison of Paris, against the 1st and 2nd German Armies. Inform me immediately you can attack with prospect of success."*

When this message reached Franchet d'Espérey he was conferring with Sir Henry Wilson, at that time sub-chief of the British General Staff, and the two together drew up a scheme of co-operation for the British Army and the French 5th and 6th Armies. That done Franchet d'Espérey replied to Joffre:

"After interview with General Wilson the battle cannot take place till the 6th.

"To-morrow, the 5th, the 5th Army will continue its retreat to the line Provins-Sezanne (that is a few miles north of the Seine).

"The British Army will change front facing east on the line Chagnis-Coulommiers on condition that it is supported on its left flank by the 6th Army, which should advance to the line of the Ourcq on September 5th.

"On September 6th the general direction of attack of the British Army and the 5th Army should be Montmirail, that of the 6th Army Château-Thierry."†

This message d'Espérey followed with another at 4.45 p.m.:

"The closest co-operation by the 6th Army on the left bank of the Ourcq to the north-east of Meaux on the morning of the 5th is essential. It must be on the Ourcq to-morrow, Sept. 5th."‡

It was on receipt of this message that Joffre, having meanwhile heard from Foch that his army was in a position, to co-operate, turned to his staff and said: "Very well, gentlemen, we will fight on the Marne," and he then and there gave instructions for the preparation of the orders for the battle of the Marne, which, issued

* *Les Armées Françaises*, Annexe 2327.

† *Les Armées Françaises*, Annexe 2401.

‡ *Les Armées Françaises*, Annexe 2399.

that night, follow almost textually the suggestion of d'Espérey and Wilson. While this order was in preparation Lt.-Col. Brécourt arrived at French G.H.Q. with the plan which had been drawn up by Galliéni, Maunoury, and Murray. On reading this Joffre replied that he preferred Franchet d'Espérey's proposals, and he gave directions that no change should be made in the orders. At 10.45 p.m. he telephoned to Galliéni giving him a summary of the order and saying in particular that the 6th Army was on the 5th to move by the north bank of the Marne on Château-Thierry. These instructions Galliéni passed on to Maunoury at 11 p.m. telling him at the same time that they modified the instructions previously agreed upon, in that the 6th Army would advance by the north and not by the south bank of the Marne.*

Galliéni, during the critical days of the Marne, nourished Maunoury's battle with all possible energy and skill, and from the first moment when he got news of von Kluck's flank march past Paris he contemplated and began to prepare for a flank attack on that general. There his credit begins and ends. The general conception of the battle as it was fought was from the first Joffre's and his, of course, was the responsibility for putting that conception into execution. The final details of the battle were proposed by d'Espérey and Wilson on receipt of Joffre's message that the time for attack was at hand. The names of these two men have not, as far as I am aware, been even mentioned in this country in connection with the plan which stayed the German invasion of France. Actually they were representative of those elements of the Allied forces which brought about the German retreat from the Marne. For it was d'Espérey's victory over von Bülow's right at Montmirail on September 8th and the advance of the British Army to the Marne on September 9th, which decided von Bülow in consultation with Lt.-Col. Hensch of von Moltke's staff to order retreat and caused Hensch to go off to von Kluck and drag that general reluctantly after von Bülow. It was the 5th Army, upon the co-operation of which in the battle Joffre had from the first insisted, which proved to be a decisive factor in the event. It was d'Espérey not Galliéni who fixed the date for the battle of the Marne, for it was he and he alone who could say when his army would be ready to do what Joffre required.

There remained a final step to complete the plan. So far the proposals for British action had come from staff officers, not from the British Commander-in-Chief. Therefore, on September 5th, Joffre went to Meaux to see Sir John French and to appeal to him to throw in his Army with all possible energy. This Sir John at once agreed to do and the plan was complete.

* *Les Armées Françaises*, Tome I, vol. 2, p. 627.

Looking back now upon those critical days from August 25th to September 9th with all the evidence before us, it seems to me as clear as noonday that there was throughout one clear mind, with a firm and definite purpose, with broad vision, and a high courage controlling events. There are few more marked contrasts in history than that between the sickly von Moltke in his distant headquarters at Luxemburg losing all power to control and co-ordinate his Armies, and the energetic Joffre, now here, now there, on the long front, teaching the doubtful battle where to wage, ruthlessly sweeping away those, including close personal friends, whom he held not capable of dealing with a great crisis, and refusing all temptation to be drawn piecemeal into battle, until he could strike "toutes forces réunies." Joffre's is, indeed, as fine an example of generalship in adversity as the history of war discloses.

F. MAURICE.

THE TRADE DISPUTES AND TRADE UNIONS BILL.

THE introduction of the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Bill before Easter marked the end of a period of vacillation and uncertainty. For good or ill the Government decided on a Diehard policy of repression. Years must pass before the inner history of the incubation of the Bill is disclosed. But it is fairly obvious that as the measure took its final shape, the apostles of peace and reason were overcome by the Diehard leaders.

The Prime Minister and his colleagues when they took office do not appear to have set out with the intention of trying a fall with organised labour. In 1925 when Mr. Macquisten introduced his Trade Union Levy Bill as a private Member's measure, the Prime Minister, who is rarely heard on these occasions, came down to the House of Commons and destroyed both the Diehard Bill and the Labour Party's fulminations by his speech, in which he argued that the Conservative Party had no mandate to deal with the question of Trade Union Law, and pleaded for "Peace in our time, O Lord." His words created a very deep impression on the House of Commons.

"We find ourselves," he said, "after these two years of power, in possession of perhaps the greatest majority our party has ever had, and with the general assent of the country. Now how did we get there? It was not by promising to bring this Bill in; it was because, rightly or wrongly, we succeeded in creating an impression throughout the country that we stood for stable government and for peace in the country between all classes of the community. . . . I want on my part to-day to make a gesture to the country . . . and to say to them 'We have our majority; we believe in the justice of this Bill which has been brought in to-day, but we are going to withdraw our hand, and we are not going to push our political advantage home at a moment like this.' Suspicion which has prevented stability in Europe is the one poison that is preventing stability at home, and we offer the country to-day this; we, at any rate, are not going to fire the first shot. We stand for peace. We stand for the removal of suspicion in the country. We want to create an atmosphere, a new atmosphere in a new Parliament for a new age, in which people can come together. . . . Although I know there are those who work for different ends from most of us in this House. Yet there are many in all ranks and in all parties who will re-echo my prayer: 'Give peace in our time, O Lord.'"

Since then, the so-called "General Strike" has intervened and provided a peg on which to hang the case for a Bill. In his letter to the National Industrial Alliance dated April 28th, Mr. Baldwin explained that the Government had "no other motive whatever in introducing it than to deal in the interests of the whole community with the situation created by the events of last year." As the General Strike forms but a small part of the Government's measure,

the Prime Minister's apologia is inadequate. The events of May, 1926, whatever may be said of them, provide no justification for the far-reaching changes in the structure of Trade Union law which are now before Parliament. Lord Birkenhead, in his speech at Manchester on April 30th, blurted out the truth when he said, "we have taken on a great quarrel." The real reason for the broad sweep of the Government's policy is to be found in the pressure brought to bear upon the Government by its supporters, who, in spite of their protestations of love for Trade Unionism, would gladly cripple organised labour. The Conservative and Unionist Association at its annual Conference last October proved its dislike of the Trade Union Movement and its fear of political Labour and gave Mr. Baldwin his marching orders. The sins of the Unions were the main subject of the fevered discussions of the delegates and their resolutions called for drastic action.

The Prime Minister for a time remained unperturbed. He and some of his colleagues would probably have preferred, from the tactical point of view, to leave the question alone. Certainly, when the General Strike was over, Mr. Baldwin in the House of Commons (May 12th, 1926) expressed his view that "the whole British people should not look backwards, but forwards—that we should resume our work in a spirit of co-operation, putting behind us all malice and vindictiveness." The following day the Prime Minister, in the course of a Parliamentary debate, said, "the Leader of the Opposition devoted a portion of his speech to saying that he hoped there would be no attack on Trade Unions as such. I cannot imagine that there will be such an attack. I should not countenance it. . . . At a time like this there are some who like fishing in troubled waters. Let us get the waters calm as soon as we can, lest their work spoils the work of half a century." Even after further reflection, Mr. Baldwin (October 7th, 1926) combated the view that "the events which followed my refusal to press home our victory by adopting Mr. Macquisten's Bill have falsified my hopes and proved I was wrong." "Not at all," he continued. When a little later legislation had been decided on, the Prime Minister informed the Scottish Unionist Association (November 12th, 1926) that "its details were still the subject of consideration by a Cabinet Committee, but the Government intended to approach the matter in no vindictive spirit, and much less did it mean to pursue any party purpose." At this stage in the evolution of the Government's Bill, the draft, or the shadow of a draft, must have been a vastly different affair from the measure introduced into the House of Commons.

Even so late as February this year, the Cabinet still had a limited objective. According to the King's speech, "recent events have

made evident the importance of defining and amending the law with reference to industrial disputes" and legislation was promised. It will be observed that the *raison d'être* of the proposed measure was last year's crisis. But what is even more significant is that there is no hint of any intention to deal with the political levy. Clearly, the Bill took its final shape more recently. The history of the incubation of the Government's measure is obscure. There seems ground for believing that Mr. Baldwin would not have been unwilling to allow the prospect of legislation to recede into the background. But this was impossible in view of the clamour of the active rank and file and the Tory back benchers in the House of Commons. A Trade Union Bill became inevitable, but it was at first thought by those with practical minds and political wisdom that both honour and the Diehards might be satisfied by a measure which made a parade of trade union "reform" without rousing the fighting instincts of the whole Labour Movement. Between this group and the "whole hoggers" controversy raged. The crucial point was the question of the political levy. The Diehards won and the result is the present measure.

The Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Bill rides roughshod over the Prime Minister's declarations of two years ago and even his more recent statements. It ignores both his warning that the Election of 1924 gave the Government no mandate to make fundamental changes and his appeal for industrial peace. The Bill is virtually a declaration of war upon Trade Unionism and an attack upon the Labour Party. At any rate, it is so regarded by the rank and file of the Labour Movement. This conception of the measure is, indeed, confirmed by the attitude of the Tory Party towards it. It is perfectly obvious that the driving force behind the bulk of the supporters of the Bill is the desire to curtail the powers of the Trade Unions and to impair the strength of the Labour Party. If the Bill did not propose this, it is certain that it would not have aroused such enthusiasm in Tory circles. It is also clear from the debate on the Second Reading that the measure is regarded as an electioneering move by the Government's back bench supporters. Mr. Cadogan, for example, put it to the Attorney-General "that the reason why we lost so many votes at recent elections was because our supporters were unwilling to back us, because we had not dealt with the Socialist peril."

The Tory attitude towards the Labour Movement is disclosed by the fact that since the war a dozen Bills have been introduced into the House of Commons for the purpose of restricting the activities of trades' unions. All of them except the present measure have either failed to pass their second reading or succumbed during committee stage. In the past no Bill of any substance has been

introduced without either previous public investigation, as in the case of the Royal Commissions of 1867 and 1906, or by agreement with the Trade Unions as in 1913. The real significance of the Government's Bill becomes apparent when we remember that since 1871, when trade unionism won a definite status, all subsequent legislation has extended and amplified the powers of the Unions. The present Bill is an attempt by the Government to reverse completely the settled policy of more than half a century. The measure marks a new stage in the history of Trade Unionism. It is out of harmony with the general trend of Trade Union legislation for the past century and is in direct line of descent from the Combination Laws with which the nineteenth century opened.

The apparent intention of the first two clauses of the Bill is to deal with the General Strike. According to Sir John Simon, whose speeches were reported at length in the *British Gazette* by the Government during the national stoppage, the General Strike is "utterly illegal." The Attorney-General now holds the same view, and therefore Clause 1 is regarded as being declaratory on the existing law. The Attorney-General has acknowledged the difficulty, if not indeed the impossibility, of defining the General Strike, and in the House of Commons he was driven to the admission that "although it is not very easy, perhaps, to define in legal language what a general strike is, I do not think there is any difficulty in recognising it when one sees it." No one who has examined the Bill can be left in any doubt that Clause 1 extends far beyond the General Strike. Since the introduction of this "most carefully considered Bill," as Lord Birkenhead has described it, the Government has introduced very important and substantial amendments to its own measure. As the provision now stands "any strike having any object besides the furtherance of a trade dispute within the trade or industry in which the strikers are engaged, is an illegal strike if it is a strike designed or calculated to coerce the Government either directly or by inflicting hardship upon the community."

There are, of course, people who are always prepared to believe that every strike on any scale has some object besides the furtherance of a trade dispute. Even the Prime Minister professes to believe that "the policy of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain has come under the control of the Minority movement." This movement of dissident fractions of Trade Union organisations would be regarded as having revolutionary ends. But no one who is acquainted with the rank and file of the miners and with their representatives on the district miners' executives and on the M.F.G.B. Executive itself believes that the miners are the tools of an external revolutionary body or of the Soviet Government. But if we assume that there is any sort of control of the miners by persons who have

objects other than the furtherance of a trade dispute in which the miners happen to be engaged, a miners' strike would be an illegal strike. It may be that the statements of some wholly irresponsible members of a miners' organisation would be taken as indicating that a strike had some other object than a trade dispute, in which case the strike would be half way to being an illegal stoppage. Should it be interpreted as an attempt to coerce the Government "either directly or by inflicting hardship on the community," it would become wholly illegal.

But this is not all. The clause renders illegal the sympathetic strike, whether large or small, unless its purpose is to assist in a trade dispute, the parties to which are engaged in the same trade or industry as that to which those taking part in the sympathetic strike belong. It appears that whilst the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen could support by sympathetic action a strike by the National Union of Railwaymen, it could not engage in a sympathetic strike to support the miners by refusing to handle "blackleg" or imported coal. If the courts were to hold—as might well be the case—that every sympathetic strike was calculated to inflict hardship on the community and thereby to coerce the Government, then all sympathetic strikes would become illegal. Very considerable difficulty arises over the use of the term "trade or industry," neither of which words is defined in the Bill. This can only increase the general uncertainty created by Clause 1 regarding the legality or otherwise of industrial stoppages. Moreover, the refusal of a body of workmen to work with a person who had refused, say, to pay a fine legitimately levied by his trade union would not be a trade dispute in the sense in which the term is used in Clause 1, and it would therefore be illegal. Again, if a strike is declared illegal by the Bill, it will still remain so even though the workers concerned have, after due notice, terminated their contracts. This revolutionary proposal has been described as industrial servitude, because under it workmen will be compelled to continue in the employment of a particular employer notwithstanding their desire to terminate their contracts of employment in a perfectly lawful manner.

To pretend, as the Attorney-General has done, that the first clause is either declaratory of the present law or confined in its scope to the General Strike is sheer nonsense. It imposes very serious restrictions upon the right to strike. The clause, moreover, makes far-reaching changes in the existing law. What is even worse is the uncertainty which is created, and the machinery by which a strike comes to be regarded as illegal. Any person who "declares, instigates, furthers, or takes part in a strike" declared by the Act to be illegal, is liable on summary conviction to a fine or to imprisonment for three months or in conviction of indictment

to imprisonment for two years. A local bench, it will be observed, may easily become the instrument for declaring a strike illegal, when another local bench might perhaps take a different view. Moreover, under Clause 7 the Attorney-General, or in Scotland the Lord Advocate, may apply for an injunction to restrain any application of the funds of a Trade Union in contravention of the provisions of the Bill. This provision establishes a new principle. There is no doubt as to what may happen under this clause. An injunction may be obtained long before the alleged breaches of the law have been proved. The Attorney-General will, in fact, be able to intervene and secure an interim injunction restraining the expenditure of union funds on a strike which may ultimately be shown not to be an illegal strike. The effect of the interim injunction would be to penalise the union and to undermine the solidarity of workers engaged in a quite legitimate dispute.

Clause 2 gives protection to persons refusing to take part in an illegal strike. Such persons cannot be expelled from a union or deprived of benefit or placed under any disability, notwithstanding anything to the contrary laid down in the rules of the union. Under the provisions of this clause this protection is given retrospectively. The Attorney-General explained this section of the clause as the belated fulfilment of the Prime Minister's pledge to protect workers who did not respond to the call to leave work during the General Strike. It is, like much else in the Bill, best described as "eye-wash."

The absurdity of the Government's measure is perhaps shown most clearly in Clause 3, according to which the expression "to intimidate" is defined as meaning "to cause in the mind of a person a reasonable apprehension of injury to him or to any member of his family, or of violence or damage to any person or property, and the expression 'injury' includes injury other than physical or material injury, and accordingly the expression 'apprehension of injury' includes an apprehension of boycott, or loss of any kind, or of exposure to hatred, ridicule, or contempt." It would appear to be quite impossible for strikers to avoid causing an "apprehension of injury" in the mind of a blackleg. Whether a striker holds communication with a blackleg or not, he will be guilty of intimidation. Under this clause it will not be safe for a worker on strike either to speak to a blackleg or to boycott him. The provisions of Clause 3 make even the most peaceful forms of picketing impossible.

Clauses 5 and 6 of the Bill stand in a somewhat different category from the rest of the measure. The former provides that established Civil Servants must not be members of Trade Unions whose members include other than Civil Servants or which have political objects or which are affiliated to the Trades Union Congress or the Labour Party. Clause 6 makes it unlawful for any local or other public authority to make it a condition of employment of any person that

he shall or shall not be a member of a Trade Union. Moreover, the clause extends the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, so that any employee of a local or other public authority who wilfully breaks his contract of service, "knowing or having reasonable cause to believe that the probable consequence of his so doing . . . will be to hinder or prevent the discharge of the functions of the authority," becomes liable to fine or imprisonment. This criminal liability will accrue whether the employee has broken his contract for the purposes of a trade dispute involving wages and conditions, or otherwise.

The remaining clause of the Bill is that which relates to political funds. Over a long period of time and even before Trade Union candidates entered the House of Commons, Trade Unions engaged upon political activities, without question. In the case of *Osborne v. the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants*, the House of Lords declared that Trade Unions were not given the power under the Trade Unions Act to collect and administer funds for political purposes, notwithstanding any rules unions might have under this head. This situation was to some extent remedied by the Trade Union Act, 1913, which provided that union funds were not to be applied to furthering any of the political objects set forth in the Act unless such objects have been approved as part of the objects of the union by a resolution passed on a ballot of the members. When such a resolution is passed the union must secure the approval of the Registrar of Friendly Societies to rules setting up a separate political fund and providing for exemption. The case brought by the Conservative Party against the Act of 1913 is that large numbers of Liberal and Tory Trade Unionists are coerced into paying the political levy, when they would have preferred to "contract out" of payment. But in twelve years, so the Home Secretary has admitted in the House of Commons, only sixty-six complaints regarding the operation of the levy had been received from trade unionists and of these only thirty-three were found to be justified. During the twelve months ending March 31st, 1927, thirteen complaints were received, of which seven were found on enquiry to be justified whilst one was still *sub judice*. These figures provide a flimsy basis for a charge of wholesale coercion.

Under the existing system the active members take a decision regarding the establishment of a political fund, and those who disapprove of it must take the trouble to "contract out" of the new obligation. The Conservative Party has in the past scattered literally millions of exemption forms over the country in order to assist the conscientious objectors to escape payment. Under the Government's Bill it will not be lawful to require a trade unionist to contribute to the political fund of his union, unless before the date on which his contribution is levied, he has signed and delivered to

that when the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament resumes its labours the Soviet Government will have delegates present.

If public opinion is to play its part in shaping the future of the disarmament deliberations it is more important for attention to be focussed on the points where agreement is still to seek than on those where it has already been reached. It will be more convenient, none the less, to examine the results of the Commission's work, not in the first instance under those two categories, but under the five main heads—land, sea, air forces, budget limitation and international control—under which the discussions fell. In regard to all these it must be realised that all that was attempted at this stage was to decide how the principles of disarmament should be applied, leaving of necessity till later the task of determining definite figures for the ships, the men, the aeroplanes and so forth of each State. Once those figures are fixed limitation will *ipso facto* have been achieved, for the essence of the scheme is that there shall be no expansion of forces beyond the allotted figure. In cases where a nation accepts a maximum something below its present standard there will be not merely limitation but reduction. In any event the convention is only intended to have a limited duration—probably of five years. At the end of that period the whole situation will be reconsidered with a view to further reductions.

As regards land forces, it was agreed that what must be limited was the number of effectives of standing armies, the length of the period of training in conscription countries, and the proportion of officers and non-commissioned officers to men. Great Britain, Germany and other States failed to carry their demand for the limitation of the trained reserves which constitute so large a proportion of the resources of a country where practically the whole youth is passed systematically through the conscription machine, and Germany has entered a reservation to this article, which will mean further discussion of it when the Commission meets again in the autumn.

On the air practically complete agreement was reached, the British proposal for limitation by number of machines and the French for limitation by total horse-power being successfully combined so as to constitute a double check. Limitation of air effectives (as of military and naval effectives) was also approved, and a series of resolutions, which went probably as far as it is possible to go towards a differentiation between military and civil aviation, were adopted. The ease with which an accord on air limitation was reached contrasts strikingly with the failure to reach any satisfactory agreement on naval matters. Possibly the absence of set traditions and vested interests in the case of the newer service had something to do with it.

There was moreover one external factor which undoubtedly

influenced the naval discussions adversely. The imminence of the three-power naval conversations between the United States, Great Britain and Japan indisposed any of those States to press the larger discussions to a conclusion at the moment. The British, the Americans and the Japanese all had memories of the Washington Conference in their minds. They had got something done there, and they believed that if they were left to themselves they could get something done again. And that something they were anxious to attempt before they settled down in earnest to extending the area of agreement to all the naval States of the world, knowing that a specific accord reached between the only naval powers that seriously count to-day must exercise a potent influence in the subsequent discussions of the Preparatory Commission.

As for the March and April discussions, their main feature so far as naval questions was concerned was a sharp divergence between the Anglo-Saxon group and the European group as to the method of reduction. The French and Italians stood simply for limitation of the total tonnage of a whole national fleet, leaving that tonnage to be distributed at will between the different classes of vessel, while the British and Americans held fast to the Washington principle of the limitation of the number of ships in a class and the total tonnage of a class. That gulf was never bridged, though the French made a notable advance on their original attitude when they proposed later that each nation should publish its building programme for the period of the convention's currency, distinguishing the projected vessels by classes on the Anglo-American model, but reserving the right to vary the distribution of tonnage between the classes on giving a year's notice of such intention to the League.

The French, moreover, made up for certain apparent recalcitrances in one direction by going a good deal further than Great Britain in others. Budget limitation is a case in point. France, in view of the difficulty of carrying through a specific limitation of weapons, such as field artillery or machine-guns, proposed to institute an indirect check by limiting military, naval and air expenditure both on personnel and on material. To that the British and certain other delegations agreed in principle, but considered it was unwise to apply the principle immediately. They therefore secured agreement to articles providing merely for full publicity for armament budgets, laying it down that each signatory State should present to the League annually in a specified form a statement of its estimated military expenditure for the ensuing year and of its actual expenditure for the preceding year. Any abnormal increase would therefore be immediately apparent, and could if necessary be made the subject of inquiry.

Finally there came the thorny question of some form of League

the head or branch office of his union a notice in writing of his willingness to contribute. This very proposal was embodied in an amendment by the Conservatives when the Trade Union Bill was before Parliament in 1912 and 1913—a fact which destroys the claim that the clause in the 1927 Bill was necessitated by abuses under the Act of 1913. Clause 4 of the present measure is not a mere change of method—a change from “contracting out” to “contracting in.” Any person is entitled, without the sanction of special legislation, to contribute to political funds. The Government’s Bill imposes upon the trade unionists who prefer to subscribe to a political party through their unions obligations which are not imposed on any other class of citizens. There is no room for any dubiety as to the motive which lies behind the clause relating to the political levy. It is believed that its operation will injure the funds of the Labour Party. The Government are putting the onus of definite action on the majority, anticipating that the natural reluctance of all Englishmen to sign forms will lead numbers of trade unionists to let their obligations to pay the political levy lapse. It is highly improbable, however, that the Trade Union Movement will willingly allow its own political offsprings, the Labour Party, to suffer serious financial embarrassment.

The Bill as a whole is a crude and clumsy affair. It has been riddled with criticism, some of the most cogent of which emanates from the Government’s own supporters. During the discussions in the House of Commons the Government spokesmen have repeatedly evaded direct and explicit questions put to them as to the meaning and scope of certain proposals of the Bill. The Government, in order to curtail discussion, took the unprecedented step of passing a guillotine resolution very early in the committee stage of a Bill which profoundly affects a movement which includes upwards of four million members of the community. Its flagrant disregard of Parliamentary practice, and its Bolshevik contempt for Parliamentary traditions, spring either from a desire on the part of the sponsors of the measure to escape from a detailed and searching examination of its provisions, or from a well-founded fear that their supporters could not stand the strain of prolonged sittings. It may be, however, that urged on by the class-conscious extremists of the Tory Party, the Diehard leaders have determined “to stand no damned nonsense.” The measure will, of course, pass into law; but something more than the sanction of force is needed if it is to remain on the Statute Book. The Leader of the Opposition has declared that it will be repealed at the first opportunity, and should the electors at the next general election, when the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Bill will be one of the major issues, give the Labour Party their support, there is no doubt that the pledge will be carried into effect.

ARTHUR GREENWOOD.

DISARMAMENT PROGRESS.

WHEN first the British Government and then the French laid definite and formal drafts of Disarmament Conventions before the League of Nations Preparatory Commission which sat at Geneva in March and April, it was clear that the disarmament movement had at any rate reached a stage further than had ever been attained before. An actual reduction of armaments had, it is true, been achieved at Washington in 1922, but only of naval armaments, and only of two types of war vessels out of many. What was in question at Geneva in 1927 was the limitation not only of navies but of armies and air forces, together with a further check in the shape of a restriction on military budgets.

It is, of course, one thing for that to be in question and quite another for anything to come of all the talk about it. As to what did emerge from the recent Geneva discussions optimists and pessimists could make about an equally good case. You can as easily see the chessboard white against black as black against white, and the general estimate of the disarmament discussions depends very much on the opinion held of the ultimate solubility of the questions still unsolved. What is involved there is not the possibility of agreeing, but the will to agree. Agreement is practicable enough if someone gives way sufficiently, and what is before the Governments now is the question of who shall give way and how much.

As has been said, two draft conventions were before the Preparatory Commission in its first week. In its last week there remained not even one. The two had been collated by a drafting committee as a basis of discussion, and at certain points complete unanimity was reached on the adoption of one text or the other, or an amalgam of the two. At other points all that was possible was to put the rival proposals in parallel columns to indicate where and what was the problem of fusion still outstanding. Not to have got further was disappointing, but to have got so far was by no means an inconsiderable achievement, for it is necessary to remember that the Commission consisted not of individual idealists, but of the responsible representatives of Governments, tightly bound by Cabinet instructions; that in addition to the League States the United States of America took a prominent part in the discussions; and that though conclusive results were not reached on a number of important points enough progress was registered to leave the Commission convinced not merely that a continuance of its efforts was justified, but that there was good ground for believing that those efforts would ultimately be crowned with success. That prospect, it may be remarked, will be greatly improved if reliance may be placed on the prediction of the head of the Russian delegation at the Economic Conference

supervision (or, to meet the views of the Americans and perhaps the Russians, a more generally international supervision) of the execution of the agreements. The French insisted that supervision was essential, and declared that they themselves saw nothing derogatory to their dignity as a Great Power in submitting to investigation by an international body of which they were members. The Americans, on the other hand, would tolerate supervision on no terms whatever, and the British took the view that the ordinary processes of the Covenant, with perhaps some slight adaptation, fully met the requirements of the case, since any suspicion of serious evasion of the provisions of the treaty would undoubtedly provide ground for an inquiry by the League Council under that clause of the Covenant (in Art. XI) dealing with circumstances affecting the good understanding between nations on which peace depends. Here too some further attempt to reconcile divergent views must be made.

Such in brief were the results of a five weeks' meeting of what, after all, is only a Preparatory Commission, working without a time limit and much more concerned to achieve agreement by patient discussion than to rush forward precipitately to a premature world conference. The agreements reached, such as they are, must be welcomed. But what of the disagreements? That is a question not merely for experts and Cabinet Ministers, but for ordinary members of Parliament and ordinary voters in all countries. There will obviously have to be further concessions and further compromises if a general agreement is to be reached and the movement for disarmament—a movement most imperiously commended on grounds of public economy alone—is to make any progress at all. How far, to ask the question that most concerns us in this island, can Great Britain afford to go in order to achieve agreement? It might be better to put that another way and ask, How far can we afford not to go if our refusal manifestly places the convention in jeopardy?

With air disposed of, certain divergencies still persist under each of the remaining four heads, land, sea, budget limitation, and control, though the British view regarding expenditure is so far accepted as an interim expedient that no time need be wasted in discussing that. On land forces the British contention that trained reserves should be limited is clearly just. The proposal is quite practicable, for certain countries do in fact already limit their annual call on the youth of the country either by setting a deliberately elevated standard or by balloting for a limited quota. But to risk losing the convention for this would be a serious matter. Most European countries are in the same boat over trained reserves and to a non-military State like our own the matter is not of the first moment.

On naval limitation the road to agreement is likely to be much

smoother when the Coolidge conversations fixed for this month have taken place. It seems reasonable to predict with some confidence that new accords of considerable value will emerge from them, and the effects of that must inevitably be to set the line for the Preparatory Commission when it takes the matter up again in November. In any case the later French proposal already described goes so far towards meeting the Anglo-American view that any rupture on this point would be indefensible.

Control is a more difficult matter in view of the abnormal sensibilities of some States. There is much force in the contention that reliance must ultimately be placed on a country's good faith, since without good faith no supervision would be effective and with it none would be necessary. On the other hand provision for investigation in the case of a justified demand (a demand, that is to say, found to be reasonable by the Council or some other body) might do a good deal to allay suspicions. Even under the less drastic British plan full provision is made for such an investigation, and here again the gulf between the opposing views is too narrow for the convention to founder in it.

In other words, though the appearance of disagreement between the deliberating States is still formidable, there would seem to be no reason why a satisfactory convention should not be adopted in the autumn provided the interest of the peoples in disarmament is such as to head the Governments towards agreement rather than away from it. The ground has been sufficiently explored to justify the public of every country, certainly of this country, in insisting that when the Governments send delegates to Geneva to the next meeting of the Preparatory Commission they shall send them there to agree. Our own delegates should go determined to fight hard for certain things, notably the limitation of trained reserves, but on the contested points in the convention there appears to be no single concession which it would imperil our national safety to make in the last resort. This is only a preliminary convention, and it will not go far at the best. But if the first step is not taken the second never can be. An unsatisfactory convention, so long as it involves no grave prejudice to British interests, is for that reason much better than none.

H. WILSON HARRIS.

FRANCE'S TRUE ECONOMIC CONDITION.

IN spite of the temporary economic difficulties of France, the country has in recent years renovated its commercial conceptions from top to bottom. It is beyond question that the basis of the industrial fabric in France has been broadened, strengthened, and recreated. In command of raw material and of potential energy, France will prove to be a formidable rival to Germany and to England. An adverse commercial balance or a favourable commercial balance in this or that year is of little importance.

The revival of prosperity, which was due to an artificial depression of the franc, is disappearing; and France is, indeed, at the moment experiencing a crisis. But it is an exceedingly mild crisis and it should be shortlived. Afterwards, when mushroom businesses have been swept away, France will settle down to the solid enjoyment of the situation she has created and that was created for her by the peacemakers of Versailles.

One of the most important phenomena of the post-war period is the *revolution in French economic methods*. There are many indications that, with the virtual stabilisation of the franc, France will develop still further on industrial lines. She has generally been regarded as primarily an agricultural country, but in point of fact the percentage of the population employed on the land has fallen below fifty. The decline in the area of cultivated land since 1913 is perhaps to be deplored, and France has become less self-sufficing in the matter of foodstuffs. With the decline of agriculture, on which France has largely relied in the past, comes the growth of industry. There are several reasons for this change, at which we may quickly glance. Frenchmen themselves have not hesitated to point out the advantages of destruction. Before the war, the bulk of French industry was concentrated in the Northern *Départements*. These *Départements* were overrun by the Germans and shell-fire smashed most of the existing factories. When peace was declared, it became necessary for France to rebuild on a large scale and to compensate the victims of the war. The Government pledged itself to do this irrespective of the amount of German contributions. From a financial point of view this was undoubtedly an immense blunder, but from the industrial point of view it has consequences that are nationally advantageous. The factories which were built to take the place of the old factories constituted a vast improvement. The machinery which was substituted for the old machinery was, in the nature of the case, of the most modern kind. Thus France, by reason of the four years of destruction, was compelled to exchange her obsolete and decaying factories and machinery for up-to-date and well-constructed factories and machinery. If this process had

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been applied to the coal industry in England, it is possible that better results would have been obtained than were obtained by Government grants, which left the industry in precisely the same position. I would not, of course, cynically recommend the method of wholesale destruction, but it is certain that if English industry had not been so conservative, if it had consented to scrap outworn equipment and had rejected superannuated methods, it would not to-day be deploring the undesirable state in which it finds itself.

The United States of America are always ready to abandon the old for the new. The German people are enterprising and realise the need of progress. The French were forced by tragic circumstances to bring themselves abreast of the times. In England there has been a reluctance to change with changing conditions. Certainly one heard in France much about the scandal of the devastated regions. The newspapers denounced what they called "another Panamá affair." Exaggerated sums were paid to the manufacturers who had suffered loss and they were encouraged to inflate their claims, as many people inflate their claims on insurance companies. The French Exchequer was depleted and it may be that there was an altogether unjustifiable profiteering at the expense of the Treasury. Yet, however costly it may have been, there are tangible evidences not merely of the restoration of Northern industries to the level on which they were before the war, but of their rise to a far higher level. It would, indeed, have been foolish to give the North the equivalent of what it had lost. One cannot put antiquated machinery in the place of antiquated machinery.

Secondly, France was obliged by the war to effect a sort of *industrial decentralisation*. Factories were erected in all parts of the country. For the most part they were intended for the production of munitions, but they were easily converted into peacetime factories. During the war and since the war, there has been a steady equipment and re-equipment of ports and waterways and plans have been laid down, and in some cases carried out—though it must be confessed that while France excels in the elaboration of plans, she frequently fails in their execution—for the utilisation of the water-engendered electric power. Recently, five members of the Government framed further schemes for the development of French production and transport. The Minister of Public Works, the Minister of the Interior, the Minister of Agriculture, the Minister of Commerce and the Minister of the Colonies, drew up a co-ordinated and comprehensive programme. Great importance is attached to the proper exploitation of the Colonies, which are capable of supplying a considerable proportion of French needs. It is recognised that measures are necessary to counteract the lure of the towns and to offer fresh inducements which may determine

a return to the land. But, above all, it was the business of Monsieur Tardieu to increase the means of communication and the manufacture of electric power. These projects are subject to the financial possibilities of France, but France, with all her financial difficulties, has hitherto shown herself willing to make productive investments of a national character.

The Tardieu scheme is divided into seven chapters, which cover the coal mines, iron mines, potash beds, electric power, the electrification of railways, and the improvement of roads, rivers, canals, sea-ports, and the merchant marine. It is asserted that the coal output can be augmented without any subsidies from the State. France has always suffered from a shortage of coal and the shortage is increased by the requirements of Alsace-Lorraine, with its immense deposits of iron ore. At present, English and German importations of coal reach twenty million tons annually: that is to say, two and a half milliard francs' worth of coal. These figures can be reduced if more economic methods are adopted and if the home production is accelerated. *Trustworthy calculations show that the importations of coal can be reduced in the next few years to twelve million tons, which means a saving of at least a milliard francs a year.* Synthetic ammonia and potash and the phosphates of Morocco and azotes can be obtained in greater quantities and these quantities can be put in more concentrated compass, as has already been done in America and in Germany.

Although progress has been made in the utilisation of rivers and waterfalls for electric energy, the heavy initial charges have proved to be a handicap; and the Government purposes, therefore, to reduce the fiscal burdens on such enterprises and to increase the available advances. In France those advances at the present time are only four per cent., though in neighbouring countries they sometimes reach nearly fifty per cent. Since 1920 nine hundred kilometres of railway have been electrified. With Government assistance it is declared that in three years the total will be two thousand six hundred kilometres and, eventually, nine thousand kilometres. The new credits for the upkeep of the roads will result in the renewal of forty-four thousand kilometres in the next five years. At a comparatively low cost—about twenty million francs more a year—France can have one of the finest networks of waterways in the world. The interested collectivities are co-operating in the still better equipment of ports with basins, floating docks, cranes, etc., and in *ten years' time it will be possible for France, with her great coast line on the Atlantic and on the Mediterranean, to have an almost unique shipping situation.* As for the merchant marine extraordinary results have already been registered. At the time of the Armistice the commercial fleet was only one million eight hun-

dred thousand tons. To-day it is three million five hundred thousand tons. The objective is to arrive at five million tons, for France still pays five hundred million francs per annum of freightage for the transport of French goods by foreign ships. It is proposed to offer advantages to the shipbuilders and subventions to the great maritime services in the shape of loans at low interest and amortisable in twenty years.

These are a few of the projects which are contained in the programme. They are by no means exhaustive. If one is to judge by the rapidity with which France has reconstructed the North, and the earnestness with which she has tackled many of her economic problems since 1919, there can be little doubt that tremendous strides will—provided there are no financial upheavals—be taken during the coming decade. Already France is in a far better economic position than she has ever been before, and industry and commerce have shown themselves to be *accessible to new ideas and ready to look out on more spacious horizons.* Therefore, it is safe to say that, when financial reconstruction has been effected, it will be found that France has accomplished a veritable economic revolution and has taken a leading place among the producing nations of the world. The big industries seek to possess the sources of their raw material, their factories, their banks, and even their markets. There is a long chain with every link unbroken from the mine to the metallurgical factory, and from the metallurgical factory to the user of machinery. The huge companies own, or at least control in some cases, their docks and ships. This is comparatively new so far as France, which has never been regarded as a highly organised industrial country, is concerned. It would be difficult to lay too much stress on developments of this character. Before the war France lagged behind industrially. She was conscious only in the vaguest fashion of the new phenomena of mass production, of amalgamations, of consortiums, of trusts, which are not only national, but international. Since the war, this consciousness has been sharpened. *French trade is no longer exclusively a family affair. There is no longer a refusal to expand. Groups join themselves to groups. Lackadaisical complacent systems have been superseded.* The movement may, perhaps, be best observed in metallurgy, but in heavy chemicals and in textiles evidences of the same desire for organisation are shown, while to the distributive trades the same remark may be applied.

The Steel Trust which was recently formed on the Continent is characteristic. France is losing, at least in the industrial domain, her fear of Germany and is contracting a number of alliances, which may be regarded as far more significant than the political alliances with the countries of Central Europe. If France and Germany do

not co-operate, they must necessarily become rivals seeking to ruin each other. Their interests are largely interlocked. Magnates on both sides of the Rhine are well aware of their common interests, and as early as 1920 they met together to devise schemes of co-operation. The French occupation of the Ruhr was chiefly inspired by the belief of the ironmasters that they could force a bargain on Germany. Germany refused to be coerced, but immediately the Ruhr episode was ended the industrialists again came together to hammer out mutually advantageous arrangements. Now and again one hears reports that Germany has tried to acquire the control of this or that French concern, but always has France been a match for Germany. Thus, a few months ago Germany bought a large number of shares in a leading chemical firm, but, immediately, the French firm multiplied its plural voting shares. It has always been objected that in a partnership with Germany France will be swallowed up and that the partnership will resemble that of the lady of Niger and the tiger on which she rode. This may have been true in the past, but it is not true to-day.

France can well look after herself. Her technical knowledge has increased remarkably. The number of trade fairs and exhibitions of various kinds, which have been held since the war, have become an increasingly prominent feature of French industrial life. The Lyons' fair, which has just been held, is second only to the famous fair of Leipzig. Like the Paris fair it has acquired an international importance. Moreover, France has been specially concerned in the promotion of exhibitions abroad. Many opportunities of trade propaganda by this method have been seized. *Cruisers have been commissioned to carry French samples around the world. Trains have taken French goods in exhibition wagons across Canada.* In nearly all the leading fairs in Europe, French firms have been represented in ever-swelling numbers, and beyond Europe France has been an important participator in Northern and Southern America. French ambitions extend to the Argentine, to Brazil, to India, to China, to the Levant and to Africa.

These fresh conceptions have been aided by the depreciation of the franc. The fallen currency artificially stimulated French trade on account of the discrepancy between the internal prices and general world prices. It was inevitable that there should be a slight setback. France must now readjust herself and cannot reckon on the advantages which she has hitherto enjoyed. Nevertheless, that stimulus was helpful, and its effects will continue. When every discount has been made for special conditions, France has developed her industrial skill and her competitive power. I am inclined to take an exceedingly optimistic view of French potentialities and I am not alone in this view. One of the most competent economic

observers in France is Mr. J. R. Cahill of the British Embassy, and he, like myself, is convinced that the interlocking of French industries on horizontal and vertical lines and the extraordinary renewal of French equipment and the larger vision and the greater technical skill shown by the leading producers, must be numbered among the most significant facts of the new epoch.

It would be wrong, therefore, to pay too much attention to any slump in French trade. Business and financial experts are confident that it will be followed by a boom and, when they are not thinking in political terms, they deprecate the talk of congested markets and the menace of unemployment. England, perhaps, sacrificed her industry to her finance. She believed it was more important to bring the pound to parity than to restore her trade. Germany went to the opposite extreme and allowed her mark to fall to zero, thus wiping out many of the liabilities which bore heavily upon her industry and laying the foundations for a vigorous re-start with better machinery. France has chosen a middle course—or, perhaps, since economic and financial policies are not always deliberate—it would be preferable to say that circumstances have imposed on France a middle course. First the franc fell to a point at which the State was relieved of a large part of its burdens and industry was permitted to benefit. Then the franc was not allowed to continue on this slippery slope as the mark had been.

What has kept French trade from disaster is the general realisation by business men that they could not always reckon on a falling franc. They knew that business was bloated, and thus those who were wise took the opportunity, not merely of expanding their business, but of ameliorating their producing power. If one assumes that there were a hundred thousand persons unemployed in France at a given moment, there is not the slightest cause for alarm. These figures correspond, to all intents and purposes, to the normal pre-war margin of unemployment. They are similar to the figures registered during the 1921 depression. They are small as compared with the million and a half who are chronically unemployed in England, and both Germany and Italy are normally far worse off than France is ever likely to be. Politicians saw in the crisis a good stick with which to beat Monsieur Poincaré's policy of improving and pegging the franc. The curious thing is that those who make the most demagogic use in France of a temporary state of affairs, are precisely those who preached the necessity of a period of penitence. They considered that it was unavoidable that France should undergo penance when the fall of the franc should cease. This penance was irrespective of the methods which might be employed to save the franc. It was irrespective of the personality of the saviour of the franc.

If we consider in a general way the annals of business, we shall see that, quite apart from political upheavals and monetary depressions, throughout the whole of recorded business history in every country, there has never been such a thing as a normal state of trade. There has always been a see-saw. These periodical fluctuations are not regulated by any law but, in fact, they move in fairly similar cycles. Whatever the treatises on political economy say with regard to "normalcy," must clearly be wrong. Prosperity is no more normal than depression and depression is no more normal than prosperity. There may, of course, be an average state of affairs. A most interesting book on this subject, called *Business Annals* is published by the National Bureau of Economic Research in the United States. It is composed of tables and summaries, which have been obtained by the most painstaking research. Alternations of depression and prosperity are not regular, but though the periodicity varies, there is a general tendency. In the past business has always gone from prosperity to crisis and thence to depression and then to revival. Monetary stringency and Bourse panic are sometimes part of a trade boom but are equally to be found in periods of depression. In different countries and at different times the various parts of the cycle differ in intensity and duration. John Stuart Mill thought a cycle should last ten years: three years of declining trade, three years of increasing trade, three years of over-excited trade, and one year of crisis. But he was without sufficient data to be precise. Cassel gives dates of crisis years, showing cycles which last from four to eleven years in Europe. The four years' cycle is not uncommon in the United States. It would be interesting to pursue this subject in its more technical aspect, but I have before me the records of the successive years in France for many generations and, if the adjectives may be varied, there is the constant recurrence of conditions of depression, revival, and prosperity.

1921	...	...	Depression, revival.
1922	...	...	Revival.
1923	...	...	Prosperity.
1924	...	...	Prosperity.
1925	...	...	Prosperity.

Since the war France has been exceptionally favoured. My readings are:

1919	...	...	Depression, revival, boom.
1920	...	...	Prosperity, recession, depression.

Undoubtedly, one should write "prosperity" for 1926. Thus France has enjoyed four full years of prosperity and cannot be surprised if there should now be a decline. Even had the financial situation been different, a certain slump was due.

If one takes the case of England, one must record:

1919	...	...	Revival, prosperity.
1920	...	...	Prosperity, recession, depression.
1921	...	...	Deep depression.
1922	...	...	Depression.
1923	...	...	Depression.
1924	...	...	Depression.
1925	...	...	Depression.

We know that 1926 was the worst year of all. It is high time that the wheel should turn in favour of England.

The unemployment which France experienced in 1921 was rapidly remedied and in 1925 France experienced a severe labour shortage, despite immigration. Immigration has exceeded emigration considerably in France. Perhaps she is the only European country of which this is true. France now begins to tighten the restrictions on the admission of foreign workers and is, indeed, endeavouring to induce some of the superfluous foreign workers to leave the country. But these foreign workers can scarcely be regarded as a buffer which will deaden the shock. Most of the foreign workers in France are permanently needed. They are skilled workers and can perform some particular job which cannot be given at a moment's notice to a Frenchman.

I do not think that the franc has been brought too high. Many months ago, before the present efforts were made, I fixed, after careful calculations, in a leading Review, the true value of the franc at 120 to the pound. It can easily be maintained at that figure, if the politicians have learnt the lesson that Governmental instability means monetary instability. There is, indeed, only one reason why the franc cannot be brought much higher. It lies in the large internal debt of about three hundred milliard francs—nearly ten times greater than the pre-war debt. The Budget, if one reckons various obligations which may technically be left outside the Budget, such as the needs of the Sinking Fund, calls for something approaching fifty milliard francs a year—that is to say, nearly ten times more than the pre-war Budget. Now, unless there is some kind of repudiation, it is impossible to reduce the amounts which must be allocated to the service of the debt. France can find twenty milliard francs in paper a year for her debt charges if the franc remains about 125 to the pound, but she could not find the same amount in gold if the franc were at its pre-war value. In short, the burden of France has increased tenfold in terms of francs, while the franc has diminished to a fifth of its former value. This means that the burden for the taxpayer is double that of 1913.

It is just possible for France to support such a burden. It is more than doubtful whether France could increase her burden.

The statistics seem to show that in 1925 America paid less than twelve per cent. of her national revenue in taxes, while England paid more than twenty-two per cent. and France more than twenty-eight per cent. To-day, with the higher charges, France is probably paying about 30 per cent. In my opinion *Monsieur Poincaré would be well advised to stabilise at the present rate of exchange.* This does not imply that he should stabilise immediately. He must choose his own moment. There are many technical considerations which call for the utmost caution and nothing would be more foolish than a premature move. His plans have only been partially revealed to the public. He properly refuses to state in advance what are his ultimate intentions. It is assumed that he will be guided by circumstances, but there is, contrary to many reports which have been circulated in England, *no indication whatever that he contemplates any increase in the value of the franc.* He has given one clear pledge. He has said that the Banque de France will take every step to maintain the franc at the prevailing rate until industries have adapted themselves to the changed conditions. That pledge enables industrialists and commercial men to go ahead without misgiving. The only risk, it would appear, is that of a political upheaval or the menace of a political upheaval. Were Monsieur Poincaré to be thwarted or overthrown, the franc would again be plunged into the melting pot. One cannot prophesy, for politics are uncertain and politicians are not always wise, but, assuming ordinary commonsense on the part of the French Deputies, the prospects of the franc and the prospects of French industry are altogether hopeful.

SISLEY HUDDLESTON.

THE GREEK "ŒCUMENICAL" GOVERNMENT.

ONE of the most fortunate events in recent Greek history was the small majority recorded at the general election of November 7th. For thus, instead of a ministry of one party or of kindred parties, the inevitable result was the formation of a cabinet containing the leaders of all parties, Republican and Royalist alike, with the exception of the tiny Communist group of nine, which, for the first time, made its appearance in the Greek Chamber. Thus, on December 4th was created what the Greeks call an "Œcumenical" Government—a name coined curiously enough by Thrasyboulos Zaïmes, father of the present Prime Minister, for the similar Government of which he was a member, formed in 1877 at a critical moment of the Russo-Turkish War under the presidency of the venerable Admiral Kanares. Only once before in Greek history has such an "Œcumenical" Government existed; for the application of the title to the third Zaïmes and to the Skouloudes Cabinets of 1915, which both contained five politicians who were or had been Prime Ministers, was inexact, because those Governments excluded the leader of one of the great parties in the State.

Thus, after the lapse of half a century Greece again had an "Œcumenical" Government, whose chief, in a manner consonant with English Whig traditions, was the representative of a great historic family, brought up to consider a public career as a duty to his country. At almost every crisis of the last thirty years—after the disastrous Greco-Turkish War of 1897, after the "Gospel Riots" of 1901, after the second resignation of Mr. Venizelos in 1915, after the Allied Note of 1916, at the time of the first deposition of King Constantine—Mr. Alexander Zaïmes occupied the Premiership, and when, in 1906, a High Commissioner was wanted for Crete, and in 1915 and 1917 a Governor was needed for the National Bank, to Mr. Zaïmes men instinctively turned. Had he stood as a candidate, and had there been freedom of election, he would probably have been elected President of the Republic at the presidential election of April, 1926, while three years earlier he tried to reconcile the two warring factions—a task at last accomplished under his auspices. The "Œcumenical" Government has been the greatest step yet taken towards "reconciliation." The mere fact that there sit in the same Cabinet the three Republican ex-Premiers, Messrs. Kaphandares, Michalakopoulos and Papanastasiou and the two Royalist leaders, Mr. Tsaldares and General Metaxâs, shows how great an advance has been made in that direction. Doubtless, the death of King Constantine and the disap-

pearance of Mr. Venizelos from the political stage—for he visits Crete as a private citizen—have facilitated the work of forgetting the past and thinking of the present and future. But the daily collaboration of men, who not long ago were scarcely on speaking terms, has been an admirable co-efficient. Men who have called themselves by their Christian names in the Cabinet can scarcely abuse each other in the Chamber or the Press. The Opposition has been limited in Parliament to extreme Royalists, like Mr. Vozikes, a former Governor-General of Thrace, and to the tiny Communist group which opposed the celebration of the Navarino centenary. These respective Oppositions have nothing in common, and on one occasion Mr. Vozikes, apostrophising the Communists, declared that both George II and Admiral Kountouriotis were patriotic Greeks. Moreover, everyone frankly recognised that the last general election was absolutely free and uninfluenced by the Government in office at the time. General Kondyles gave his country the chance of expressing its opinion without let or hindrance; thanks to his precautions, absolute order prevailed on polling-day, and he kept his promise to retire when a new government could be formed. He has since returned if not to active public life, to political journalism in one of the newest of the twenty-five daily newspapers which Athens produces, and has reconstituted his party.

The "Œcumenical" Government, composed of men of such widely different opinions, has naturally had its difficulties. It has undergone four severe crises, which were surmounted because of the general feeling that, at all costs, this Government must be carried on until it had achieved its programme. There was first the crisis arising out of the alleged shadowing of Royalist Ministers and the publication of secret service bulletins, in which officers of the First Army Corps, commanded by General Manettas, were accused of having a hand. Mr. Tsaldares demanded this General's dismissal, but a compromise was made by which General Manettas was temporarily removed for one month and was subsequently to be reinstated or to receive an equivalent post, while the other two officers were removed for three months. The second crisis was unfortunately of British origin. During the dictatorship of General Pangalos, the "Power and Traction" Company had obtained a concession for the electric lighting of Athens, the electrification of the Kephissia railway, "the beast" (τὸ θηρίον) as it is colloquially called, and the circulation of a number of new motor-omnibuses. Whether these last were really wanted by the public is a doubtful question; for there are already in Athens 942 motor-omnibuses, some very good, carrying nearly half a million passengers daily. The existing vested interests considered themselves injured and there was a demonstration of motor-buses, bearing the inscription,:

"We want to live by work; down with 'Power and Traction'!" General Metaxâs, Minister of Communications, made a very able speech in the Chamber, where there was considerable opposition to this unpopular concession. The Government unanimously decided to carry it out, and the Premier announced that it would resign if the Chamber rejected the convention after the revision of certain clauses had been obtained. The Chamber thereupon passed a vote of confidence in the Government, and after the vote General Metaxâs announced that favourable concessions had already been made by the company.

A third crisis, which up to the last moment endangered the Cabinet's existence, was due to the dismissal of the chief of the gendarmerie and the appointment of a successor by Mr. Tsaldares, as Minister of the Interior, without previous consultation with his colleagues. Mr. Kaphandares, the Minister of Finance, took up a line of strong opposition to this proceeding, and it was pointed out that on the formation of the "Œcumenical" Government it had been agreed that all important appointments should be made after the deliberation of the entire Cabinet. General Metaxâs offered his mediation, and at the eleventh hour a compromise was effected, after an influential deputation of business men had waited on the Premier and implored him to avert the catastrophe of a break-up of the Coalition Ministry. The appointment made by Mr. Tsaldares was considered as provisional, and it was agreed that the definite nomination should be submitted by him to the whole Cabinet.

Scarcely was this arranged, when Mr. Michalakopoulos, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, threatened to resign on account of the leakage of Cabinet secrets. A very confidential matter—the note which he proposed to send to the Soviet Legation on the subject of their commercial agents' political propaganda—had found its way into the Press, and a bill had been hastily drawn up, inflicting severe penalties upon newspapers for publishing the proceedings of the Cabinet. This difficulty, too, was settled by an arrangement that future delicate diplomatic discussions should be confined to the party leaders and only the results communicated to the rest of the Cabinet. Thus, a Foreign Affairs' Committee of the Cabinet was created. Obviously the public debate of foreign negotiations in the Press immediately after the close of every Cabinet Council does not facilitate the conduct of foreign policy, and Mr. Michalakopoulos declared that he could not be responsible for it in such conditions.

Immediately afterwards came the news that the President of the Republic had tendered his resignation, not on grounds of health—although he had just completed his seventy-second year and longed for the repose of his native island of Hydra—but because of the

the very leonine arrangement secured by the Jugoslavs in the latter days of the Pangalos dictatorship, which was never ratified by Parliament. The death of Mr. Gavrilovich, the Yugoslav Minister in Athens, the long delay in the arrival of his successor from Angora, and the continual changes of government at Belgrade have made fresh negotiations difficult at either capital. Meanwhile, Jugoslavia is in a less favourable position, for she is diplomatically isolated owing to the Italian policy of encirclement, and should be glad to come to terms with her southern neighbour. It is the interest of both that "the Balkan Peninsula should belong to the Balkan peoples"; both have had experience of Italian Imperialism; both have interests in Albania; while the Jugoslavs, with outlets at Shushak and Spalato and a free zone at Salonika, have no valid reason for expansion thither. Towards Italy the "Œcumenical" Government, if not so cordial as the Pangalos dispensation, has been perfectly correct, although a recent speech in the Italian Chamber about the Dodekanese was generally criticised in the Greek Press.

The appointment of so energetic and able a diplomatist as Sir Percy Loraine, who arrived in December and struck a new note in his first official speech, has stimulated Anglo-Greek relations. For the first time for some years Great Britain has done good propaganda in Greece in the shape of the visit of the fleet and that of a British athletic team. The latter was even more successful than the former, for the games in the Stadium were accessible to a far greater number of persons than the necessarily limited entertainments on board ship. The writer, who was present and also witnessed the Franco-Italian jealousies at the Olympic Games of 1906, was specially struck by the sportsmanship of both the Greek athletes and spectators, who warmly applauded the British victories, making a popular hero of Mr. Lowe, the captain of the British team. The tact of the British athletes, and the graceful act of Mr. Thomas in publicly embracing Mr. Kranes, his defeated rival in one of the long-distance races, aroused enthusiastic comment in the Greek Press, and the British Minister performed the popular act of walking at the head of the British team, after the games were over, to deposit a wreath upon the statue of Averoff, the refounder of the Stadium.

Meanwhile, three awkward Anglo-Greek questions have been settled—that of British subjects' properties expropriated under the Rural Law of last October, that of the "Power and Traction" Company, and that of the Greek War Debt to Great Britain. It was plausibly argued in Athens that Sir Otto Niemeyer, upon whom the decision was believed to depend, ignored the political aspects of the question and regarded it wholly as one of figures, and it was felt unjust that Italy, which can afford to spend large sums on fortify-

ing Cagliari and Leros, on military aviation, and on Signor Mussolini's triumphal progress to Libya, should have been let off so large a portion of the £576,000,000 owed to Great Britain, whereas the Greek debt, consisting of only £21,441,450, after deduction of the sums due to Greece for damages caused by the British armies during the war, should have been less favourably treated. One of the Greeks principally concerned in the negotiations has, however, expressed to me his "satisfaction"; the more usual opinion is that the settlement was the best in the circumstances. But, as was said in the eighteenth century of the Anglo-American difficulty, the relations between two nations should not be decided "by the maxims of the counter."

Two other British activities have been renewed or continued. A new British Naval Mission, consisting of Captain Turle and four others, arrived in March to take the place of Admiral Townsend's Mission, which left in May, 1926. Sir Frederick Halliday's British Police Mission has not received the stipulated six months' notice of the renewal of its contract, which will expire on September 22nd, but the Government has expressed the wish to renew it for two years from that date, and therein public opinion is with the Government. It is also being asked to re-organise the Athenian fire-brigade. For this mission, appointed by Mr. Venizelos in 1918, has been confirmed by all successive Governments, although General Pangalos was tempted to placate his supporters in the rival corps of *gendarmérie* by diminishing the functions of the police. In January, when his contract expired, Mr. Eric Sloman, the director of the police school at Corfù, was replaced by a Greek; but the ex-director will continue to further the cause of British education in Greece in his new capacity of headmaster of the public school on English lines, which has been founded by Mr. Anargyros, a local millionaire, in his native island of Spetsai, and which will be opened in September. Another Englishman, Mr. Read, is headmaster of the richly endowed Greco-American school, the "Athens College," which will presently move out to its new quarters at the suburban garden city of Psychikó. Great is the desire of the Greeks to learn English; indeed, the writer has been informed that, since M. Franklin-Bouillon's proceedings in Turkey, some Greeks are unwilling to allow their children to learn French! Italian propaganda at Corfù gives them the opportunity of learning Italian and the Italian Government compels the Greeks of the Dodekanese to do so. But the Hellenic character of that group of islands has found recent expression in the representation of a woman wearing one of the quaint Dodekanesian costumes upon one of the new Greek stamps!

The decision of the Ambassadors' Conference in the case of the *Salamis*—a vessel ordered for the Greek navy in Germany before

delay in passing the Constitution, despite two letters which he had addressed to the Premier on the subject. These long-drawn discussions on the new Constitution have been, indeed, detrimental to the prestige of parliamentary institutions. In 1924 the National Assembly began to draw up the new charter, necessitated by the change of *régime*. But up to General Pangalos' *coup d'état* of June 25th, 1925, only Article 35 had been reached. A Special Commission of the Assembly was then appointed to finish the remaining Articles which it did on September 11th, 1925, but General Pangalos published an amended version of the new Constitution before it had been ratified by the legislature. He then suspended 116 out of the 117 Articles, of which the amended version consisted. After his fall, General Kondyles promulgated the new Constitution in its original form of 125 Articles, which the new Chamber, elected on November 7th, 1926, was to revise or ratify within fifteen days. That body might have taken warning from the fate of its predecessor, for the delay in passing the Constitution had been one of the causes of the *coup d'état*. But it has been almost as dilatory as the late Assembly, and that in turn had followed the Constituent Assembly which slowly compiled the Constitution of 1864. One of the disadvantages of this procrastination is that the Senate, for which the new charter provides, has not yet been created. But, according to the new Constitution, the election of the President of the Republic must be made by both branches of the legislature, and the trial of General Pangalos, who was arrested as far back as August 22nd, should be held before the Senate. Consequently, the proper constitutional machinery for both these impending eventualities does not exist, and accordingly the Chamber has provisionally to act alone. Admiral Koundouriotis, who has never failed to sacrifice his personal convenience to his country's interests, was fortunately persuaded to withdraw his resignation and to remain temporarily in office. But the difficult problem of finding an adequate successor in the Chief Magistracy must be faced. Mr. Zaïmes would be the most natural selection; but his appointment to the Presidency would raise the awkward question of the succession to the Premiership and might spell the end of the "Œcumenical" Government. Besides, he is only six months younger than Admiral Koundouriotis. Another important question in choosing the head of the State is to find someone whose wife possesses the qualities required for performing the difficult social duties of the position. Here, again, Admiral Koundouriotis would be hard to replace, for Madame Koundouriotis has discharged those delicate functions with a tact and a grace which have won the admiration of even Royalist ladies.

The trial of the ex-Dictator is another pressing matter. Rumours

of his escape and of plots to assist him, confirmed by the seizure of three letters urging officers to revolt, have occasionally alarmed the public, and in any case it is high time that he should be tried instead of remaining for months in the Cretan fortress of Izzeddin, for, merciless as he was, his political opponents show no desire to treat him without mercy. According to the decision of the Chamber taken last December, the Articles of the Constitution, which would otherwise have necessitated his release on December 22nd, when the four months since his arrest expired, were suspended until July. Unless, therefore, a further suspension be sanctioned, he must be tried before then. The result will probably be not the death penalty, which he inflicted retrospectively on two unfortunate officials found guilty of malversation, but banishment. The ex-Dictator will then have the opportunity of studying on the spot the methods of his Italian model.

Greece has happily had little history under the "Œcumenical" Government. One sanguinary conflict, causing three deaths and twelve other casualties, during the strike in March, has alone marred its peaceful career. This incident led to some alarm as to the spread of Communism in the unfavourable soil of Greece. Measures were advocated against Communist propaganda in schools, and attention was drawn to Communist speeches advocating Macedonian autonomy. At the General Election, however, the Communist vote in Athens was insignificant; Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace were the provinces where it was chiefly recorded. It wins some support from the poorer refugees, and the utterly disproportionate numbers of the Soviet Legation, as compared with other diplomatic establishments, point to propaganda from outside. But the individualism of the Greek character and the cutting-up of the large estates, with the existence of a large number of small peasant proprietors, militate against Communism.

In the hands of so prudent and well-informed a Minister as Mr. Michalakopoulos, the leader of the Conservative Republicans, who had already held the portfolio of Foreign Affairs for five months in 1925 during his own Premiership, Greek foreign policy has been cautiously directed. On the day before he took office was published the text of the Italo-Albanian Pact. This virtual Italian protectorate over a neighbouring country, in which there are considerable Greek interests and a large Hellenic population, was received in Greece with a calm which contrasted with the excitement aroused by it in Yugoslavia. The Greeks are in a difficult position in this matter—between Rome and Belgrade. For their alliance with Yugoslavia, denounced by the latter on November 19th, 1924, despite various negotiations, has not yet been renewed. The "Œcumenical" Government has made it clear that it could not accept

the war and now considered by British naval experts as obsolete, but for which Greece is compelled to pay—has increased the unfavourable feelings, inspired by the case of Corfù in 1923 and that of the Greco-Bulgarian incident of 1925, towards that body and the League of Nations. The Greek Press has remarked that the Ambassadors' Conference resembles the appendix in the human body: if dormant, it is useless; if active, it is dangerous. Similarly a witty Greek has observed that "the League of Nations is like a joint-stock company, which pays dividends to its large shareholders alone." In one respect, indeed, the League has benefited Greece—by the creation of the Refugees' Settlement Commission. But the whole of the Refugees' Loan will soon have been expended, so that, unless at its June or October meeting the League sanctions a Supplementary Loan, the work of the Commission will terminate before the settlement of all the refugees has been accomplished. In this work, through the successive vice-presidents of the Commission, Sir John Campbell and Sir John Hope Simpson, and through the former acting-president, Sir Robert Graves, the British have had a share with the three successive American chairmen, Messrs. Morgenthau, Howland, and Eddy.

It remains to solve the military problem. Everyone, except a certain number of interested persons, wishes the army and navy to keep out of politics and occupy themselves with their professional training. But the Royalists naturally want this Cabinet of Conciliation to restore to the army those Royalist officers whom former Governments had removed, and the Republican officers, *beau possédés*, as naturally wish to retain their own posts. But only a Cabinet of all parties can solve this question and make these drastic economics necessary, for the inevitable unpopularity involved in those surgical operations is thus divided between all alike and not concentrated upon one leader.

Meanwhile, the question of the *régime* has fortunately remained in abeyance. There are numerous Greeks who prefer a monarchy to a republic, but there are few who feel either enthusiasm or dislike for George II. The idea launched by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, of holding a second *plébiscite*, was not adopted. Of the Royalist leaders in the Cabinet, General Metaxâs is always on the side of moderation: his policy appears to be an enlightened opportunism. Mr. Tsaldares occupies a more difficult position; for, although he is not intransigent himself and has made considerable sacrifices in the public interest, his party contains some irreconcilable elements, with which he has to reckon. The resultant of the parallelogram of forces in the present Ministry is a Conservative Republic, equi-distant from a Red Communism and an Autocratic Monarchy. The friends of Greece should wish long life to the

"Œcumenical" Government; for all the leading statesmen are within it, and there is no alternative Cabinet of anything like the same value. The alternative would seem to be a military dictatorship, and of that form of government Greece has had quite enough. Besides, the effect abroad of another *pronunciamiento* would be disastrous and have immediate repercussions on the rate of exchange, which has steadily improved. From 435 *drachmai* last summer, the £ has fallen to 363, and is practically stabilised at about that figure.

The business world is, therefore, naturally desirous that the Coalition Ministry shall remain in power. The general public is weary of political changes and glad of a system which allows it to proceed with its work in peace. The provinces would rather have good roads than good speeches for or against the *régime*. Epeiros is interested in the proposed railway connecting that province with Thessaly; Salonika is awaiting the development of the New University, opened there last autumn, which the energetic rector, Professor Soteriades, himself a Macedonian, is seeking to direct along more practical lines than those of purely literary academies. Foremost comes the question of finance—balancing the budget and reducing expenditure in accordance with the suggestions made by the Commission of Experts which examined the financial situation of every government department. Here, before many years are over, the wealth produced by the refugees will doubtless assist the efforts of the Treasury. Greece possesses great recuperative powers, and even the disaster to Hellenism in Asia Minor has strengthened Hellenism in Europe: what it has lost in extent it has gained in intensity, and the Turks, by recapturing Smyrna, solved the Macedonian question in favour of the Greeks.

Greece is preparing to celebrate on October 20th the centenary of Navarino, at which, it is hoped, the grandson of Admiral Codrington will be present. Despite many obstacles, the shortsighted policy of the Powers in starting her in life with inadequate frontiers, the pedantry of the Bavarian Regency, the jealousies between the indigenous population and the Phanariotes, the well-meant absorption of Otho in details of administration, the rivalries of the three Protecting Cabinets on the then small stage of Athenian politics, the quarrels of the Interregnum and the unstable Ministries of the early years of George I, the Jubilee of Navarino in 1877, the year of the first "Œcumenical" Government, showed a marked progress of the nation. Despite the internal dissensions of the European War, the centenary of Navarino in 1927, the year of the second "Œcumenical" Government, will show the still greater advance of a larger Greece.

WILLIAM MILLER.

Athens, May 17th, 1927.

MOUKDEN TO MOSCOW.

EUROPE and Asia, despite textbook classifications, are one vast geographical entity, a single continent. Russia and Turkestan for centuries stood between the populations of China and of Western Europe. The early attacks on Europe by the Tartars of Central Asia, those fierce nomads, and the difficulties of climate and territory, proved efficient deterrents to intercourse by the Northern land routes. It was, by the drama of Fate, left for the last of the Tsars, before his dynasty was extinguished, to light the way down that long corridor of Siberia, and to unite the east and west of our common continent. Nicholas knew well that he was making history when he cut the first sod of the Trans-Siberian railway: but he did even greater than he knew.

The immortal Fabre would certainly have seen the prototype of that railway in the spider's thin long-spun listening line, leading from his web, so fragile, yet so strong. The Great War and the ensuing Russian Revolution broke the line: but the Soviet has lately mended it, and once more the traveller along its slender steel thread realises the proximity of Tokyo to Berlin, Peking to London, and, what is of immediate interest, Moukden to Moscow. It is only six thousand miles from Harbin on the Sungari to Riga on the Baltic: a long railway journey, truly, and the building of such a line is another instance of man's indomitable patience. But the land crossing of even such a distance is, after all, comparable in length with the journey from 'Frisco to New York, Quebec to Vancouver. And it brings home, as nothing else does, the unity of Asia and Europe, and the foresight of the advisers of the despised Tsars.

The British traveller bound for China by way of Suez, India and Malaya, cannot appreciate the achievements or the genius of his race and fathers, till he returns by way of the northern half of the same continent, and perceives some of the enormous problems fronting the leaders of action there. Still less can the American critic, who often comes with scant knowledge of the past conditions of life in the civilisations he now sees working under British guidance. The barest glimpse of Manchuria and Siberia, then of Moscow, Berlin, and Brussels, sets values right—always provided, of course, that the traveller brings with him that first essential of travel, sympathy in the difficulties, sorrows, labours, and joys of others, a gift of charity which good authority sets higher than the gift of tongues.

Manchuria, whence my mother and I set out on the long trek for Berlin, is a strange, and disturbing mixture. Chinese peasantry keep the soil, the strategic position. The Japanese are shopkeepers, men of big business, and staff the professions. Finally, there

are Russians of every variety, old begging women and princely refugees, former officers and new Soviet officials, but all bearing a countenance of care, and few looking prosperous. Above them towers the figure of the Chinese Director of the Three Provinces of Manchuria, Marshal Chang Tso-Lin. He appreciates much of modern life. His palace is a huge brick mansion, his arsenal turns out modern munitions, his cotton mills are furnished with British spindles. But he blends a paternal and Mussolini-like autocracy with his modernism in disconcerting ways. Last autumn, for instance, the Chinese stockbrokers in Moukden annoyed him seriously by their speculations in his paper money. It was shaking the foundation of government, he said, so he took the sixteen chief stockbrokers of his capital, and shot them—*pour encourager les autres*. A "Short Way" with your Stockbroker, but a little too smacking of despotism if democracy is to be the ultimate object.

We waited in the Soviet offices at Harbin for our passports amongst a crowd of resigned Russians, who have to repair there monthly or weekly for renewed permits to live or travel therefrom. The train across Siberia is managed by the International Company of *Wagon-lits*, who undertake to frank one from Harbin to Ostend: and international, indeed, is the company on their trains. There travelled with us Chinese, Japanese, Germans, Swedes, an Italian, a Norwegian, a Roumanian, besides six young British naval officers going home on short leave from Weihaiwei, their average age one-and-twenty. We were happy in each others' company and profited thereby, being guests together in a foreign land, having demanded and received the somewhat reluctant hospitality of Soviet Russia in the pursuit of our lawful occasions. At Moscow, later on, a party of Persians, the lady amongst them being in Persian dress, added spice to our coterie. They were visiting Moscow *en route* for Paris from Teheran—a suggestive sign of emotions in the new Nearer East.

When we had passed the fir-clad Altai mountains, with their brown trout streams and reedy pools, and had settled down to the thousands of miles of rolling Siberian steppe, a Bolshevik lady of sincere convictions would invite a German and myself to her coupé for a symposium on the Bolshevik faith. He was a diplomat of liberal views, whose reputation for moderation had not been exaggerated. A big, quiet man, he would listen with a half-smile, while his pretty young daughter went to play "snap" with the British navy. He said to my mother, with a sigh, that the world owed Germany one debt at least: namely, that she had stood as a buffer between Communism and Western Europe. We were as interested in the evidences of the practice of Bolshevism as in its faith. At Omsk we heard rumours of the new highway which General Feng Yu

Hsiang is building thence to the north-west corner of China, a road "not to be trodden of by Imperialist feet." Along it he can receive help from his Soviet friends without their having to reach him by way of Vladivostok, or through Manchuria where highly-organised Japanese opposition might supplement Marshal Chang Tso-Lin's efforts.

Both the German diplomat and I remarked on the agricultural prosperity of Siberia, up to a certain degree. The Soviet is undoubtedly doing its best by its own people there. The land looked cared for: and the peasant, at least, is encouraged in his passion for the soil, however full of tricks the Third International at Moscow may be with regard to the outer world. On the train was, moreover, a White Russian, a former officer in the Grand Army, and to-day a commercial traveller in leather goods. He bore testimony to the more liberal treatment of such as himself now prevailing in Russia. Rendered desperate by lack of work, their relatives dead, a few of them have recently ventured back: and so far they have been left in peace. They have no civil rights or status; but they begin to hope that their uncovenanted mercies will be continued.

For thousands of miles we passed through fields of oats and hay—enough oats and hay to feed the horses of the world. Birch avenues led off from the rough cart-tracks, which wandered up and down the rounded slopes. There were no roads. A Chinese from Hong Kong discussed all these things with me. He had taken his science degree at Hong Kong University some years ago. His uncle had been knighted by the King, "because he gave a large subscription to a Hong Kong benevolence," he blandly announced. This is, I fear, the impression the Far East too often receives of the honours we give to their Chinese representatives. He had, alas, no sort of feeling of attachment to our British Commonwealth of Nations.

He had a business in scientific instruments. Thank heaven the war was over so that he could buy them from Germany again. The English attempts at making them were pitiable, and the American not much better. He had travelled round the world twice, and thought Theosophy the religion that suited him best, combining the uncontroversial out of each religion. He took exercise by practising the Charleston in the train corridor. In Hong Kong he and his wife, whose very attractive photo he showed me, went twice a week to a dance club frequented by modern Chinese, the only exercise he had a chance to take. Having been amongst foreigners so much, he knew the value of exercise and he was not going to grow into the fat compradore type of his forbears. He could not shut up his business on Saturday afternoons and Sundays like foreigners and go golfing, for competition was too strong. He had no use for London because its cabarets were as nothing compared

with Vienna; and nobody in England asked a stranger to go home with him, so he had to go to cabarets or sit dumb in his hotel. When he grew rich, he would like to buy a big ranch in Manchuria, manage it in the grand style and bring up his family on the soil. But his wife would certainly object. And had I noticed that we had not seen a single motor-car since we left China? Now if we had been crossing Canada or the States, we should have seen them in hundreds of miles, without break, of lilies, campanulæ, anemones, Siberia could be as prosperous as Canada. But Bolshevism seemed to mean that if everybody could not have a car, nobody should have one; which did not sound sense, or give scope for personal energy. The Russian lady might wax as enthusiastic as she liked on the riches of Siberia, its timber, minerals, and cereals, but he, a Chinese, could only see how undeveloped these were.

Autumn and spring are the seasons in which to cross the great Steppes. In winter the railway carriages are heated to a pitch unendurable to a Briton, and the double windows are screwed fast down. In summer the heat, and the consequent dust and flies, are equally intolerable. But in spring the train saunters through hundreds of miles, without break, of lilies, campanulæ, anemones, forget-me-nots, iris: and in autumn the yellow harvest is eclipsed by the golden pennies of the birch trees, which drop their largesse to the waiting earth in a windless atmosphere. The train runs smoothly at some five-and-twenty miles an hour. This easy motion renders the ten days from Harbin to Moscow bearable, the nerve strain being thus reduced to a minimum; and we enjoyed it. When the line was first resuscitated by the Soviet after the Revolution, there were bad accidents, for the deterioration had been steady. Now, although the engine-driver takes the train at snail's pace over certain bridges, there are constant signs of workmen re-building. The fuel is wood. The American-educated wife of the Minister for Railways in China told me, before we started, that she was sure she could never go by Siberia because she would fear that the supply of fuel would run out, and she be stranded in the middle of such a dreadful wilderness. But enormous and plentiful cords of wood, ready fagotted and piled, stand at intervals on the track.

Towards midday the train usually stopped twenty minutes or so at wayside stations, and we took the opportunity to buy food. There was a restaurant car; but its methods, being typical of a certain Bolshevism, were totally unrelated to life. For life, being biological rather than logical, demands compromises upsetting to the doctrinaire. I went the first morning for coffee, recalling with inward satisfaction the super-excellent creation of the Greek chef, the pride of the Trans-Siberian train in pre-war days. An unwilling attendant unlocked the wagon at my rappings and pointed to his comrades

asleep in a row, rolled up in bedding on the floor of the restaurant. He showed me on his wrist-watch that it was only seven, by Moscow time : we were gaining an hour every day. Apologising I withdrew, crept back in an hour and found them always sleeping. In another hour they began their toilets, and presently were ready for clients. But we had made breakfast for ourselves, meanwhile, at a convenient station. The Soviet, to the lasting gratitude of all travellers, has retained that ukase of its predecessors which required that a vat of boiling water be maintained at every station, so steaming hot that it can be poured from a tap straight on to tea-leaves for tea. We would run with kettles and tea-pots, and stand in a queue for this most welcome provision. There was one good meal a day provided on the train, at a reasonable price : and we took it once. It was such an enormous meal, of many meat courses, that one such was indeed sufficient for the day. But noon was its hour, and noon meant twelve, midday, Moscow time. This at Harbin was at seven in the evening : at Omsk about five in the afternoon ; at Tomsk three, and so forth. This did not seem to trouble the restaurant attendants, but our digestions refused to be governed by the noon hour of Moscow, although we were told that the Mecca of the Soviets, being the most important city of the world, should set the time and hour of *déjeuner* for the world.

So we followed the examples of the second and third class Russian passengers. They ran at the various halts to trestle-tables set up near the platforms, and bought the excellent fare which Siberia provides. Her butter is golden, her honey worthily commands a high price in Moscow, and her land flows with milk. We usually bought the last boiled, for which we were glad. In the hot months, travellers have been made ill with the food, and dysentery and typhoid are always ills to be avoided. Bread was of white flour or dark rye, and good if coarse. Cooked chickens, ducks, and sausages and hard-boiled eggs were in plenty. There were even cheap firm-fleshed grapes, come up by caravan and train and from Bokhara way, we were told. The prices, we were interested to find, were much the same as prevail in England now, except for chickens and ducks which were cheap. We paid about two shillings a pound for the butter. It was not an elegant existence, for we washed our plates and cups in the little wash-places neatly built in between each pair of coupés. Our neighbours on the other side, however, were two Japanese doctors, and their politeness and consideration were what one has learned to expect from their nation.

Behind these foodstalls stood the farmers' wives and daughters of the locality. Symbolical they were. Most of the mothers wore shawls over their heads, had tight bodices and long skirts, and their fingers were hard with work. Their daughters wore the short,

navy-blue pleaded skirts, knitted jumpers and flesh-coloured silk stockings one might see in any city of Western Europe. In the bigger centres they were shingled, and their hands were well kept. On the summit of the gentle swell of the Ural mountains is a junction known to former travellers as Tcheliabinsk. Like so many Russian cities, it has been renamed. One buys there alexandrites and other Ural stones, little black iron bears, birch-bark cigarette-cases, furry mocassins, painted and jointed wooden toys. A market was in progress by the light of naphthaline flares, when we arrived. On the platform a large group of immigrants clustered round mounds of their processions. The Soviet has now decided to continue the policy of the Tsarist Government of settling peasants in Siberia from other less happy parts of their domain. The women looked so worn and tired, as they struggled with wailing babes and brass-bound leather wallets, packed to bursting-point, that I helped one mother, aged thirty or so, to drag her mound. She smiled wanly at me : her thin faded hair was straggling, her teeth missing or decayed. Towards us came a man crying newspapers. When I looked, they were, each and every one, fashion papers ! We shook our heads ; but as he went down the train, his wares were eagerly sought, and he was soon sold out to the Russian women of the second-class, who were going from one inland township to another, and to whom this journey was an event. An excellent sign, this. There is small hope of renaissance for any nation whose women are sunk in apathy as to their clothes.

Not only is Siberia caring for her looks ; her mind is receiving attention. We often bought our chickens wrapped up in neatly-written Russian exercise-books. The school children trooped to the stations to see the *wagon-lits* train pass through, the boys sitting on the fences, the girls in staid clumps : silent, eager-eyed. Like shy deer, they strolled away when approached by strangers. But one day a girl teacher of twenty or so stayed her ground and kept with her the big girls who were hanging on to her arm in that passion of adoration which is evidently to be found in the Siberian school girl as in the English. She was one of the prettiest young women I have ever seen in my life : she possessed not only the glinting gold hair, with curling tendrils, of romance, a wild rose complexion and clean-cut features, but she had also a light of intelligence playing in her deeply blue eyes, and poise and courage in the lift of her head. We could not communicate by speech ; but, presently, smiling, she made as if to take off my hat. I guessed her thought and showed her my shingled nape. She nodded, and ran her fingers scissors-wise at the back of her lovely neck to indicate her intentions.

Anyone who has served on an English Education Committee acquires

an uncontrollable habit of peering into and appraising children's curriculum. I found myself tentatively dipping my hand into the satchel of the nearest school-girl. She consented, and I drew out a book, well-bound, well-printed. It was a German primer! When I spoke in that tongue, however, the child gave me to understand that she had but begun to learn it. Curiously enough, the page opened at the declension, in the singular and plural, of the words "Der Gott" and "Der Herr," from which I gathered that the Soviet believes in teaching a foreign language in its schools; that that language is German, and not French as in the olden days; and that the words "God" and "Master" are at least mentioned academically.

Of the orientals on the train, the three Japanese doctors were being sent by their Government and Administrations to Germany, to study German methods in hospitals and public health. So also were the four Chinese doctors. Two of these latter were Christians and made acknowledgment of their faith in talk amongst the others in circumstances which were none too easy. There were three Japanese engineers and three Chinese, also being sent to Germany to study research in engineering. They all expressed a desire to visit Great Britain; but one realises that Germany is the nearest and cheapest place for the Far Eastern student, outside of Russia. One Chinese had his wife with him, a dainty girl of twenty odd, who clung to me as to a sister when she found I could speak Chinese. None of these Chinese or Japanese knew any language but their own, except a smattering of English; and their courage in starting off in such conditions for High Germanie struck me as amazing. The Chinese wife, in a long turquoise flowered satin tunic, which she covered over at stations with a ruffled red satin cloak and accompanied with a white satin hat on semi-foreign lines, was very anxious to learn foreign dressmaking. She assured me that there would be a great opening for that by the time she returned to China, and begged me to suggest how she, who knew no German, could get lessons in it in Berlin, while her husband studied the childrens' diseases and hospitals which were his objective. The last I saw of her in Berlin was going off in a taxi, looking rather frightened, and every onlooker turning to gaze at her style in dress!

The comments of the Chinese on what they saw were instructive. The little wife said that it was good to travel safely on a train without fearing interference by bandits or rude soldiers, as in China of to-day. And for me, too, there was a feeling of relief, for we passed no convict trains, as in pre-Revolution days. No longer does the sigh of the political prisoner resound through those Steppes or weigh on the heart, however many other burdens there may be.

That is to the good. A tall stooping man had been pointed out to us at Manchouli, the dusty little town on the Manchurian border. He was the Russian Commissioner. He walks with a curious dragging gait which he will never lose. For ten years he was a prisoner, his legs shackled together with heavy irons. The bitterness of his sufferings has eaten into his soul. Of course, a large proportion of the Siberian prisoners were criminals. Many of the law-abiding citizens of the untidy towns of the Manchuria-Siberia frontier are released murderers and burglars. None are more insistent than they, so an Englishman who lived amongst them told us, on the sacred rights of the person and of property. Yet these towns have a strangely disproportionate ratio of apparently purposeless suicides each year amongst their reformed and prosperous community.

Two *provodniks*, or train attendants, looked after our coach, one on duty while the other slept. They played draughts at every odd moment. I doubt if the older of the two washed during the whole ten days, hands or face: and he wore his cloth cap night and day. He was a good-natured simple fellow. The other, a fair young man, began by resenting our existence, but, by the end, he was washing daily; and we came to play draughts with both. Those two unfortunate men were the most incapable draught-players in the world. It was impossible to lose to them. The Japanese doctors had never played draughts before, but, after watching the game once, beat the Russians. The older *provodnik* took his beatings with such indiscriminating fatalism that, for the good of his soul, I worked hard and lost two games to him. As he was chuckling over my lunatic moves, our Japanese neighbour came in and instantly drew my attention to my errors. I had to accept, or be detected. But, when he interfered a second time, I gave him a good hard pinch, and to this day smile at his shocked amaze. The Japanese have the games instinct well developed, and my would-be helper went away, unable to endure my quixotic dishonesty and lack of sportsmanship. The draughts-board was a sheet of notepaper, made into chequers with pencilled squares and shadings: a pitiful makeshift, and rather grimy with wear, but the dearest treasure of the elder *provodnik* who handled it tenderly. The draughts were tiny discs of box-cardboard roughly coloured with chalk. These men would be receiving the eighty roubles a month wages which the Soviet gives to the "hand-workers" in its employ, as against double that for the "brain-workers" of the station-master standing. And both the *provodniks* and the station-masters along the whole line, from Manchouli to the Polish border, had for months 2 per cent. of their pay deducted, at source, and without consultation of their opinions, for the benefit of the English miners.

We were not allowed to stay more than twenty-four hours in

suls and station officials. The boy got himself bravely out of his entanglement himself in due time. As we sat in one German's office, however, while he telephoned for us to Posen, whither we learned our young companion had been returned, we overheard him exclaim: "What a nation these English are! Sending their young children unaccompanied over half the world! They might never have heard of a Russian Revolution!" It must be set to Soviet credit that it was possible for that English school-boy to travel within her borders so many thousands of miles without a mishap, as well as for two unaccompanied women, and in reasonable comfort and safety. It is not very long since 1918, and the days of The Terror, to stabilise things.

The uncertainty is whether this toleration of other nationalities will last. It means so much, not only to Europe but to Asia. For Europe and Asia are one. Russia, which used to divide, is now setting herself to be the connecting link. And this link she owes, whether she remember it or not, to the past, with which she likes to imagine she has broken for ever.

DOROTHEA HOSIE.

SERBIA AND THE MACEDONIANS.

I.

AMONG all the questions that have agitated the Balkan Peninsula for fifty years past, the Macedonian question in all its phases is the most persistent. It remains to-day at the root of all others. Responsible statesmen alike in Belgrade and in Sofia are genuinely anxious to put relations on a new footing, and the Liaptcheff Government regards it as one of the keynotes of its policy to do so. But on both sides hands are tied. In Belgrade there are sections of the Press which refer to the "Bulgar Tribe" and the need for its incorporation in the S.H.S. State. When King Boris took his first holiday for eight years, there were those who represented it as a flight from a country seething with revolutionary discontent. At another moment General Volkov, Bulgarian Minister of War, is alleged to have been in consultation with the comitadji leaders, whereas the Government in fact lives under the shadow of their threats. The Macedonian question is indeed a standing embarrassment to Bulgarian statesmen, for its continuance embitters the Macedonians both in Macedonia itself and in Bulgaria, where they form a numerically strong element in the population. The wounds cannot heal, because there are those who, in the supposed interests on the one side of an autonomous Macedonia and on the other of Serb chauvinism, insist that they shall be kept open. Statesmanship knows that neither of these solutions is possible. The Bulgarian nation will not be destroyed, and on the other hand the course of history has rendered the ideal of an independent Macedonian State impossible. To the statesmen of both countries the question is equally embarrassing and the need for its solution equally urgent.*

II.

The various phases of the Macedonian question since the Treaty of San Stefano (March, 1878) are clearly marked and can be easily summarised. This Treaty practically restored the Bulgarian Empire of the Middle Ages. It included Bulgaria proper, Eastern Roumelia, and Macedonia in a single State. The result of the Treaty of Berlin (July, 1878) however, was to place Eastern Roumelia once again under Turkish suzerainty, though with a Christian Governor, and to return Macedonia to Turkey with mere promises of reform which were in fact never carried out. The first phase may be said to have lasted until 1893. During that fifteen years the

* This paper confines itself to the Macedonian question as it affects Serbo-Bulgar relations. The problem of minorities in Greece has an aspect of its own, and a Serbo-Bulgar understanding on the matter would almost certainly imply that a solution in Greece would not be long delayed. In this connection, too, it is only fair to recall the history of the Geneva Convention between Bulgaria and Greece which was abortive on account of Serbian intervention. Further, the Slav population in Greek Macedonia is fast dwindling.

Moscow. Such is the undertaking the *Wagon-lits* people have had to make with the Soviet. But we naturally saw what we could, and were driven furiously about the cobbled streets in a taxi with a powerful engine but whose body needed a coat of paint, like many other things in Moscow. We had set our hearts on seeing once more at least the outside of the Kremlin, the glory of travel in Russia in Tsarist days, so made our way to the centre of the city. Although the small shops looked shabby, the stores in the centre are better stocked than one might expect. At one point we came upon a group of men in a public garden surrounding a flower-bed. From the raised heart of it emerged a face in profile, very vital, laughing, with upturned moustachios and curling lip—a face done in small flowers and coloured plants, with horticultural skill. It was the face of Dzerdzinsky, the former head of the Cheka, who died last year. Dzerdzinsky done into flowers! One was taken back to the eccentricities of the French Revolution.

The face of Lenin can be seen behind glass three times a week, also, on presentation of a card, as he lies in his red coffin. It fell on the wrong day for us. But the simplicity of Lenin's present mausoleum strikes the imagination of an Anglo-Saxon as the exotic display of his lifeless features could never do. It is of plain polished tree trunks laid one on each other like a log-cabin. Its modesty recalls Peter the Great's wooden house in his St. Petersburg capital. And its homeliness seems to deprecate that vehement severance between the Russia of to-day and the Russia of history which is so strident in the new mausoleum now being erected on cubist lines a little distance away.

One is forced to ponder on what will be the effect of this present phase of Russian mentality impinging on China. The Red Square in Moscow takes one inevitably back to the Red Tombs of the first Manchu Emperors in Moukden. Astonishing that these two mighty places, separated by the Siberian steppes, but by no intervening civilisation, should be equally so gorgeous and so great! The façades of the Red Square in Moscow are painted, literally from mansard to basement, in blood-red, and the effect, if one looks without prejudging, is magnificent. Marshal Chang Tso-Lin, with a piety sadly rare in modern China, keeps the Manchu Tombs freshly painted that deep vermillion which expresses the mind of China in its most expansive and solemnly joyous mood. There the great pile stands, set in a green forest outside Moukden; its yellow tiles, spacious courtyards, and massive red walls and bastions, with their blazing colour and majestic proportions, bringing an unforgettable satisfaction to the eye and soul. Those Tombs are the flower of China's Imperial past.

And here in Moscow stands another great Square of Red, a red

symbolical of so different a thought; of revolt, and of the overthrow, not only of kings and empire, but of every precedent and recognised standard in life. Modern Russian Bolsheviks find only things to be discarded in Russia's past history. It is this violent reaction and iconoclasm which they are carrying to the Chinese seekers. It is this spirit which induces certain modern Chinese students to tear the picture and name of Confucius off their walls and to trample on them.

Yet is the past all forgotten? Between Moscow and Berlin a prosperous Russian, clothed in garments from New York and speaking English with an American accent, came and talked with us. He travelled to and fro between Russia and the States a great deal, it transpired. Now in the China of to-day one becomes accustomed to the very eulogistic way in which the extreme Nationalists speak of their country. All is fair and rosy, in a way that takes English breath and with a rosiness one would gladly be able to claim for one's own country. I was not, however, prepared to meet a similar optimism in an Americanised Russian who had just left Moscow. All was fair in Russia, nothing wrong. When he reached the Polish border he inveighed bitterly against the Poles. The boundary bristles with Polish wire entanglements, and the Polish gendarmerie, though polite and smiling, wear a small arsenal about their persons while they examine passports. He declaimed against them as jacks-in-office, and thought the Poles feared Russia absurdly. But he naïvely ended his diatribe: "You are not staying in Warsaw, you say. Ah, it used to be one of our finest Russian cities!" There was more than regret in his tone.

English people visiting Berlin after Brussels or Paris comment on a certain war-shabbiness. After Moukden's native city and Moscow's look of semi-resurrection, its orderliness and cleanliness, its well-kept stucco, its leafy parks, the activity of its streets, the beautiful cart-horses and the polished motor-cars, are what strike the traveller: and with a sense of comfort and normality. We had in our company over the Siberian route an English school-boy of fifteen and a half. He had gone from an English public school for his holidays to his parents in China, the journey both ways taking exactly four weeks out of his two months' holiday. He had enjoyed every minute of the journey, wished it would last for ever, and had made up his mind to learn German. He had played "snap" in every language, eaten pic-nic meals, and slept soundly in a top bunk as only a boy can. What was our distress to learn that he, the youngest of us, had been expelled from the train at Stenstch on the Polish-German border at five in the morning, owing to some slight inaccuracy in his passport, after all his travels. We did our best to help the boy when we reached Berlin, visiting con-

villages. At last in 1903 it became evident that the Powers intended to insist on reforms and, as in the opinion of many, reforms would merely mean a further lease of life to the rule of the Turk, the carefully prepared rebellion broke out. According to the French Ambassador in Constantinople, some 30,000 revolutionaries were in arms, 70,000 non-combatants took to the mountains, 20,000 fled to Bulgaria. The outcome of this reign of terror was the Muersteg programme of reforms under which the Turkish Governor, Hilmi Pasha, was provided with two agents to assist him, one Russian and one Austrian, while an international gendarmerie under an Italian commander was distributed throughout the various areas. That the gendarmerie did excellent work is beyond dispute, and that given a fair chance the scheme might have pacified Macedonia is at least possible. But it was too late. The Greeks took advantage of the Turkish exasperation against the Bulgars and started attacks on Bulgarian and Koutso-Vlach villages. Financial and judicial reforms were only put into operation after what appeared interminable delays and after the Bulgarian elements had lost faith in the scheme. Finally in 1908 the Young Turk Revolution with its promise of a constitutional *régime* opened a new chapter. Enver Bey and Niazi Bey were hailed as deliverers, the Bands dissolved themselves and everybody—including representatives of the Powers—went home.

But never were hopes more swiftly or more completely destroyed. A few weeks were sufficient to show that matters would not be better but worse. "Where we had one tyrant before, to-day we have a hundred," was the cry. The populations were disarmed, and the old story of massacre and outrage began once more. The magnitude of the disappointment and the intensity of the sufferings of Bulgarians, Greeks and Serbs alike, led the Balkan States to the determination to settle the Macedonian question for themselves. Hence the Balkan League of 1912, and the various Treaties on which it was based. These treaties proposed the partition of Macedonia. Under this arrangement everything within a line from the old Turko-Bulgarian frontier at Mount Golem running south-west to Lake Ochrida was to go to Bulgaria. This would have left Veles, Ishtip, Prilep, Ochrida and Monastir in her hands. Between that line and the Shar Mountains was a zone the future of which it was agreed should be left for future arbitration. It is important to remember, however, that the Macedonian Bulgars knew nothing of the terms of these treaties and that the central Revolutionary Committee formally protested against partition, and demanded autonomy. It is sometimes hinted that this was a mere matter of tactics, and that autonomy in Macedonia would only be a first step towards reunion with the Kingdom; that the Philippopolis revolu-

tion of 1885 would repeat itself. It is not unnatural if statesmen at Sofia have sometimes dreamed of the Empire of Ivan Asen II (1218) becoming theirs once more. Such dreams are not peculiar to Bulgarian or even to Balkan statesmen. But in fact from first to last the Macedonian leaders have consistently maintained their own standpoint. "Macedonia the missing Balkan State: Macedonia for the Macedonians" has always been their cry. The Macedonian Bulgars have always been more Bulgarian than the Bulgars of the Kingdom. If there were no Bulgaria their claim for autonomy would still remain. The Macedonian leaders indeed frequently express a poor opinion of Bulgarian statesmanship and, it must be admitted, sometimes show insufficient sympathy with the difficulties which that statesmanship has to face.

The story of the Balkan League needs no re-telling. As a result of the Balkan Wars and of the Great War which quickly followed, Macedonia did not achieve autonomy; and except for a very small area which is in Bulgarian hands, she was partitioned between Serbia and Greece. For her the Peace Treaties marked no more than the end of one chapter and the beginning of another. Once again the Bands were in the hills.

The Peace Treaties have brought no peace to Macedonia. Whether the population be Bulgars or whether they be Serbs or whether they be merely Macedonian Slavs, they are bitterly hostile to Serbian rule and resentful of a settlement which is in fact no settlement. The Macedonians are a conquered people and regard themselves as such. Exarchist schools and churches have been closed. Children have been compelled to attend Serbian churches and schools and to speak Serbian. The Bulgarian language is barred, Bulgarian books are not allowed, Bulgarian libraries are closed, newspapers are confiscated. Notices and shop signs must be changed so as to bear the Serbian form, and Christian names must be chosen out of a list exposed on the Church doors. Serbian Bands with the approval and even under the direction of Government officials make reprisals where populations show sympathy with Bulgarian Bands. The young men seek to emigrate to America where the Macedonians are a strong, well organised body; but this is no longer easy. Older men in their thousands continue to emigrate into Bulgaria. And, simultaneously, the Serbians at huge expense have organised Serb immigration into Macedonia. For a time, indeed, there was a change of policy at Belgrade. The Government of M. Davidović realising that force was no remedy, took another line and inaugurated the policy familiar in this country as killing Home Rule by kindness. The writer, whose acquaintance with Macedonia goes back to the time before the Young Turk Revolution, found at that moment a new

Turks vainly endeavoured to consolidate their authority. The Macedonian Bulgars, disappointed by the failure of the hopes held out to them at San Stefano, became increasingly race-conscious, and the Greeks, both through their clergy and their consuls, stimulated that hostility between Exarchists and Patriarchists which for so long poisoned the life of Macedonia. Each party sought, and each alternately obtained, concessions from the Government of Constantinople, but it is noteworthy that until 1885 the contest was between the Greeks and the Macedonian Bulgars alone.

In 1885, Eastern Roumelia was incorporated into the Principality of Bulgaria. Two-thirds of the San Stefano Bulgaria were re-united. Macedonia, which was not merely a part of the ancient Bulgarian Empire but had been in fact the centre of it, alone remained unredeemed. The determined character of its population and the weakness and inefficiency of the Turkish administration raised a fear not merely among the Greeks but among the Serbs that Macedonia itself might follow. After 1885 Serbian propaganda became active in Macedonia, and the Macedonians were informed that they were not Bulgarians as they themselves thought and as the Turks who fought against them believed, but Serbs. Before this, the Serbian peoples had looked with sympathy on the Bulgarian struggle in Macedonia, whether against Greek intrigue or Turkish misrule. Macedonian leaders had in earlier days found asylum on Serbian soil. The best evidence that until the era of propaganda Macedonia was recognised as predominantly Bulgarian, is to be found in the various ethnographical maps published before 1876. These maps made at different times by travellers of various nationalities differ, as is to be expected, one from the other; but if they were to be superimposed they would be seen to differ only to the extent that honest and independent inquirers making a purely objective investigation might be expected to differ when they arrive at substantially the same conclusion. That conclusion was that the population of Macedonia south of the Shar Mountains was Bulgarian.*

From 1885 the condition of Macedonia, therefore, remained an open scandal, and in 1893 was founded the Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation which thenceforward secretly prepared for the rising which occurred in 1903. The activities of the Bands have

* Safarik 1842 (Czech), Boné 1847 (French), Davidović 1848 (Serb), Desjardins 1842 (Serb), Hahn 1861 (Austrian), Lejean 1861 (French), Mackenzie and Irby 1867 (British), Mirković 1867 (Russian), Kiepert 1876 (German). After 1876 the maps are frankly propagandist. The objection has been made that the makers of these maps were not in most cases trained ethnographers, and that in dealing with areas which they did not themselves visit, they were inclined to copy their predecessors. This may be true. But the fact remains that they were based on inquiries among the population, and that each of these investigators saw no reason substantially to modify his predecessors' conclusions, which conclusions were not at that time contested by the Serbs.

never at any time obtained support from any section of public opinion in this country. The best friends of the Macedonians have told them again and again that guerilla warfare is not the best method in the long run by which to gain the sympathy of Europe or the ends they have in view. But on the other hand, to represent the Bands as mere robbers and murderers is not only unjust but involves a fundamental misunderstanding of the character of the problem. Human nature is the same in Macedonia as elsewhere, and men, often highly educated, do not leave their homes, sacrifice their careers and risk their lives and the lives of those dear to them merely for the love of adventure. Existence as outlaws among the mountains of Macedonia means hunger, constant danger, torturing anxiety and almost the certainty of a violent death. Only men inspired, however mistakenly, with an ideal, only men ready to sacrifice every private possession and every private ambition in order to offer themselves for a public cause, could face such experiences.

It may well be that the story of the Bands is stained with crime. All such movements have attracted a percentage of men who sought gain, either as bandits or as traitors to the cause they pretend to promote in the pay of the other side; and such men have been sternly dealt with by the Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation. But generally speaking, the Bands have been led and manned by those who believed that in no other way could the attention of the world be drawn to the intolerable injustices which the population of Macedonia had been called upon to suffer. And it is equally true that to thousands of men and women, within Macedonia and outside it, who have no love of bloodshed in itself, who ask nothing more than to live in peace in their homes with their children and to enjoy decent Government, these men are heroes. However much we may regret this attitude of mind, it exists: and it serves no useful purpose to deny it or to misrepresent it. The period 1885-1903 is therefore a period during which Turkey played off the various Christian populations against each other, stimulating their mutual jealousies and hatreds to her own advantage. It was a policy of ruling by dividing. Stambulov obtained concessions in the appointment of Bulgarian Bishops in Macedonia, and further concessions in 1897 secured Bulgarian neutrality in the Greco-Turkish war of that year. Macedonian influence in Bulgaria grew apace. At least one-third of the population of Sofia became and still remains Macedonian. The standing quarrel between Exarchists and Patriarchists served to stimulate Serbian ambitions. Serbian consuls were appointed, Serbian schools were opened, and for the first time Serbian eyes were turned towards the Ægean Sea. Meanwhile Greek and Bulgar Bands alternately destroyed Bulgar and Greek

their cause, and further that in spite of what they have been called upon to undergo, they still with undiminished determination put forward their claims before the world, is there in fact any alternative? The experience of the British Empire can leave no Englishman in any doubt as to the answer to such a question. The Empire exists to-day because statesmen have had the wisdom to be generous and the courage to be just. The whole difficulty and its solution is indeed summed up in a phrase which is common on the lips of the Macedonians: "Let the Government be to us a good Father and we will be good children."

No apology is needed for once again calling attention to Macedonia. The moment is indeed propitious. New men have come to power in Belgrade, and a new spirit is animating public utterances. That this new spirit of goodwill may bear fruit at an early date must be the earnest hope of those in this country who claim to be the friends of all the Balkan peoples.

EDWARD BOYLE.

NEW LIGHT ON THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

IN the twenty years that have elapsed since the publication of Sir Sydney Chapman's admirable book on the Lancashire Cotton Industry the attention of historians has been attracted in a far greater degree than ever before to the history of the Industrial Revolution. The causes of the great increase of interest in economic history are to be found in part in the growth of the new universities placed in industrial centres and the development of the Worker's Educational Association. One sign of this new zeal is the appearance of the *Economic History Review*, the publication of a new society for promoting the Study of Economic History of which Sir William Ashley is president, which aims, among other things, at keeping English students in touch with the best contemporary work of the Continent and the United States. The excellence of the first number will make its readers hope that the society will receive such support as will enable it to publish this review more often than once a year. It is interesting to learn from an article by Sir William Ashley on the place of economic history in modern studies that there has been a great increase of interest in France, as in England, in local economic history, and that this is due to the recent reforms which have given more freedom to provincial universities.

Just as Englishmen to-day are more curious than their fathers about the history and significance of the changes that produced the England that we know, so apparently Frenchmen are becoming more curious as to the economic conditions that preceded the French Revolution and the exact character of the social changes which the Revolution brought about. Thus in both countries economic history is assuming a new importance. This development is natural enough for other reasons. If we compare the League of Nations with the efforts at International Organisation that marked the Middle Ages, or the Holy Alliance, or the nineteenth century Concert of Europe, we must be struck by the immense share that economic questions take in its work and its discussion. The publications of the International Labour Office show that the same kind of task is engaging the Government and reformers of all countries. The regulation of working conditions, social insurance, pensions, and holidays, these, and similar topics, are now common to the politics of all European peoples. Industrial civilisation is standardising certain relationships, certain problems, certain remedies. It is natural, therefore, and desirable, that historians in all countries should seek for all the light and guidance that a study of the past can throw on our ambitions and our difficulties, and the Economic Society enables them to help each other in that task. Sir William

spirit among the officials. Their aim was to ignore ebullitions of hostility wherever possible and to prosecute only when they had no alternative, to develop public works, to encourage agricultural research, to show impartiality and honesty in administration, and in this way gradually to reconcile the hostile and to bring over to their own side those whose only desire was tranquillity. But political changes in Belgrade cut short the experiment, and in any case it is safe to say that feelings were much too embittered and memories much too retentive for it ever to have had a real chance of success. So, to this day, however we may seek to disguise the fact, the problem of Macedonia remains unsolved. It is insoluble?

III.

As in most cases of the kind, there are two branches of the Macedonian movement. There is the physical force party—the Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation, and there is the organisation, having its headquarters in Sofia, of those Macedonians who seek to gain their ends by constitutional means, through publicity, through pressure at the right time and in the right quarter, and through the League of Nations. It is not a case of two organisations seeking different ends. The idealism of the Revolutionaries has inspired among the Constitutionalists the feelings aroused among the followers of d'Azelio and Cavour and Ricasoli for Mazzini, and Garibaldi, the Caroli Brothers, Ugo Bassi and Manin. The distinction is in method not in aims. Each stands on its own ground and justifies its actions to its own conscience. The position of the outsider is, of course, different: and he is entitled to point out that the remedy of force and of despair is in the long run less likely to attain its end than the method of argument and persuasion, and if need be, compromise. The fortune of war has given large areas of Macedonia to Serbia, and in her hands it is likely to remain. Nobody can contemplate with equanimity the indefinite continuance of the existing situation. Forcible de-nationalisation, band warfare, outrages, emigration and immigration would be a sad end to a war which was to secure government by consent of the governed, and was to be a war to end war, in the Balkans as elsewhere. There is, of course, the League of Nations that can be invoked, and many Macedonians have showed indignation that the League has not put the Minority Clauses into operation. But Serbia is one of the victorious allies, and has moreover denied that there is any Bulgarian minority in Macedonia at all. Whatever there may be to recommend the idea of a League Commission on the spot, it is in the highest degree unlikely that the League will, in view of the attitude of the Belgrade Government, agree to this course: nor, what is equally important, would such a commission in any degree meet the necessities of the case. A high authority has lately

expressed the view that minority treaties are on the whole a mistake in the Balkans. The people have got to live together: they must find their own solutions, and it is not unreasonable to think that the old idea of domination is fighting a losing battle with the new spirit of the younger generation in Serbia who want to see their country not merely great and powerful, but contented and prosperous. The new provinces, too, with their European standpoint will refuse to have the moral and material advance of the S.H.S. State indefinitely impeded and retarded by a Balkan quarrel having its roots in the distant past. Statesmanship is largely a matter of adjustments, of compromises, of seizing opportunities, making new starts, if need be, of sacrifices; and if nonsense is sometimes spoken and written about the Locarno spirit, it is increasingly clear that the spirit of Versailles is the spirit of yesterday and that the spirit of Locarno is the spirit of to-morrow.

If the Macedonians could (1) have the preaching and reading in their own Churches in their own language; (2) the teaching in their own schools in their own language; (3) the right to elect their own local officials, and (4) a general amnesty, the Macedonian question would in the S.H.S. State be a thing of the past. Talk about the Bulgarian language merely confuses the issue. They ask no more than that they should be educated and that they should be allowed in their Churches the tongue they have been accustomed to speak.* Nor do they ask special favours or exemptions for themselves outside the fundamental laws. Given what they consider their local rights, they will be loyal subjects of the King and loyal defenders of the flag.

Such a policy may be represented by chauvinists at Belgrade as a surrender to rebels. In fact it would be a surrender on the part of the Macedonians of the hopes of that Macedonian State which they have cherished so long. They who had fought and who had been fought against, because they were Bulgars, would be accepting as part of a bargain citizenship of the S.H.S. State. The gain to Serbia would be incalculable. Relations with Bulgaria would immediately be placed on that new footing towards which statesmen on both sides will continue to strive in vain so long as this question remains unsolved. The hills and valleys of Macedonia in the hands of the skilful Macedonian farmer will prove one of the most prosperous areas in the whole country. Prosperity will bring contentment, and internal peace will bring strength to the S.H.S. State.

And finally, what alternative is there to a generous policy of appeasement? Premising as we must do that the Macedonians believe, and have grounds for believing, in the essential justice of

* The Liturgy itself is, of course, always in Old Slav.

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Ashley publishes in the *Economic History Review* an interesting note on the nature and extent of Toynbee's researches for that famous series of lectures which Sir William Ashley and Mr. Bolton King published after his death in the book that is known to all students. It is pleasant to have this acknowledgment to a historian who placed all students of history in his debt, not merely as a pioneer but also because, being a man of wide and philosophical outlook, he put economic history in its true setting as a study in which the humanist must never give the specialist his head.

The effect of recent researches is to tone down some of the colours and contrasts of the earlier portraits of the Revolution. This is natural. The more history is studied the more gradual do all its changes seem. We have an example in a comparison of Sir Samuel Dill's posthumous work on Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age with the mental picture that the Dark Ages call up before us. In the case of the Industrial Revolution modern inquiry has corrected certain definite misunderstandings a century old. It has always been the fashion to attribute the growth of population in the early nineteenth century to the great increase of the birth-rate, an increase encouraged both by the Speenhamland system and the opportunities for the employment of children provided by the new factories. This view was expressed, for example, in the Census Report for 1831. "The Manufacturing Population is invariably on the increase; not only as every short period of prosperity and increased wages produces improvident marriages, but also because in many manufactures children are able to maintain themselves at an early age, and so impose little expense on their Parents, to the obvious encouragement of marriage." This explanation of the increase of population held the field for a long time but it has been discredited by the important researches of Dr. Talbot Griffith, who showed in his book on *The Population Problems of the Age of Malthus* that the increase was mainly due to a decline in the death-rate resulting from the progress of medicine and the beginnings of sanitary science.

Dr. Griffith's book has been supplemented by a similar book by Miss Buer, *Health, Wealth and Population in the Early Days of the Industrial Revolution*, which gives an interesting account of the work of Perceval and Currie, the famous doctors who preached reform in Manchester and Liverpool. These efforts and those of other men with their public spirit had a great effect in encouraging the movement for hospitals, but Miss Buer is inclined to over-estimate the improvement made in town life at this period. We cannot ignore the pictures given in the thirties and forties by official inquiries. The Health of Towns Commissioners, reporting in the early forties, pointed out that Currie's chief proposal for reform in

Liverpool had been defeated with the consequence that the cellar dwellings of the time had increased and grown worse.

The problems of the Industrial Revolution were aggravated by the great Irish immigration, a subject on which Dr. Redford throws some interesting new light in his book on *Labour Migration in England 1800-1850*. Dr. Redford's book is an important study. It is interesting to learn from it that migration in England was short-range migration, and that we should make a mistake if we supposed that as industries languished in the South and in the Eastern counties, the workers in those industries made their way to the North to find employment in the industries that were expanding. Apart from the Irish immigration, the new Lancashire towns filled up from Lancashire and Cheshire. As they filled up the problems of town life grew, and the efforts of Improvement Commissioners could not keep pace with them. When the fullest allowance has been made for the significance of the fall in the death-rate that followed the beginnings of sanitary science, the impression left on the mind by the contemporary description of these rapidly growing towns is not affected in its main features. They were hideous, unprovided with amenities or playgrounds, ill provided with water, and entirely unplanned or unregulated in their growth. The Health of Towns Commission found that Preston was the only large town with a public park and Liverpool the only large town with public baths. Manchester had no public park at a time when her population had reached 200,000. In the days of the Roman Empire a town so destitute of common pleasures and common amenities would have been unthinkable.

The changes and developments in the structure of industry have been made the subject of another important series of studies. Professor Daniels has described the early history of the cotton industry, Mr. Ashton the fortunes of the industries connected with iron and steel, Mr. Hamilton those of the industries using copper and brass, and Mr. Gill has told the history of the Irish linen industry. The general effect of the studies is to emphasise the important part played by capitalism and large scale methods in the time preceding the Industrial Revolution, and they show that the old unspecialised community, in which most persons had more than one employment, had been undermined earlier than had been commonly supposed. All this new material has now been used by Dr. Clapham for the first volume of an *Economic History of Modern Britain* in which he gives a very full and vivid picture of what he calls "the early Railway Age." It is easy as one follows his account of the enterprise of the age, with its stupendous energy in building roads, docks, canals, and railways, and in creating new forms of financial and industrial power, to appreciate the dangerous

weavers in the north. Moreover, for the working classes as a whole, confidence which inspired the resistance to all public control. Dr. Clapham describes the conflicting views of Factory Reform with dispassionate fairness, though to one step taken in the re-adjustment of our institutions he perhaps attaches too little importance. For he suggests that the establishment of State inspection in the factories was not so new a reform as is generally supposed, because under the *Worsteds Acts of 1777* the worsted manufacturers were authorised to set up a Committee which had the right to appoint inspectors to prevent fraud on the part of the woolcombers and spinners. But there is surely all the difference in the world between authorising employers to appoint their own inspectors to watch the workpeople and appointing Government inspectors to watch the employers. The first Factory Acts left this task to the magistrates and it was the failure of the magistrates which turned reformers to the idea of inspection. And the first State inspectors did not merely report individual abuses: they made suggestions for reform of a kind that certainly would not have been made by the servants of a committee of employers. The introduction of inspectors was important because it was part of the nineteenth century plan for using men of wide and general outlook for administration.

Dr. Clapham remarks in his Preface that there is a legendary view that everything was getting worse for the working man down to some time between the drafting of the People's Charter and the Great Exhibition. He criticises this view and thinks that it is discredited by statistics. Yet statistics of earnings are guides to be followed with great caution as Professor Bowley himself warns us, and it is not surprising that the early statistics have not commanded the confidence of historians who know on how slender a basis they are constructed. Moreover, the historians whom Dr. Clapham accuses of neglecting statistics may plead in answer that they have to include in their picture aspects of life on which such statistics throw little light. W. H. Hudson described in the *Shepherd's Life* the tenacity with which the legends and the memories of the cruel punishments of the winter of 1830 still survived on the Wiltshire downs. A statistician may tell us that agricultural wages were not worse if you take the whole of England in 1830 than in 1795, but that comparison tells us nothing of the catastrophe which overtook the Wiltshire villages when a hundred and fifty peasants were flung across the seas, leaving friends, wives, and children, for ever.

It is wrong, of course, to say that everything was getting worse for the workman, but even that description would scarcely exaggerate the plight of large classes of workmen such as the agricultural labourers in the southern counties and the handloom

certain things that matter a great deal to happiness and self-respect were getting worse. This was true of the state of the towns: the loss of beauty and nature: the growing sense of inferiority and degradation that was inevitable in classes shut out from education in a world where education was of much greater importance than it had been in the slow moving ages. From this point of view it is surely not unreasonable to regard the forties as a turning point. Mr. Cole's admirable *Short History of the Working Class Movement* is illuminating in its analysis of the causes that produced a change in the character of the working class movements after 1848. If you are considering how the action of Parliament affected the working classes there is a wide difference between the thirties, in which the new Poor Law stands out as the most striking event, and the forties with the Mines Act, the Ten Hours Act, the Abolition of the Corn Laws and the beginnings of Public Health. At this time too the towns began to improve. The idea that had inspired ancient civilisations that town life must be made a civilising and constructive influence on the imagination began to emerge again. It had been lost in the first excitement of the Industrial Revolution when happiness seemed to depend on making money, and a philosophy was supreme which ignored essential aspects of life. The reforms of the forties were the beginning of the rediscovery of the range of man's wants and ambitions.

Of the conditions that called for those reforms we have an earnest picture in the pages of Mr. Wesley Bready's book on *Lord Shaftesbury and Social and Industrial Progress*. It is sometimes said that no man is indispensable but if ever the epithet could be used of any man it could be used of Shaftesbury. A great prophet rather than a great statesman, he did for England what none of her statesmen did for her. Mr. Bready's book raises a question that has often been discussed: the share in the credit for the improvement of English social life that falls to the Evangelicals. To answer that question it is necessary to consider what could be urged by their critics as well as what could be claimed by their friends. For it is unscientific to dismiss as merely wanton the feeling that Hazlitt and Cobbett had about Wilberforce, that he worked without sparing himself for the slaves but that where the liberties of the English poor were concerned, his sympathies were as often as not on the side of their oppressors. Wilberforce is immortal because of his devoted service to the cause of the slaves, but nobody who has studied the domestic history of England during his lifetime can wonder that the English working class did not regard him as a friend. For the two events that made the deepest impression on the imagination of the time were the conduct of the Government in congratulating the magistrates on Peterloo and their con-

duct in employing the notorious Oliver, who trapped simple and ignorant men to their ruin. On both occasions Wilberforce took the side of the Government against its critics, though those critics included many public men of moderate opinions, like Lord Fitzwilliam. Then again, the law which did more than any other to depress the working classes in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the Combination Act, was actually proposed by Wilberforce. He resisted all attempts to reform the scandals of the Cold Bath Fields Prison. On the subject of the conditions of the labourer in agriculture, he was not one of the far-sighted men like Whitbread and Fox who supported the policy of the Minimum Wage: he spoke against it. The support he gave to the early Factory Acts and the reform of the Game Laws proposed by others did not make as great an impression on the working classes as the initiative he took in measures that hit them hard. It is necessary to remember these facts if we are to understand why Wilberforce excited bitter feelings among the reformers of his time.

The men in his time who were Shaftesbury's predecessors were Whitbread and Bennet. They did what Shaftesbury did, for they worked at all the causes that needed leadership in Parliament at the cost of their popularity: prison reform, the defence of the workers from magistrates and savage laws, the rescue of the agricultural labourer and the climbing boys. In discussing Shaftesbury's lifetime Mr. Bready is apt to forget what was done by men outside the Evangelical movement. The agricultural labourers in their struggle under Arch did not get much help from the Shaftesbury Bishops. If we compare the record of the Church when the Evangelicals were in ascendant with its record to-day, we find a tone much less sympathetic to the workers. Shaftesbury's Bishops did not include any man of the outlook and generous sympathies of Bishop Gore. The great improvements of the century were due partly to the Evangelical movement, of which Shaftesbury was the greatest representative, partly to groups of men like Frederic Harrison and his friends who came to the rescue of the Trade Unions, partly to the Radical School under Morley and Chamberlain who worked for popular education, partly to great Churchmen outside the Evangelical movement like Maurice, Kingsley, Bishop Fraser, and Dean Hook, partly to teachers like Dickens and Ruskin. The recovery from the worst evils of the early century was due to the reassertion of a wider philosophy of life than that which was inspired by the first excitement of the Industrial Revolution. The Evangelical movement was one of the forces that helped to educate this new conscience and this new imagination but it was only one of them, and to ignore the others is to misread history.

J. L. HAMMOND.

THE GENERAL MOVEMENT OF CRITICISM SINCE 1798.

IF we consider the Romance literatures, the Scandinavian, German, English, and Russian as fairly representative of European literature, we may observe the general features with approximate accuracy. Taking poetry as the basis, we notice that Romanticism flourished from 1798 to 1840, neo-Romanticism and Parnassianism 1840 to 1880, and Symbolism during the last twenty years of the century. That first period offers no difficulties, for Romanticism affected the novel and the drama as well as poetry, but if we look more closely at the years 1840 to 1880, we see that for the drama and the novel it was a time of Realism, for the influence of Balzac was paramount. Nevertheless, both Balzac and his follower Flaubert, like the dramatists and poets that illustrated the swing of the pendulum away from Romanticism, retained certain Romantic characteristics; at the latter end of the period, Realism, in many writers, became Naturalism, of which Zola affords the best example. While it is true that Symbolism invaded the drama and the novel, it met with considerably less response there than in poetry. Throughout Europe we watch intellect rather than emotion predominate in both novel and drama. From about 1850, intellectualism controlled the novel, and, at the beginning, that quality represented a development of the more thoughtful and subtle of Balzac's novels; it travelled from France to the other countries, to England almost last as a movement; we except Meredith, who would have written psychological novels at any period, but we remember George Eliot; it spread notably to Russia and gave us Tolstoi and Dostoevski. That intellectualism in the novel corresponded during the first forty years with the philosophical and scientific activities of men like Darwin, Haeckel, Renan, Taine, Nietzsche, who has been to some extent prepared by the positivism of Comte, the logic of J. S. Mill. A chronology of a few important works may help to show the leaven that operated from without on the novel (and, by the way, on the drama):

- 1859, Darwin's *Origin of Species*.
- Renan's *Études de morale et de critique*.
- 1863, Taine's *History of English Literature*.
- 1863, Renan's *Jesus*.
- 1863-1883, Renan's *History of the Origins of Christianity*.
- 1865, Taine's *Philosophie de l'art*.
- 1870, Taine's *De l'Intelligence*.
- 1871, Darwin's *Descent of Man*.
- 1876, Renan's *Dialogues et fragments philosophiques*.
- 1876-1893, Taine's *Origines de la France contemporaine*.
- 1881, Nietzsche's *Morgenrothe (Dawn)*.
- 1883-1891, Nietzsche's *Also sprach Zarathustra (Thus Spake Zoroaster)*.
- 1890, Renan's *Avenir de la Science (Written in 1848)*.

The corresponding movement in drama is that towards the doctrinaire play. In its general form it was the drama of ideas, chiefly social, and this began with Dumas fils in France; that writer fathered the kind of social drama that we call Ibsenism and was partly the origin of the Tolstoism in the novel, for those two phases have much in common; and Dumas fils obviously dramatised themes suggested by Balzac, whose influence in European literature from 1850 until, say, 1900 was tremendous.

If we examine the century again, we shall find that certain facts force themselves on our attention. The novel assumed a position that had belonged to the drama in the seventeenth century: its advance upon the eighteenth century novel concerns us closely, for the nineteenth century novel came to mean a more or less average criticism of life both normal and extraordinary; it assimilated the main currents of thought more thoroughly than did the drama in France—and nowhere else did the "drame à thèse" prevail as in the land of Dumas fils; it adapted itself to every theme and in master hands it resolved problems and powerfully influenced political and social life. Nor, in our interest in the novels of Hugo, Freytag, Tolstoi, Meredith, Hardy, Fogazzaro, must we forget that none of these so directly changed the novel as Scott, whose influence extended to history. Scott made the past live for us; the historians until about 1870 aimed at setting events in their surroundings (note Michelet and Froude). That influence endures even in the work of the Cambridge school of historians, with their emphasis on "the document"—in the Oxford school, with its attempt to determine the philosophic significance of history—in the great German historians, Niebuhr, Mommsen, Ranke—and in the modern French school typified by Sorel and Lavissee. The value of environment and the use of documents, which were combined in the work of Michelet, has had its influence on the critics, for undoubtedly the attention to documentation has often existed alongside the endeavour to make past eras of literature real and vivid, as in the work of Jusserand.

The increasing suppleness of the novel and of history has been accompanied by a similar tendency in the periodical, and the growing popularity of the high-class reviews has done much to vulgarise criticism: one thinks immediately of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* and of *The Fortnightly*. It has been remarked by Dr. Saintsbury that "the variety, the catholicity, the indiscriminateness . . . of the newspaper adjust themselves much better to Romantic than to Classical principles." That remark may, with little modification, be applied not only to periodicals in mass but to the novel.

The essay has widened its scope, for, although the kind of subjects handled by Addison and Goldsmith has not been treated any better since, yet nineteenth century essayists have dealt with many sub-

jects which the eighteenth essayists avoided or handled defectively; and, in especial, the critical essay has continued the impulse given it by Lamb, Coleridge, and Hazlitt, and furthered by Sainte-Beuve and Matthew Arnold.

Akin with the essay is the short story, which, in creation, needs many of the qualities shown, by way of criticism, in the essay; and the relation between a critical essay and a full-sized book of criticism on a single subject has a parallel in the relation of the short story to the novel. But the short story made even greater progress than the essay in the nineteenth century.

More difficult is it to show that in the nineteenth century philosophy had a greater influence on literature than it had exercised in the previous century. We are so accustomed to postulate the intimate reaction of men like Locke, Hume, Adam Smith, Voltaire, Rousseau and Diderot on the literature of the eighteenth century, that we forget that their influence hardly caused a renewal of literature; there can be little doubt that the influence of Rousseau on literature was much more potent during the years 1800 to 1830 than before that period. Rousseau's ideas were largely instrumental in the causation of the Revolution of '89, but his literary manner had a retarded influence. One of the most interesting facts in the history of European literature is this: the fertilising nature of Rousseau's novels went to swell the germs of philosophy so abundantly present in the philosophical works of the German writers. "The great German trio—Fichte, Schelling, Hegel—connects itself," remarks Dr. Saintsbury, "with the Romantic outbreak in the most remarkable fashion." While Goethe reacted on France and Italy, Schelling on England through Coleridge (as the same critic has observed), it was that trio as a massed force which did so much to provide a philosophic basis to Romanticism and neo-Romanticism. Fichte (1762-1814) published *Wissenschaftslehre* in 1792 and often enlarged the book and developed the theme; his theory of the Ego "gave to the Romantic individuality its character and force," says Brandes; "through Fichte," asserts Dr. Robertson, "the Romantic school drew its most vital ethical ideas"; these ideas found their way abroad. Schelling (1775-1854) by his *Ideas towards a Philosophy of Nature: a System of Transcendental Idealism* in 1800, and by his *Investigations into the Essence of Human Freedom* (1809), furnished the Romantics of Germany and such an Englishman as Coleridge with an explanation of, and a basis for, their æsthetics; he was, in the words of Höffding, "the typical philosopher of Romanticism." Hegel (1770-1831), although his generalisations finally worked against Romanticism, may be said to have summed up the Romantic principles and to have furthered the Romantic literature of Europe until the time of his

others, a sense of independence from Classicism brought a cult for the national past and a rejuvenation of native thought, and, since criticism dealt mainly with contemporary writings, it had necessarily to adjust itself to the new spirit, the novel subject-matter and the change in manner. While remembering the subtle and often indeterminable interaction of life and literature, we may affirm that nationalism in public life is usually accompanied by a stressing of individuality, so that while the common ground of Romanticism ensured a certain similarity in subject-matter, the spirit and the manner of literature in the various countries was national and, within each nation, individualistic. Romantic literature and Romantic philosophy insisted on the liberation of the Ego, while the comparative viewpoint, on being popularised by Mme. de Staël, for many years accentuated national characteristics; it was only in the last twenty years of the nineteenth century that the comparative study of literature made for cosmopolitanism. But criticism, although it has benefited by cosmopolitan reading, has usually reproached those writers who so far departed from their national qualities and personal characteristics as to allow themselves, by becoming cosmopolitan, to approximate to a standardisation; if such a standardisation weakens and levels, then the critics are right, although few critics begrudge the enrichment and subtlety that strong minds derive from contact with foreign literatures.

During the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Mme de Staël, by her works, *La Littérature* and *L'Allemagne*, contributed towards the enlargement of the critical frontiers. Chateaubriand sensitised criticism, the brothers Schlegel gave it wings and the German philosophers solidity, while Goethe showed what could be done by applying a great mind to this branch; in England Lamb, Coleridge, and Hazlitt endowed it with personality and suggestiveness. The Romantic critics, as a group, revived interest in Shakespeare, and, in this as in other things, their personal influence endured until about 1840; their lessons have never since been lost. Even an academic critic like Villemain used history for an illustration and reconstructed the literary life of the 18th century with much skill.

Then came a period of criticism that, owing much to the Romantics, represented a more methodical manner. The years 1840-1865 might be called "The reign of Sainte-Beuve," for, universally recognised as the greatest contemporary critic, he was imitated wherever the art of criticism was known; he was no bad successor to Goethe and possessed more influence as a critic. Although subtle and thorough, Sainte-Beuve* (unless we confine ourselves to the

* Already in 1852 we find his method called "la critique expérimentale" (Cuvillier-Fleury in the *Journal des Débats* of September 26th); eleven years later it is considered as "la critique biographique" (Bersot, *ibid.*, May 7th, 1863).

last four or five years of his life) cannot be called a typical scientific critic: he was a link, a transition, though nearer to the scientific than to the Romantic school. He studied a multitude of texts, he displayed the patience of a scientist in collecting facts, but he chose only what appealed to his sense of what was suitable to the task in hand. As M. Giraud has put it: Sainte-Beuve was a humanist, not a scientist.

But the years 1865-1887 witnessed a movement towards scientific criticism properly so called. This is the period of Taine, who developed certain aspects of Sainte-Beuve's methods beyond what the older man desired. The acute and supple studies written by Renan during this period did something to counteract the rigidity of Taine's system. The intellectual curiosity that Sainte-Beuve had allowed free play was now systematically forced to operate in the cause of criticism. These twenty-two years saw many tentative systems (none of which was generally approved) arise in France, while the rest of the world looked on: Matthew Arnold, for instance, was content to adapt the Sanbovian procedure to a manner that suits English readers, while De Sanctis, the greatest Italian critic of the nineteenth century, followed Sainte-Beuve closely. Occasionally a protest was made against systematisation. As early as 1866, G. H. Lewes (in *The Fortnightly*) spoke about a science of criticism and said: "In many quarters the question is being raised, Why have we no science of criticism? Nothing can be more patent than the fact that such a science is absent, but I am very far from thinking that such a science is desirable." He drew an arresting distinction between Nature and Art, indicated the difficulty of applying laws to the flux and perpetual evolution of the latter, and conveyed his central idea in the words, "The present state of anarchy in criticism is preferable to a state of dogmatic authority. Criticism may suffer; but Art is freer. . . . In every work [however] there are certain general principles involved, and certain technical principles; but the best critic is he who best understands both [kinds of] principles, and whose sagacity enables him to appreciate their application." Nietzsche was the embodiment of protest; he revolted also against Sainte-Beuve. But the nature of criticism was discussed freely because these were the years of tremendous scientific theories. Such theories, added to the comparative study of religion and language, rapidly advanced the movement towards a comparative study of literature, which received its consecration in the first text-book on the subject—Posnett's *Comparative Literature*—in 1886. Posnett was not a cosmopolitan like Goethe, who begins a line of critics interested in two or more literatures, writing thereon, and occasionally attributing a greater significance to foreign subtlety, penetration, and width of reading;

death. His *Phenomenology of the Spirit* and his *Logic* took Europe by storm soon after their publication; his views on history and on æsthetics prevailed until the scientific movement of the 'sixties and 'seventies undermined his doctrines. As Omond has said: "In every branch of thought, in every department of literature, the new doctrine spread. For the system of Hegel was nothing if not universal. It was regnant in the trivial as much as in the vital." These three writers carried on a movement that had been commenced by Novalis, a very great critic.

Later, philosophy affected literature considerably (though less than Hegel had done) by the writings of Schopenhauer, whose pessimistic tendency finds expression in George Eliot and whose claim that "will" is the sole entity was developed and glorified by Nietzsche; by the writings of Nietzsche himself, whose influence on Europe, however, came after that of Renan. On the widespread result of Renan's works we need not insist at greater length than to say that he was the most literary philosopher the world has seen, and to quote Mr. H. A. L. Fisher's just and eloquent verdict: "In an historical age, Renan was a prince among historians. What serious writer in the nineteenth century, Darwin excepted, has put into general circulation so vast a body of important knowledge or so many original and formative ideas? What historian has been at once so sure a master of the most delicate critical implements and yet so rich in the imaginative gifts which recreate the distant past?"

But, in our considerations of the novel, history, essay, philosophy and so forth, we must not forget that the greatest literature is poetry and that poetry more closely follows the ideal of beauty than any other form. And the great feature of nineteenth century poetry is Romanticism. This movement predominated in Europe to better purpose than any other movement has done; it has proved that lyrical verse is the most likely to possess a permanent appeal. If the lyricism of Spain and Russia and France is inferior to that of England and Germany, it is yet remarkable.

These observations on the general literary movement of the nineteenth century are, we believe, necessary to a comprehension of the directions and tendencies of criticism.

The most important difference between eighteenth century and nineteenth century criticism is that the latter was related to and consonant with history. If criticism set history at nought with some impunity in the earlier centuries, it looked to history in the nineteenth century for its body and its security. Criticism became an interpretation of society and nature as seen in books. But think of most eighteenth century and nearly all sixteenth and seventeenth century criticism: was it not *à priori* and according to certain pre-

determined rules? The critics applied general laws to literature and enclosed the genres within narrow limits; they judged literary works as entities, things apart in time and space, and, by the light of their ideal, they gave sentence on those works without reference to circumstance or locality. Now this meant that the critics cared only for the writing and ignored the writer; that is, ignored him as a human being with a temperament and, probably, idiosyncrasies. Such criticism was speculative and necessarily dogmatic, for it proceeded from that which, considered by its practitioners as universal and therefore unassailable, was a theory very generally accepted, a dogma in short. It was based on reason and directed by a refined taste, but was concerned rather with the confirmation of rules (e.g., the dramatic unities) than with the infinite variety of literature reflecting the variety of men and their lives, and rather with the balanced statement of qualities and defects (a feature of French criticism to the present day) than with the peculiar spirit and the widespread connection of the given work with others of the same genre and with movements of thought.

It has been pointed out that one might have expected the Quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns to suggest the use and the necessity of history in debates on relative merits of works produced during periods so far apart. But history was neglected, mainly because the sentiment that we call historical sympathy had not yet arisen: no effort was made by the controversialists to enter into the spirit of past eras; indeed, no such effort on an extensive scale was made until the Middle Ages attracted the curiosity of a Hurd and a Percy, but even they knew not how to interpret literature in its intimate relationship with history. Until the nineteenth century, the tendency throughout Europe was, in the Teutonic countries, to set aside the past national glories and to judge contemporary literature according to a Classic or a neo-Classic standard, and in the Romance nations to take the ancient Classics even more rigidly as a model and, when great work had (as in France) been written on those lines, to set up that recent native literature as the standard. The one truly great modern period of Classicism was the golden epoch of Louis XIV, which dominated over Spanish* and Italian writers, enslaved Germany, and commanded respect in England. But the interest in mediævalism in England and a sense of shame in Germany led to a revolt from Classical and French tenets respectively; in England arose gradually a movement towards the historic and literary past, in Germany the outburst of nationalism in the "Sturm und Drang" prepared the Romantic period, and in France the Revolution, after stifling originality, finally yielded the expected results in literature. In these three countries and in the

* Who have little to show for the privilege!

Sainte-Beuve was less cosmopolitan in range of subject but perhaps even more so by nature. Those two latter critics impressed Matthew Arnold by their freedom from national prejudice and by their luminous studies on men and books, and he, in turn, aided English criticism to acquire some of the Continental virtues and to appreciate foreign literature. The best German example of cosmopolitanism after Goethe is Karl Hillebrand, who spoke English and French fluently and wrote very ably on his own literature as on that of England, France, and Italy; but he dissipated his originality by emulating the chameleon. Less versatile, Menéndez y Pelayo (1856-1912), the greatest Spanish critic of all time, was a more thorough and profound scholar who showed the cosmopolitan influence in the air by dealing mainly with European æsthetics in his brilliant book, *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España* (1883-1891); his influence has vitally affected European criticism since about 1890. Exercising less influence, but enjoying a greater fame, Georg Brandes (1842-1927) travelled widely: and he possessed an intimate first-hand knowledge of France and Italy, England and Germany. In 1871 he began his *Main Currents in Nineteenth Century Literature*, in which he deals with the movement of the years 1800-1848 from the express viewpoint that it can be studied only by the comparative method.

It was not, however, until about 1900 that the comparative study of literature became scientific. It followed in the wake of general criticism, which must date its scientific period from the year 1888, for it was then that Hennequin summed up all previous efforts and improved on them in *La Critique scientifique*. For a valuable contemporary estimate of this new force in criticism, one may read Brunetière's article, "La Critique scientifique" in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of the same date; and here we may note that Brunetière may be considered to have been the European champion of the evolution of literary genres, a kind of criticism best exemplified in England by Symonds' *Predecessors of Shakespeare*. This kind of criticism has been perfected by M. Lanson, and may be studied in such a book as Professor Rudler's *Les Techniques de la Critique* (1923). Where scientific criticism concerns itself with textual problems, dates, ascription, borrowing, and other formal questions, it does excellent work, but it must be aided by imagination and a delicate literary tact and feeling when essentials are at stake. It is only fair to say that most scientific critics recognise the limitations of their method. Now, if France has established such criticism on a sound basis, it is but just to remark that it was the Germans who led the way in textual criticism, as it is the English who, since the days of Sainte-Beuve, have excelled in philosophical and interpretative criticism, as we see it in a Dowden or a Bradley. But one

feels, perhaps, that something more should be said about scientific criticism, and it is with pleasure that we translate the words of M. Victor Giraud. "One must," he observes, "be the dupe of nobody and of nothing, of words still less than of men; the scientific spirit and the scientific method, admirable, undoubtedly, in their proper domain (the positive sciences), are not everything, and there is much that eludes their grasp. All that is art, beauty, delicacy or moral elevation, religious ardour—such are of another order; the most exact erudition—and erudition is not science—and the most rigorous method will never make anyone understand in what Racine surpasses Campistron, and Newman, Casanova." That sets the matter in the correct light; scientific criticism must keep within its bounds and there continue its excellent work.

In the present century, which has seen such criticism become established, there has arisen a theory that, though deriving its basis from philosophy, seems erroneous; the theory of the invalidity of literary genres. Dr. Croce, early in his career, maintained that Poetry, the Drama, the Novel are pre-established "frames" of little importance. Numerous French critics have given the theory their sanction since the appearance of Schinz's article, "La Superstition du genre littéraire," in the *Mercure de France*, 1905. The present writer fails to see how such divisions as those mentioned will ever be unimportant; should new divisions be invented, the older will remain. Always must literature be written in some form or other, and that form determines the genre: this being so, why should we go out of our way to ignore those divisions when we deal with literature? They may be subordinate to the history of an idea, a sentiment, but the most rabid opponents of "literary classes" must disprove the usefulness of those divisions, and they must also dispose satisfactorily of the fact that an idea, a theme assumes its shape according to the genre in which it is conveyed; the literary form conditions the manner in which the idea is presented—why should this not be so? Presumably the great divisions of literature answer a need, all the stronger for having once been spontaneous and for having so long endured, and all the more unavoidable for being partly unconscious in the human race when it expresses itself in writing. The divisions arose naturally, the names were bestowed later; therefore, if the genres are pre-established, they are pre-established by the order of things. It is easy to say: "We have outgrown these divisions"; but it remains to be proved that we can do without genres of any kind, and the probability is that the present genres will remain, even if new genres arise

ERIC PARTRIDGE.

ALBERT HOUTIN, HISTORIAN AND
HERO OF SINCERITY: A MEMOIR.

The last twenty years have been a period of history so rich in ebbs and flows as to supply an unprejudiced observer with most abundant commentary on the words of Adam Smith*: "The animosity of hostile factions, whether civil or ecclesiastical, is often more furious than that of hostile nations. . . . It is needless to observe that both rebels and heretics are those unlucky persons who, when things have come to a certain degree of violence, have the misfortune to be the weaker party. A true party-man hates and despises candour, and in reality there is no vice which could so effectually disqualify him for the trade of a party man as that single virtue."

BY the loss of Albert Houtin last July a large gap has been left in the little army of brave soldiers of right. Uncompromisingly sincere in his work as a historian and a biographer; an iconoclast as regards religious legends or usurped reputations, idols and superstitions; his unconquerable quest for truth and right had become his own worship. So much is universally granted, I think, by friends and loyal adversaries alike. But that Albert Houtin was a keen mystic by temperament and by the strongest aspirations of his soul, and that his earnestness, and even cruelty, towards his own long-cherished beliefs and idols was prompted by the very spiritual forces he had derived from his mysticism; that he cried to the last in an agony, as of Gethsemane, "Let this cup pass from me"; that he was goaded on by the inexorable command of his conscience—step by step dislodged from all bulwarks and positions in succession—to climb the bloody steep of a Calvary to crucifixion, of this the hidden tragedy and the secret of Albert Houtin's like very few are aware. It is certainly not known by those who were acquainted with Houtin only as the writer and the polemic, and fancied that he revelled in demolition and iconoclasm, in unmasking hypocrisies and crying on the housetops what he had heard whispered in the ear.

Such men, unable to understand the soul of a priest who had chosen as the lot of his heritage a God of Truth, approached him with levity, as a mere scandal-loving pamphleteer, and they were often punished by a few sharp words and a well deserved frown. Yet it is these folk who are mainly responsible for his widespread reputation as a sceptic and even a cynic. "Because I have never insisted on the sentimental aspect of my crisis," so he writes in his autobiography† published shortly before his death, "I have been often

* *Theory of Moral Sentiments.*

† *Une Vie de Prêtre. Mon Expérience, 1867-1912.* Paris: F. Rieder et Cie., Editeurs, 7, Place Saint-Sulpice. 1926. This Work is the main source of the present memoir.

represented as a pure *intellectuel*, only too happy to get rid of a mythology. The truth is quite otherwise; my deliverance was most painful."

I desire here to show from his own portrait of himself, and from the experience of a fifteen years' friendship *il cuor ch'egli ebbe*, while also throwing some light on the religious significance of his worship of truth. "I think," he says, "there cannot be anything sadder in the world than the moment when a priest becomes aware that his dogmatic tenets are rudely reputed by some clearly established fact.* In Houtin's early years all the longings and homesickness of his heart had been for the exquisite joys of pietism, for a life spent in the Benedictine monastery of Solesmes, in which for a time he lived as a postulant. *Ora et labora* had been his cherished ideal. Commenting on the later years of peaceful life of his friend, the Rev. Arthur Galton, a former Catholic priest and later a clergyman in the Church of England, he tells of his longing for rest, and envy of "the peace of so many clergymen in various churches; a peace which I would not have for myself."† It is the mystics and the earnest believers, he remarks, who are often the most radical rebels; and he quotes M. L. Dugas' words: "The spirits who are to become the most independent and free are, in fact, precisely those who have begun as the most docile."‡

It was because of its identification of truth with God that the Church obtained the service of men like Houtin, Tyrell, Marcel Hébert, and Loisy, men with souls enriched by the sterling gold which they found in the ore of religion. But, as Houtin writes: "The Church had not succeeded in killing within my soul, as in many others, the love of truth or strength of will; and economic considerations left me quite untouched. I was a soul going straight along its way."§ Thus he quotes from Renan: "I have been shaped by the Church; I owe her all that I am, and I shall never forget it. The Church has severed me from profanity, and I am thankful for it."||

Houtin's life was not specially rich in events of public interest; his case was that of a scientific critical modernism, and his books and articles, save for a few years of his teaching of languages and history at the *Petit Séminaire* at Angers, were his only battlefield. Once in his life he gave a public address in a chapel. It was on the occasion of the "Boston Conference of Unitarians and other liberal religious thinkers and workers" in 1907. His sermon was an outspoken denial of the Divinity of Christ, and a proclamation of the

* Page 213.

† Page 208.

‡ Page 308.

§ *Une Vie de Prêtre*, p. 310.

|| *La Crise du Clergé*, p. 225.

break-up of Orthodox Christianity. His travels in Spain, Germany, England, Italy, and the United States, important as some of them were in maturing his crisis and in getting him first-hand material of experience for his work, had no immediate external consequence. His material distress and spiritual sufferings, tragic as they were, were hidden from his friends by the veil of his absorbing worship of truth. He has described, in pages which will endure side by side with those of Renan on the same subject, his first awakening, his disillusionments and disenchantments after his ecclesiastical training in the Seminary of Angers.

"Disillusion marks the life of all priests, unless they succeed by dint of self-suggestion in becoming what the Church terms a saint. Their imaginations having been fired by pious mothers who direct their good sons towards the Sanctuary, they enter the seminary like the Magi travelling in search of the King of the Jews, following the Star. There, in the Seminary, the process of suggestion goes on unrelentingly, magnifying before their eyes priesthood as the source of honour and glory, the splendour of life. But, except for the sermons they hear, what a prosaic initiation! Instead of the knowledge of God they have been dreaming of, they receive a crabbed Scholastic Philosophy; and when their intelligence keenly longs for food and development, it is pent up and crushed down. Still the young people persevere, persistent and full of confidence, and their superiors are careful to represent their aversion and weariness as trials intended by God. The enlistment having taken place, the young levites try to live 'supernaturally,' till a day comes when they have to acknowledge that they lack even those natural resources which human reason supplies when it has not been weakened; when the bishop, the authentic official authority in the Roman Catholic Church, causes them to realise—if they had not guessed it for themselves, and if their love of truth has not been killed before in their bosom by the training they have undergone—what the Church means by 'Catholic Truth.' " *

The probationer, thus disillusioned about convent life, had become priest and teacher of history in the *Petit Séminaire*, devoted to his task and still "leading the life of a monk," when, having investigated certain hagiographic mediæval legends about the origin of the Church of Angers—which he dealt with critically in a paper, enlarged afterwards into a volume, on the *Nineteenth Century Controversy about the Origin of the French Churches from the Apostles*—he was warned by his bishop that those subjects were taboo, not open to criticism. Further experience was to teach him that the category of the "untouchable" covered the entire field relating to church history, the origin of Christianity, revelation, dogmas, and their philosophical implications. "How many times

* *Une Vie de Prêtre*, p. 252.

have I been told: if you meddle with any particular point, all the building will shake and crash."

Albert Houtin was not a man to be deterred from further investigation by any such catastrophic outlook. After reading Newman's *Grammar of Assent*, which he termed "a handbook of scepticism," he took his first "inventory" of his beliefs, and when he realised that his work as a teacher was frustrated by the opposition of his surroundings he resigned his position and started on his life-long pilgrimage in search of an honest clerical vocation. Hunted from diocese to diocese, and driven from place after place—even from the humblest ones, for his stubborn researches and bold publications, he was reduced to distress; until, following the issue of his volume *La Question Biblique chez les Catholiques de France au Nineteenth Siècle* in 1902, he was deprived of the right of celebrating Mass. Later, after the publication of his books *Mes Difficultés avec mon Evêque*, and *L'Américanisme*, all three volumes were condemned by Papal Authority and inscribed in the "Index" of forbidden books (December, 1903). He went on without flinching, more determined than ever to continue his task of unmasking falsehood and hypocrisy wherever he met them, regardless of friends or foes. He was now thirty-five years old. Though his intellectual faculties enjoyed "perfect and full clearness," his sensibility was still far from recovering its balance. "I had suffered much," he writes, "was wounded, broken." Though his belief in a divinely founded church had been shattered utterly, he still adhered to natural religion; he still cherished symbols and mysticism; he still loved the Roman Catholic Church—in spite of his break with its authorities—"because of its great mystery of unity and its power for good"; and he wondered whether he "could not, even ought not to help the great attempt at a religious evolution, or even revolution," which was now being carried on by the Modernist movement in every Church and Religion. And, instead of looking for a shelter in a harbour of rest, he undertook the task "of purifying religion and enfranchising the human spirit from the secular errors which still enjoy in every part of the world enormous political and social power."

The part Houtin played during the struggle for Church Disestablishment in France (1906-7) was far from being generally known and sufficiently appreciated, owing to his use of pseudonyms when writing in the Press. It was he, and he alone, who published in the columns of *Le Siècle* and maintained against the flat denials of the Vatican and its organs, the true account of the famous session in which the French bishops in plenary assembly approved by a majority of twenty-two the formation of "Associations of Catholics," both canonical and legal, as provided by the Disestablishment

Law. Eventually he published the original documents of the sessions, which created throughout the Catholic world an enormous impression whilst "baffling the abettors of a civil war" in France. It was he, again, who published the *Supplique d'un groupe de Catholiques Française au Pape Pie X*, a most eloquent protest and a cry of anguish on the fate of religion in France.

In preparation for this period of strenuous struggle, Houtin had visited Rome, there to come into contact with the most remarkable Italian personalities of that period and with liberal Catholic circles. It was an old Catholic aristocrat, the Marquis Vitelleschi, who had already given him the advice never to break with the Pope, but rather to make formal submission to all the decrees of the Roman authorities while going on with his writings, for "life is a comedy; and however honestly we may act it, we shall not prevent its being a comedy." Had not Pope Pius IX himself said: "Buffoons on this side, buffoons on that side, we are all buffoons"? "No," Houtin energetically protests, in the words of William James, "no. Life is rather a stern tragedy, and what in it is most bitter has the best taste. On the world stage it is heroism, and only heroism, which acts the principal parts. It is in heroism—we feel clearly—that the mystery of life lies hidden."* Of the Marquis di San Giuliano, the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs at the outbreak of the war in 1914, he writes: "He was one of the most irreligious spirits it ever fell to my lot to know. Towards Jesus he professed such radical and constant contempt as I had never heard before in my life . . . he expressed no sympathy for my utopia of modernising Christianity. In spite of this he died—the first of Italian Ministers to receive this ritual distinction—with the Pope's benediction" (page 350). After his return to Paris the "Index" condemned (December, 1906) Houtin's further volumes: *La Question Biblique au Twentieth Siècle*, *La Crise du Clergé Un Prêtre Marié: Charles Perraud, Evêques et Diocèses*. *L'Histoire du Modernisme Catholique* followed in 1912, after the period of the "black terror" of the anti-modernist persecution (1907-9) whose events Houtin depicted day by day in the columns of *Le Siècle*.

It was during the crisis of the anti-modernist struggle, and in consequence of it, that the present writer became personally acquainted with Albert Houtin in Paris, and had the opportunity of visiting him almost daily for several months. Chapter twenty-two of Houtin's autobiography gives for those who have forgotten the dramatic events of those fatal years, a summary full of lively interest from one who took a tragic part in them; the "double comedy" played both by Roman Catholic priests who took an oath of allegiance to Catholic doctrine, and by Bishops who tendered it; the

* *Une Vie de Prêtre*, p. 349.

wild hunting of "heretics"; the lowering of the moral character and scientific standards of studies in Roman Catholic Seminaries; the suppression of liberalism in every shape or form in the Catholic Church; the definition by official decisions of Biblical, historical, and exegetical questions. The pitiful spectacle of the *débâcle* which ensued when most of the outstanding personalities of the movement reeled and bent before the storm; of the melting before the fire of persecution of all "those immense aspirations towards more light and liberty" which drew from Father Tyrrell's pen the sad comment: "Courage is the very rarest of all virtues, and has almost innumerable counterfeits," finally stripped off Albert Houtin's remaining illusions as to "the religion of the future coming by a natural evolution from Roman Catholicism." Marcel Hébert, Tyrrell, Alfred Loisy and others passed through the same crisis, and arrived at much the same conclusions on this point, however different their further steps and final positions were.

The second "inventory" of his religious beliefs which Houtin had drawn up in 1904, while he thought he was still a "Christian theist," could no longer represent his actual feelings:

"My further work led me to think that the task of modernising Christianity was a mistake. There is no divine revelation to be found in it more than in any other positive religion, and it is based largely on frauds, no less than they. Any effort to supply it with new bases or new title-deeds is as vain as chimerical."

It appeared to him as if

- "All interpretations devised by Modernists to replace worn-out myths and reinterpret old formulæ were liable to the radical criticism of Frazer in *The Golden Bough*.† The history of religion is a long attempt to reconcile old customs with a new reason, to find out a reasonable theory to explain an absurd practice."

Houtin now found the time had come to sever himself officially from the Roman Catholic Church. In April, 1912, he put off the priestly habit which he had worn till then "as the old uniform of idealism . . . through a crisis of materialism," during a period when he still hoped for "a religious renaissance and transformation," and he became a layman. His autobiography ends on that date, with these quotations from Dudan and Renan:

"It is not necessary to be a believer . . . ; but we are bound to be sincere; this is the greatest essential condition of our moral being. There is more moral truth in the doubts of an honest man than in the profession of faith of people lying under the yoke of fashion." "Man belongs neither to his language nor to his race; he belongs but to himself, as he is a free being, and therefore a moral being."

* *Une Vie de Prêtre*, p. 431.

† Page 432.

The following fourteen years of Houtin's life were mainly devoted to valuable works of history and biography. The biographies of Hyacinthe Loyson and of Marcel Hébert, *Un Prêtre Symboliste*, *Une Grande Mystique*, *Madame Bruyère*, *Abbesse de Solesmes*, *Courte Histoire du Christianisme*, and last, his own biography: *Une Vie de Prêtre: Mon Expérience*, possibly to be followed by a second volume for which material exists among his manuscripts, together with supplements to his *Histoire du Modernisme Catholique* and of his biography of Hyacinthe Loyson. His great qualities as a writer, especially his limpidity, scrupulous honesty, verve, humour; his gift of making history vivid and fascinating as a novel, are to be found in all these works of his later period of life, enhanced by his maturer experience—yet tinged thereby with a deep note of pessimism and sadness.

These works occupied his spare time; meanwhile he pursued his valuable work in the *Musée Pédagogique* in Paris, as assistant to the Director, a position in which his large culture and close acquaintance with educational problems made his assistance to teachers in every branch invaluable. Friends and foes alike were always sure of being treated in Houtin's historical portraits with the same truth to nature and absolute impartiality; though they could rely on his constant care and efforts—unless the superior rights of truth asked otherwise—to spare reputations, to conceal foibles, and to leave in discreet shadow everything which might hurt the living or offend the memory of the dead. All through his autobiography this anxiety not to exalt the truth at the expense of charity is clearly noticeable. That he was a scandal-monger and a cynical "gossip" only those could say who met for the first time in their lives an embodiment of truth, and were at a loss to understand it. "Will the human heart ever be freed from the 'natural root' of disguise, falsehood, hypocrisy?" (Pascal), or shall we believe that hypocrisy and falsehood are absolutely necessary to every human society? (Paulhan).

About Houtin's private life I will only say that towards his real friends he was ever most obliging, kind, and faithful. He never failed to take an earnest practical interest in all their work and life, their joys and sorrows. His tender affection for his old parents, especially his mother, was most touching. The purity and austerity of his life commanded the respect of his adversaries and the admiration of his friends. That in the latter part of his life his outlook had become more and more pessimistic is to be accounted for, not only by his sad experiences and the death of his fondly loved parents, but even more by his health, for he suffered from heart disease. He remained to the last faithful to his ideal, serene in face of death, confident in the goodness of his cause, pervaded by an

all-absorbing ideal which retained the full essential character of Religion even while co-existing with the language of religious disillusion and apparent scepticism. In a letter dated April 14th, 1926, and written at a time when death seemed imminent he says:

"Dearest Friend. It is a ghost who writes to you. . . . Several times I have been within a hair's breadth of death. . . . Illness is a 'retreat.' I hope mine, which was very long, will not prove useless. I have been toned up by it, and hardened anew in the resolution—if there had been any need for it—to work and fight to the end. I have drawn up a fourth 'inventory,' which has confirmed the preceding ones. Should my convalescence not lead to recovery, and should I die soon, my satisfaction is that I have uttered most of the things I had to say. Should I survive . . . I will go on."

In his last days he wrote:

"It seems to me as if I had started on a fresh youth, a new existence. My illness . . . has allowed me to look at everything from the point of view of eternity. The God to whom I had once devoted my life, the Divine Mother to whom I had addressed my prayers so often, have not visited my death-bed to bring me the least light. . . . This illness having failed to carry my whole being to the grave, has succeeded at least in burying all my former self. I have risen again more anxious than ever before to work for the progress of reason, and to oppose superstition."

He then reviews the illusions and dreams of his early youth, the great illusion of the Catholic priesthood to which he had devoted himself with all his heart until the day when evidence had overwhelmed him; last, the illusion of theism which appears to him now "but a remnant of theology; no less weak and objectionable a system than any other metaphysical one." "And now," the statement goes on,

"I was there on my death-bed at the very moment when, according to the beliefs of a great part of my life, I was going to surrender my immortal soul to my creator and judge. My creator and judge, forsooth! I know how man has fashioned him, and how Christians have devised the horrible fable of hell, and the absurd theory of priestly absolution. My soul immortal? No feeling of being immortal at all was then felt. . . . The meaning of my poor life appeared then clearly before my eyes. . . . My reader, I advise you again and again to be an unbeliever, not to allow yourself to be cheated. . . . No one possesses the words of eternal life. The wise man, the well-balanced man, has no need to apply to any body. He keeps fast to his good sense, to clear and certain principles, to his honesty and sincerity. . . . He accepts the Universe as it is, and he does not ask of life what it cannot grant him. . . . These are the conclusions arrived at by a poor undecieved Don Quixote."

In spite of its pessimistic tone, in spite of the sound of its words, I dare call this the testament of a deeply religious man, aye, of "a saint who disbelieved in God."

named *Pessimismus*? Nor did the first book represent the whole of Spengler's conclusion, for it formed only Volume I of a larger work the second volume of which, *Welthistorische Perspektiven*, has now appeared. The main thesis is that industry does not record continuous development but that in 6,000 years there have been eight cultures; Chinese, Babylonian, Egyptian, East Indian, Greco-Roman, Arabian, Maya and the present Western phase, to which he gives the name "Faustian." Each passes through a similar succession of morning, noon, and night; and the course of history may be shown by a series of eight large curves starting from and ending on the same straight line. There is no absolute upward trend, but only a rhythmical rise and fall. The mean level is a dead level.

This should not be condemned off-hand on scientific grounds, but the artificial simplification of the past into the hard black and white of such a picture can never bear more than a relation of cousinship to the carefully qualified gray of scientific truth. And yet this, at least, may be said, that the first impression from the book is that man does not progress, and that this impression itself is certainly untrue. Each culture in Spengler's opinion is spontaneous and creative until it becomes a civilisation, when the intellect dominates the emotions, life centres in great cities, and scepticism follows in the wake of effectiveness. Each culture has its own peculiar "soul," and its art, morality and religion have no constant value, but are only relative to their own particular world. In this somewhat limited sense it is undoubtedly true that man progresses for a time only, later to sink back to his former level. If we confine our inquiry to his cultural achievements this is both obvious and inevitable. Taking for the sake of illustration Shakespeare and Æschylus as the respective apogees of two curves, it may evidently be said first that neither is higher than the other—both being at the summit of their so different classes—and secondly that there have been interregnums when no man appeared to equal their achievements. In theory it is certain, though actual examples may be more doubtful, that any human endeavour of this nature may be pushed, within a given culture, to such a degree of finality—or, in a word, perfection—that it is impossible, within the bounds of that culture, to press it further. Po Chü-i could not have written *Samson Agonistes* without not only ceasing to be Po Chü-i but also ceasing to be Chinese.

But cultures are not spontaneously generated. As Professor Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie puts it, parthenogenesis is unknown in the birth of nations. Every community owes its culture to some other community. Spengler assumes what is a characteristic law of decay of all social organisms, but to separate them from one another, as it were in watertight compartments, is quite arbitrary. They are no more separate because set in a different time or place

than the white hare of Arctic countries is separate from all the other hares. To consider the cultures of different races in isolation is a mere abstraction, and the truth is that Spengler's exposition is out of date. The discoveries of the last few decades and the genius of men like the late Dr. W. H. R. Rivers have laid the foundations of a far nobler edifice, and modern thought has a much wider conception of human development than a series of independent, national cultures. Mankind must be considered as a whole—the species *Homo Sapiens*—to get a true perspective of history. Whether the contention that Egypt was the cradle of civilisation is true or not, there can be no doubt whatsoever that the keyword to Anthropology and Ethnology is Diffusion.

The progress of such outstanding characteristics as the cult of the Sun, with pyramids and all its other paraphernalia, can be followed right across the world, spreading eastwards from Egypt, and across the Pacific to Central America. Indeed, Rivers, in his *History of Melanesian Society*, claims that the organisation of society can be traced along the same route. This is a point of the utmost importance, for there is surely nothing more fundamental in man than the systematisation of his own gregariousness.

Spengler seems to have fallen into the same pitfalls as, for instance, Flinders Petrie, in attaching too much importance to the purely cultural side of man's activities. Development on which a definitely biological value might be set—i.e., civilisation—has been far less intermittent than is apparent. Like all of us he values a Plato more than Nature does, and looks upon the Dark Ages, because they produced no advance on his line of thought, as an arid desert. Yet, in reality, 400 B.C. bears much the same relation to A.D. 400 as the sabre-toothed tiger to the tiger of to-day. We may admire more deeply the grandeur and magnificence of the former, but the latter has shown itself the more mobile and adaptable organism. Of what value, then, is our æsthetic preference as a biological criterion? Men of earlier species, such as the Neanderthal man, tried, it is true, and failed, but there is not the least evidence that *Homo sapiens*, the present type, shows signs as yet of failing in adaptability or growth. Within the memory of most of us he has grown new legs in the motor-car, new ears in wireless telegraphy, new eyes in television, and wings in the aeroplane. We may not like these things in themselves. We may deplore their not being cultural. But it cannot be denied that they are an extension of man's power and personality, and they have, therefore, a biological usefulness. What cares Nature for culture? Her only test is control over environment.

Civilisation does not consist solely in the output of a few men of genius acting as artists, philosophers or scientists. Exceptional

Just as the profession of the creed or the practice of religious acts, can add no moral or spiritual value to a man "whose God is his belly," so no refusal of conventional religious theoretical representations and interpretations of the immediate data of conscience can detract from the religious value and meaning of one's life; it is the *devotion to a supreme moral ideal* which marks that intensity of life, that spiritual level, which only can be and demands to be called religious. The present writer remembers how he talked this subject over with Houtin more than once, especially one Sunday in Paris after attending a sitting of the *Union pour la Vérité*, and how the conclusion reached was that of a New Testament writer: "Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is . . . to keep himself unspotted from the world." And Houtin himself wrote, "I was not anxious about my future. Faithful to the direction of my old masters, Pascal, Bossuet, Malebranche . . . I had sought truth for itself." "All our dignity," says Pascal, "consists in thought. . . . Let us then try to think right; this is the beginning of morals."

The very same spirit in man which we call conscience—the "inner light" of George Fox—is the spirit which works through nature from the lowest degree to the highest, developing everything according to the laws of its own nature, by a creative evolution. To this spirit Albert Houtin was loyal to the utmost, even to death. I repeat he was "a saint who disbelieved in God," in a God without us, in a God of man's making whom he found inconsistent with the God within, the "God of my heart."

GIOVANNI PIOLI.

SPENGLER AND THE ANTHROPOLOGISTS.

A FAVOURITE intellectual exercise in Germany has always been the erection of towering philosophies of History in which a vast mound of data is, willy-nilly, systematised into a design. That the design should afterwards seem arbitrary does not entirely detract from its value. Indeed, it *must* be arbitrary since it is forced on the thinker by the very colour of his mind—by his own particular temperament—even before he has amassed all his facts. His attitude when facing the stone and slate, the marble and porphyry, raw material for his trade, is that of architect rather than geologist. He is planning his edifice, not studying his materials. He is synthetic rather than analytic. And so this compulsion of shapeliness upon the affairs of men cannot, in the nature of things, be so much a piece of scientific thinking as of poetic divination sprung full-grown from the brain. As such, provocative as an epigram upon an epic scale, it embodies some part at least of the truth, and bodies this forth brilliantly. The only trouble is that an all-too-human love of orderliness may make us fancy the system to contain the only true seed of the world. Whereas it is more than doubtful if the unsympathetic World of Phenomena is really so neat and ordered as we like to think it.

History itself is an attempt to set forth what happened. It is only in the attempt to answer the question "Why?" that a Philosophy of History is born. Hacking his way along this tangled path came Lessing, and after him Herder. Then from a new point Kant attacked with an "Idea of a new Universal History on a Cosmopolitan Plan." Fichte, also, contributed an attempt and Leopold von Ranke added the notion of the *Zeitgeist*. Kant was in the main responsible for a turn of transcendentalism formerly foreign to these constructions, and transcendental they remained to the time of Hegel who, conceiving History as the history of political forms alone, imagined some spirit as continuously moving from one people to another, breathing the breath of life into each culture before it passed.

In 1880 the latest of these philosophers was born; the latest but certainly not the last. In 1917 Oswald Spengler, at that time aged thirty-seven, published *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*, though the book had been planned and begun before the war. This work, translated under the title of *The Decline of the West*, had a considerable measure of popularity in Germany, attaining the great circulation in its kind of over 100,000. It has been denounced by theologians and attacked by scientists to a degree sufficient to force the author to defend his position in 1921 with a pamphlet

men capable of such achievements are liable to be born at any time and into societies of all degrees of barbarity or culture; they are liable, I say, to be born at any time, though at any given point the probabilities are against it. And stable societies do not in truth tend to form exceptionally good ground for genius to breed in, save as they supply a settled environment, where it may more easily show its power. No man can display his full ability, however great, while struggling single-handed for his life against wild beasts and the encroaching jungle. One swallow does not make a summer, but one genius will make a golden age. Take the case of Shakespeare. We are accustomed to speak and think of the Elizabethan Age as a period rich in great dramatists, but on further consideration it is plain that there was no other except perhaps Marlowe who could, literally speaking, be compared with Shakespeare. The others were not so much inferior as of altogether different clay. And yet the influence of the one colossal figure was enough to inspire a host of ordinary mortals to heights otherwise undreamt of, and to inspire in posterity an admiration so great as to be extended to all his contemporaries. And so it is with a Michelangelo, or an Einstein, or any other colossal genius.

The name of civilisation should not only be applied to the great Empire States. The process is continuous, and periods of sporadic artistic endeavour and achievement are singled out by the orderly historian less on account of their true significance than of their sweet obviousness. Indeed, Elliot Smith has begged the whole question by showing that art arose rather from the instinct of self-preservation than from that of self-expression. He has shown in that fascinating book, *The Evolution of the Dragon*, that the earliest cultural advances were attempts at ornamentation by means of precious stones and metal work, and that these all took the form of charms, worn with the sole object of preserving life and good fortune.

Let us turn again to the diffusion of civilisation. The men of Aurignacian times may be justly called barbarians since, in spite of their known skill in the making of weapons, and the evidence of communication between India and Europe, it is certain that they were still in the primitive food-gathering stage. It appears that the transition to an agricultural state first took place in Egypt, where the peculiar conditions of the flooding of the Nile were favourable to a natural barley crop, and taught man, in the process of centuries, the value of artificial irrigation. This great discovery, together with the arts of smelting copper and making pottery, paved the way to an immense efflorescence of the domestic arts, which were imitated by Elam, Sumer, and Crete. From the hands of the Minoans their skill descended directly to the Greeks and so to the

whole Mediterranean world. Thence it spread eastward, as W. J. Perry has shown in his *Megalithic Culture of Indonesia*, finally reaching Central America.

It is even doubtful whether the Chinese produced a spontaneous civilisation. It seems more than probable that, like the Maya civilisation, this also owed its inception to the percolation of Egyptian influence, and the researches of Sir Hercules Read have produced a great deal of evidence in favour of this theory. It is interesting to note that the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, which is a fairly safe indication of the trend of thought on any subject, has completely recanted its former almost Spenglerian views, and in the 1922 edition it gives a most interesting picture of diffusion from the pen of Elliot Smith, under the heading of Anthropology.

We see, then, that all the weight of evidence is in favour of a continuous spread of civilisation as against the older theory of intermittency. And this progress has lasted, with the exception of temporary and local set-backs, right down to our own times. We must remember, too, that scientifically speaking, *Homo Sapiens* is a very young species, and that there is more probability of truth in Mr. Wells' view that there are no limits to human nature, than in the contention of Spengler that there are certain very definite and ineluctable limits. He is either a very foolish or a very bold man who will venture to predict the future of our race. For even if we are to believe in a kind of hormic determinism—and it is a question whether determinism of any kind is compatible with the phenomenon we call life—we must dispassionately know all our circumstances before prophecy is possible. The only thing of which we may be certain is that the end is not yet.

STEPHEN CHANT and MICHAEL JOYCE.

A SOLDIER-PATRIOT'S CENTENARY.*

IT would be a somewhat invidious comparison to characterise Joachim Blake as the most talented among the many Spanish military leaders who opposed the legions of Napoleon during the long struggle of 1808-1814—invidious because no soldier of genius or of outstanding gifts appeared on the side of Spain in the course of that prolonged effort which was ultimately brought to a triumphant issue by the wholesale expenditure of British blood and money. It is therefore truer to say of General Blake that he stood out conspicuous from his contemporaries by reason of his qualities of endurance, persistence, and determination. Had his efforts been better stimulated by the government that he served so heroically and unselfishly, he would almost undoubtedly have emerged from the ordeal with a better record than one of ultimate defeat.

He was of mixed Hibernian and Iberian descent. His father, a well-to-do merchant of Galway, settled near Malaga and there espoused the heiress of a banker named Joyes. Their son Joachim was born at Malaga on August 18th, 1759. His guide and philosopher in teaching him the rudiments of war was the Conde Alexander O'Reilly—Captain-General of Andalusia, and one of the half-dozen gallant Hibernian commanders who fought for Spain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This Count Alexander had established a military college at Puerto de Santa Maria in Old Castile, and Joachim Blake became a pupil there. The lad was particularly quick and apt. By 1773 he had passed into the "Regiment of America," and, under the law that compelled all would-be officers to qualify from the ranks, was commissioned in due course and rose to be adjutant of the regiment. Not only this, but he gave proof of such unusual gifts that, on his transfer to the Volunteers of Castile, he was permitted—a favour unique at the time—to "skip" the rank of captain and attain his majority forthwith.

War was by this time raging between Spain and France as a sequel to the Revolution in the latter country, and the young officer discovered opportunities for distinction in the campaigns of 1793-94. He received his first wound at the storming of San Lorenzo de la Maga, and, being gazetted to a colonelcy in 1802, was given command of a new organisation, the "*Voluntarios de la Corona*." That years saw the peace of Amiens signed.

Henceforward Colonel Blake stood high in favour with King Charles IV, who promoted his brigadier-general ("mariscal-de-campo"). But a few brief years saw Spain invaded by Napoleon

* The author desires to thank H.E. the Spanish Ambassador in London for facts communicated.

and King Charles a captive.* At the outbreak of the prolonged struggle now impending, Blake was nominated to the principal command in Galicia. The period was the spring of 1808, and it became Blake's duty to co-operate with the veteran Marquis de la Cuesta—the same who, in the ensuing year, proved such a thorn in Wellington's side in the campaign of Talavera. Headquarters were at Benevente, where Blake commanded 20,000 Galicians and Cuesta 10,000 Castilians. One of Napoleon's most experienced Marshals, Bessières, was in command against them, and, to the disgust of Blake, Cuesta insisted upon dividing their forces and risking a battle in the vicinity of Medina del Rio Seco. The result was inevitable. On July 14th, 1808, one of Bessières' best divisional commanders, Lassoles, at the head of only 15,000 troops, encountered the Spanish army and inflicted a decisive defeat. The latter's losses exceeded 7,000 in all.† It is recorded that, while in hot pursuit of them, the French discovered that the bed of the River Sequillo had dried up, and forthwith remarked, "*Diable!* then Spanish rivers also run away." Blake rendered good and self-sacrificing service in this lost battle, and was rewarded with the dual appointment of Captain-General of Galicia and "President of the Royal Audience." But he was compelled to abandon the city of Leon to the enemy, and the *morale* of the Spanish troops generally was decidedly poor.

It was at this time that Marshal Bessières adopted the unworthy course, as directed by his Imperial master, of approaching both Blake and Cuesta with the most tempting offers of service under King Joseph Bonaparte "of Spain." In sending this bribe to Blake, the Marshal accompanied it with the return of upwards of a thousand prisoners captured in the recent battle, while to Cuesta was offered the governorship of Mexico: both offers were indignantly refused. Blake now attempted a vigorous offensive, at the head of 30,000 horse and foot. These were, however, in sorry case for the rigours of a winter campaign, being "destitute of caps, boots, and stockings, and constantly in the open air for months without tents or proper food." Moreover, in his determination to crush out the Spanish resistance the French Emperor had, including Bessières, half-a-dozen of his best Marshals in the peninsula—Ney, Soult, Victor, Lefebvre, St. Cyr, Moncey.

Nevertheless, Blake advanced in September (1808) in an effort to outflank Bessières and simultaneously to envelop Burgos, which the French held in force. On October 12th he compelled the abandonment of Bilbao by General Merlin with his garrison of 3,000, who, retreating on Zornosa, were reinforced and made a stand there.

* Joseph Bonaparte was proclaimed King of Spain at Madrid, July 24th, 1808.

† "Blake and Cuesta met in the evening, and after an interchange of high words parted in anger."—Fortescue, *History of the British Army*.

In the ensuing battle of Gamonal, Blake with 18,000 ill-fed, ill-armed Spanish was opposed to 25,000 seasoned French led by two Marshals. This conflict was waged in an atmosphere of fog. Villatte's division forced the Spanish advance-guard back upon the main body and, supported by Sebastiani, drove their opponents before them like sheep. The Captain-General's next stand was at Espinosa, where he made the best possible disposition of his jaded and depleted ranks. Marshal Victor was in command of the force that assailed him here before daybreak on November 10th. Surprised and at a disadvantage, the Spanish fought well for a time. But their centre was penetrated and their left flank turned, Generals de Riquelme and San Romano both killed, and the latter's division destroyed as a military formation. After the flight from that stricken field, on which he lost all his artillery, Blake found himself at Reynosa on the 12th with only a remnant of 7,000. Even in this desperate predicament he was permitted no respite, for Soult attacked him and inflicted a further loss of 2,000 casualties, and with his remaining fugitives he eventually reached the mountain region of Asturia. One may imagine the sufferings of that starving handful in deep snow!

General Blake (who early in 1809 was nominated by the Cortes Captain-General of combined Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia) was henceforward to be opposed by the most formidable of his French antagonists, Marshal Suchet. The latter did not at first make headway against him. Indeed, the battle of Alcanitz on May 23rd was a decided Spanish victory, though the forces engaged were relatively small—9,000 French against 12,000 Spaniards. Suchet, himself wounded, was compelled to retreat on Saragossa. Blake was rewarded with an estate and his command expanded so as to include Murcia, and he was substantially reinforced, though not much can be said for the calibre of these recruits. He next captured a large French convoy and drove back Suchet's lieutenant, Faber. The optimistic Blake now counted upon defeating Suchet and taking Saragossa, and gave battle on June 15th, 1809. But

"Suchet, who was unexpectedly joined by Faber's brigade and another from Tudela, paralysed this movement by a furious attack of cavalry and voltigeurs. Blake's left fell back at the very moment that he was triumphantly leading on his centre, and he became involved in a desperate sword-in-hand conflict in which Suchet's leading columns were repulsed. He would have achieved more but for a violent storm, which arose at that moment and so darkened the air that the adverse lines could scarcely see each other, and for a time the action ceased. Blake's position was ill-chosen: he was surrounded by deep ravines and had only one line of retreat by the bridge of Maria, which crossed the Huerba near his right wing—Suchet observed this error and, on the storm lulling, selected some cavalry and two regiments of infantry and,

forming them, all drenched as they were by rain, in solid column, by a vigorous effort broke through Blake's brigade of horse, seized the bridge, and cut off his retreat."

He would not admit that the day was lost for Spain, however, until he had sacrificed several thousand men and twenty-five guns. By this time reduced to a strength of 14,000, he fell back to Belchite in Aragon—only to be driven out at bayonet's point, losing 4,000 prisoners and the rest of his guns and stores. The unhappy Blake, while denouncing his troops as poltroons, gave back to the Junta the estate granted him recently and "requested" a court-martial upon himself. It was not granted.

The next episode in this continuous if not invariably glorious warfare was the siege of historic Gerona by the French under Gouvion St. Cyr. That Marshal was able to dispose of some 40,000 seasoned troops in Catalonia, about half of whom pressed the siege. General Alvarez was the intrepid Commandant of Gerona. Poor Blake, albeit with utterly inadequate resources, made more than one attempt to relieve the city. In the first of these efforts he was seconded by Henry O'Donnel, Conde de Abispal; but quite insufficient stores of flour were thrown into the beleaguered town, *plus* a small reinforcement that only meant more hungry mouths to feed. Well might Alvarez write, "If not succoured at once, Gerona will soon be a heap of carcasses and ruins!" On September 20th-25th, 1809, Blake cleverly manoeuvred around the fortress. Whilst deceiving St. Cyr as to his real intentions, he detached 10,000 men under O'Donnel and Wimphen to get another convoy into Gerona. This was achieved after terrible carnage but the fate of the fortress was sealed. At the end of October, St. Cyr captured the citadel of Hostalric with much ammunition and 2,000 prisoners, and Gerona fell on November 10th. Its heroic commander did not suffer captivity, as he died, more or less of a broken heart, *en route* to France.

The year 1810 was principally occupied in futile marching and manoeuvring against superior numbers, strategy, and tactics. In retreating upon Tarragona, Blake left the remnant of his depleted command in charge of the brave Henry O'Donnel, who met with a transitory success inasmuch as he outmanoeuvred Marshal Augereau and compelled his retirement to Gerona. In May Blake embarked for Valencia, hoping to obtain aid for Tarragona, now besieged by Suchet's legions; but that port was stormed and sacked by the French in circumstances that left an indelible blot on the Marshal's otherwise high military reputation. Blake next assumed command of the forces of Murcia (not exceeding 22,000 and of poor calibre) in succession to another Hibernian soldier of fortune, the somewhat pusillanimous General O'Mahy.

I must not omit mention of Blake's one battle in collaboration with British troops. This was General (afterwards Lord) Beresford's confused "soldiers' battle" of Albuera on the road to Badajos, fought against Soult on May 16th, 1811. Beresford had only 7,000 English, with 15,000 Spanish ("half drilled and more than half starved") under Blake, and 8,000 Portuguese. The Spaniards formed the right wing, and Soult, completely deceiving Beresford as to his real intention, launched his main attack upon Blake's men, who were "immovable through sheer physical weakness." Indeed, the French onslaught caught them *en flagrante delicto* while they were changing front, and simply wiped them out of existence. The closing scene of that four hours' sanguinary conflict—the charge of the British infantry in which the 3rd Buffs were reduced from 750 men and 24 officers to 35 men and 5 officers!—is described in one of the most epic passages of Napier's *Peninsular War*.

In the summer of 1811, the subject of this sketch was in more or less close touch with Wellington, the latter fresh from his victories "on grim Busaco's iron ridge" and at Fuentes d'Onoro. The British General supplied him with pontoons, etc., and Blake has been harshly criticised for what ensued. For whereas Seville should have been his direct objective, he wasted a couple of days upon an ineffective attempt against Niebla Castle, which was held by some Swiss troops, deserters from the Spanish colours, whom Blake was "anxious to punish." He not only failed in that object, but a rapid movement by Soult actually drove him over the frontier into Portugal. Projecting a further attempt upon San Lucar, he was probably only saved from capture by the opportune arrival of transport to carry his remnant to Cadiz.

Two crushing defeats at the hands of Suchet preceded the "utter dispersal" and desertion of Blake's forces while he was making a tour of Valencia! In that province, moreover, he suffered much from the disloyalty—or worse—of the Marquis del Palacio, a faction-leader of a peculiarly unpleasant type. Thanks partly to his machinations, Blake had 8,000 desertions from his ranks in a month. Consequently, the French were an army, the Spaniards a mob, when on October 25th, 1811 Suchet brought his enemy to action before Saguntum. On this occasion the Spaniards were defeated with a loss of 5,000, and after the battle the French Marshal found himself reinforced by 15,000 bayonets commanded by the able General Reillé. Blake was by this time practically at his last ditch. Taking up a new position in front of the city of Valencia, he was ousted from it with further heavy losses, whilst his "colleague," O'Mahy, was also routed and fell back upon Alçira.

The indefatigable Blake hurriedly entrenched himself over a five-

mile area, the covering ditch being twelve feet in depth—so that, with good troops and a sufficiency of them, the position might have been held indefinitely. As it was, poor Blake was "blocked up in the fortified camp with 18,000 men in want of provisions, while the French were well and freely supplied by the Valencians, who were 'a bad people.' On December 2nd he made a bold effort to break through Suchet's lines, and sallied out at the head of 10,000 men; but he was repulsed, and Suchet pushed more vigorously than ever the siege of the city, knowing well that it was impossible for Blake to remain long in a place which included a starving population of 50,000 souls. The fire of sixty great guns drove Blake into the city, abandoning his camp on December 5th to the foe, who found in it eighty pieces of cannon. In the evening Suchet summoned Valencia, but Blake declined to yield. Then skirmishes, assaults, and bombarding continued till the 9th, when the citizens were on the point of insurging against Blake and insisted that he should surrender. He complained bitterly of their cowardice, and required leave to march with his soldiers to Alicante with their baggage, colours, and only four pieces of cannon. These terms were refused him."

Thus terminated, in blood and tears—for the inhabitants opened their gates to the foe and he had no choice in the matter—the epic of Joachim Blake's long, tireless, and hopeless fight for Spain, in course of which he had fought five pitched battles and dozens of lesser engagements. One is struck by the large proportion of General officers (twenty-two in all) who surrendered with him and 16,000 troops. The other trophies of this capitulation of Valencia unfortunately included eighty standards, nearly 400 guns, 2,000 horses, and 3,000,000 cartridges. Some 4,000 of the prisoners apparently effected their escape, and were re-organised in Alicante by the exertions of Joseph O'Donnel.

Being esteemed far too important a prize of war to be exchanged, Blake was interned in France until after the first downfall of the Emperor Napoleon in 1814. He had at least enjoyed the satisfaction of helping to "bury" the reputations of several of that potentate's most trusted Marshals in Iberian soil, Suchet among them alone emerging as a conqueror. Moreover, in his enforced absence the Cortes did Blake the honour of nominating him to the Council of State. During the greater part of his captivity he was confined in the château of Vincennes, and on his ultimate release was much complimented and honoured by the Emperor Alexander and the other Allied crowned heads then at Paris.

For six years thereafter, from 1814 until 1820, Blake occupied the position of Director of Engineers, followed by that of Counsellor of State after the revolution of the latter year. On February 7th, 1823, he was named one of a commission of five prominent soldiers

charged with the defence of the realm against a French invasion. As history tells, that invasion to uphold the restoration of King Ferdinand was carried out by a French army of 100,000 commanded by the Duc d'Angoulême and Marshal Lauriston. This overwhelming intervention succeeded in its object, Ferdinand returned to power, and the veteran Blake was all but arrested and prosecuted for his known adherence to the principles of the Constitutional party in Spain. Thereafter he lived in strict retirement until his demise at Valladolid on April 27th, 1827, at the age of sixty-eight years; having lived to witness from afar off the entire loss of the splendid Spanish colonies oversea in South America due to gross misgovernment, mismanagement, and the zeal and initiative of a little band of patriots and soldiers of fortune.

According to a French appreciation of Blake's character and gifts, his opponents on the battlefield "recognised and admitted his positive talent, his great knowledge and *perspicacité* of tactics; but agreed that he failed in two essential points—the prompt *coup d'œil* which decides at once the fortune of a battle, and that art of manner by which it is necessary to excite the enthusiasm of the soldier." Dr. W. H. Fitchett* rather unfairly describes him as "a General who had lost all the good qualities of Irish character and acquired all the bad ones peculiar to Spanish temper." The only British encyclopædia or dictionary† in which I have been able to trace a notice of him remarks that "his ardent zeal against the enemies of his country was not generally marked by corresponding success; but though he experienced many defeats, he still sustained his military character."

The fullest justice is, however, rendered to the memory of the great soldier-patriot in General Arceche's *Guerra de la Independencia*, usually regarded as the standard authority, from the Spanish viewpoint, on the life-and-death struggle waged by Spain and Portugal against the domination of Napoleon.

PERCY CROSS STANDING.

* *Deeds that won the Empire.*

† Maunders's *Biographical Treasury*, 1836.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

ATLANTIC WAVE-LENGTHS.

THE opening of a telephonic service across the Atlantic has synchronised, no doubt merely by coincidence, with renewed contact between controversial points of American and British political thought. Lord Derby has publicly invited Senator Borah to come to South Lancashire and see for himself how peaceful and simple are the typical industrial folk of this country. Mr. Winston Churchill has again fallen to the temptation of correcting the familiar Mellonian misconceptions about the British Treasury.

In the case of Mr. Churchill, it probably needed neither a telephonic miracle nor any miracle to suggest that he should set about Mr. Mellon. His adventurous fertility is given less scope than it craves in his quiet life. Budget-making, painting, boar-hunting, the writing of books, are not enough. By the end of April his personal need was urgent. His book was published; his budget statement had been made; life held little for him in the immediate prospect. Casting about in his mind, it was no doubt inevitable that he should find Mr. Mellon's letter of March 17th. That letter, in the circumstances, was provocative. Whether on any exalted principle of diplomatic expediency it was wise for Mr. Churchill to correct Mr. Mellon was a topic of varying opinion.

Mr. Churchill none the less rushed the opening with all his dialectical brilliance. It was on Monday, April 11th, that he sat down in the House of Commons after delivering himself of his Budget. On the third following Monday, May 2nd, his new composition was delivered in Washington, three thousand words, compact of matter, bursting with facts and figures, polished in form. Within a week he was further elaborating his theme in the House of Commons. On May 11th he was the guest of the British Bankers' Association at their annual dinner, and was at it again.

Mr. Churchill's point was sound enough. The only doubt is whether it was wise for him to make it. The main figures of the controversy were given in this section of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW last month. A short time ago Dr. John Grier Hibben, President of Princeton University, and 116 of his colleagues addressed to Mr. Mellon a memorandum suggesting in effect that international debts be cancelled by the initiative of the United States, whose initiative alone would be of any use. Mr. Mellon wrote an answer to Dr. Hibben, which was published on March 17th, and of which the main point was that Great Britain henceforth would receive from her debtors more than enough to provide for the British payments to the United States. Now it was obvious to any child in politics what Mr. Mellon's object was. Mr. Mellon is an

\$828,500,000 or £170,500,000 in respect of the debt to the United States Government, whereas the sums received by Great Britain on account of reparation, Belgian War Debt, and Allied War Debts up to the same date amount to £41,000,000 (\$200,000,000), leaving a deficit of £126,500,000 (\$628,500,000). There seems no special reason to select the last two years only, as was done in Mr. Mellon's letter, but the position as regards this period is that, during the first two years of the operation of the Dawes Plan (1924-1925 and 1925-1926), the receipts of this country from reparation (including Belgian War Debt) and Allied War Debts together fell short of British payments to the United States Government by approximately £50,000,000 (\$243,000,000).

"As regards the financial year 1926-27, the share of the United Kingdom in the third Dawes Plan annuity in respect of reparation and Belgian War Debt amounts to £12,000,000 and the receipts from Inter-Allied War Debts to £8,500,000, or a total of £20,500,000, as against the payment made to the United States Government of £33,000,000. During the following year (1927-28) the share of the United Kingdom in the fourth Dawes annuity in respect of Belgian War Debt and reparation should amount to £14,250,000, and the receipts from Inter-Allied War Debts to £10,500,000, or a total of £24,750,000, as against the payment of £33,000,000 to the United States. The share of the United Kingdom in the fifth and subsequent Dawes annuities (i.e., after September 1st, 1928) for Belgian War Debt and reparation should amount to £22,400,000, and this together with the payments from Inter-Allied War Debts (assuming the French War Debt Agreement to have been ratified and neglecting past deficits in British receipts as compared with payments) would be sufficient to cover the current payments due to the United States Government. Whether the payments from the Dawes annuities included in the above calculations will in fact be received depends, of course, upon whether it is found possible to transfer the full amount provided for by the Dawes Plan. But even if the full Dawes payments continue to be received for sixty years from now onwards, the present value of the receipts of Great Britain from reparations and Allied War Debts together would be less than that of the payments she is obliged to make to the United States Government on account of the British War Debt, assuming interest at 5 per cent. to be added to payments and receipts in the past and future payments and receipts to be discounted at the same rate."

One of the striking paradoxes that results from the Mellon-Churchill controversy is this. It has been a common platform cry in the United States that one of the effects of America's disinterestedness in post-war Europe was that America was not interested in German reparations. Speeches have been loosely made to the

effect that America has not and will never receive one Mark from Germany. When Mr. Churchill stated in the House of Commons in March of last year that the United States "will be receiving . . . at least 60 per cent. of the total probable reparations of Germany, the first 60 per cent., as it were, which are payable by Germany," his effect did not penetrate into the consciousness of any body of American popular opinion. Now that Mr. Mellon has put his name to the March 17th letter, American opinion ought logically to abandon its former delusion—if public opinion in any country can ever be logical enough to abandon a proved delusion. Mr. Mellon wrote: "the sums paid us will not come from taxation, but will be more than met by the payments to be exacted from Germany." He added, "It must be obvious that if the amounts to be paid by all our debtors are to be reduced, and a corresponding reduction is to be made in the amount of reparations to be paid by Germany, the net effect of this change will be to transfer the burden of reparations from the shoulders of the German taxpayer to those of the American taxpayer." *Georges Dandin, tu l'as voulu*. The paradox above alluded to is that America, protesting that she receives nothing from Germany, receives by Mr. Mellon's admission most of what Germany pays; Great Britain, ostensibly and admittedly receiving her 22 per cent. of German reparations, receives nothing in effect because she passes it all on precisely to—the United States.

The technicalities indulged in by Mr. Mellon and by Mr. Churchill are hard to grasp. The point at issue is simplified if one reduces figures, for the sake of illustration, to simple denominations. Up to 1917 the British Government spent, say, £100 on the war and lent another £100 to the European Allies to enable them to meet their war expenses. The British Treasury thereby came to the end of what it regarded as the possible direct burden on the British people. France, Italy and the rest, however, had no resources of their own and needed another £100 between them to carry on the war. They found it impossible to borrow that money from the United States. After the spring of 1917 the United States Treasury would not and did not lend money to any belligerent Government except the British. What the British Treasury did, then, was to borrow £100 from the United States and lend £100 to Europe.

At the end of the war, therefore, the British Government had spent £100, lent £100, and borrowed £100 which it passed on to Europe as a further loan. One leaves out of the account the first £100 which Great Britain spent. At the end of the war the position was that Great Britain had lent £200 to Europe and borrowed £100 from the United States. If international finance had been a matter of pure arithmetic, the second £100 lent to Europe would have cancelled itself against the £100 borrowed from America, and on the

orthodox politician who has both eyes on popular opinion. Most Americans, without knowing much or caring much about the facts of international debts, are content that they should have many debtors and no creditors, especially when their most important debtor happens to be Great Britain. If Mr. Mellon can still further fortify that popular content by investing it with an element of moral comfort he does well, from his own point of view. His letter to Professor Hibben ought to be judged by its own humdrum standard. When later he protested, in face of Mr. Churchill's rejoinder, that his letter was a purely domestic affair, he protested the simple truth. Domestic affairs cannot fairly be subjected to outside criticism by those who ignore the domestic circumstances.

Mr. Churchill, however, was himself influenced by a subjective motive. It is true that evidence had quickly accumulated that Great Britain's own debtors had pricked up their ears. They were delighted to agree with Mr. Mellon that the common scapegoat, Great Britain, was suffering less than both Europe and America expected her to suffer. Yet the argument with which Mr. Churchill persuaded his Government to be "drawn" conflicted with an established principle of the best British thought on this subject. It has been an axiom in Whitehall ever since the war that the best way of helping American opinion to find its salvation was to encourage it to pursue its present line until the inevitable disillusion was forced upon it from the inside. Mr. Churchill had already broken that tradition when, on March 25th, 1926, he entered the dialectical arena and abandoned the official reserve. "There has been from the beginning of these controversies (he said) a marked difference of view between Great Britain and the United States . . . we were willing to obliterate, cancel, delete, and annul all debts owed by our Allies provided that we were treated in a similar manner by our creditors. That view did not commend itself to the Great Republic across the Atlantic, and there could be no question that the United States was entirely within its legal rights. We were then forced to adopt a different position, and we came to the Balfour Note, in the principle of which I have always been a sincere believer. The Government adheres to that Principle, and as far as possible they are endeavouring to give effect to it. This country has undertaken to pay what the United States so insistently and incessantly demanded. That involves us in a charge of £33,000,000 (a year) at the present time, rising in eight years to £38,000,000. To pass that immense sum continuously across a frontier, across an ocean, across the Exchange, is one of the most stupendous tasks and burdens ever undertaken by any country in the whole financial history of the world.

"It is a very remarkable fact," he added, "that at the present

moment the amount that the United States is receiving from Europe under arrangements which have already been made is approximately equal to the whole amount of reparations which Germany is paying. But the distribution of the receipts from Germany and the payments to the United States are entirely different. The bulk of the receipts from Germany go to France, which at present is making no payments on account of her war debts, and the bulk of payments to the United States are made by this country largely out of her own resources. But the day is coming, at no great distance, when this situation will undergo an obvious modification. When France and Italy have funded their debts, both to this country and to the United States, and when other minor Powers have funded their debts, it is clear that the United States will be receiving, directly and indirectly, on her own account, from reparations, from Italian sources balanced against reparations, from British sources, from French sources through British hands, and from Italian sources through British hands, by far the larger part, at least 60 per cent., of the total probable reparations of Germany, and the first reparations, the first 60 per cent. as it were, which are payable by Germany. It seems to me that an extraordinary situation will be developed, that by all these chains, and lines, and channels, the pressure of debt extraction will draw reparations from the devastated and war-stricken countries of Europe, and that they will pass in an unbroken stream across the Atlantic to that wealthy and prosperous and great Republic."

That same summer, on the strength of Mr. Churchill's words just quoted, Mr. Mellon publicly accused Mr. Churchill of carrying on a campaign of vilification against the United States. Thereupon Mr. Churchill challenged him to quote any sentence he had ever spoken or written which would substantiate the charge. As Mr. Mellon did not react to that challenge, Mr. Churchill relapsed into silence, and it came to be assumed that he would not again allow himself to be drawn into controversy with Mr. Mellon. So eagerly, however, did he take the opportunity of breaking that silence in April of this year that he even adopted the form of an official British dispatch as an answer to a letter which formally did not fall within any category of international diplomacy. A less precipitate spirit would have discovered a more appropriate formula, such as a parallel letter to a British correspondent, real or imaginary, in which to express the counterblast.

One passage of Mr. Churchill's dispatch deserves to be quoted because it records concisely the main point about international debts. The statement of Mr. Mellon's to which that passage is an answer was quoted in this section of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW last month (page 659). "From April 1st, 1919, to December 31st, 1926 (ran Mr. Churchill's rejoinder) Great Britain has paid the sum of

remaining £100 the British Treasury would have received from Europe in interest an amount equivalent to the amount needed for the service of the corresponding amount of War Loan in this country. The money lent was raised in the form of War Loan on which the Government has to pay interest. On the hypothesis, therefore, of pure finance, pure arithmetic, and a general pure sense of international honour, Great Britain after the war would have been faced with the dead loss of only the £100 she had spent on her own war expenses, and income tax would have started off after the war at about 2s. 3d. in the pound instead of 6s. in the pound. By contrast the British Government was not paid its due on the first £100 lent to Europe, nor on the second £100 which Great Britain borrowed from America and lent to Europe; yet Great Britain paid what was due from herself to America on account of that £100.

The position was, then, that the British Treasury had to raise in income tax (a) enough to pay 5 per cent. on the original £100 of War Loan spent by Great Britain on the War, (b) 5 per cent. on the £100 of War Loan lent to Europe and not repaid, (c) 3 per cent. on the £100 borrowed from America, lent to Europe and not repaid by Europe. Instead of having to raise £5 per annum to pay for the British share in the war, the British Treasury had to raise £13. There being no such thing as international honour on a general scale Great Britain was in the position of having been badly duped, and it was not cynicism but realism which led Great Britain to despair of receiving justice from her defaulting "friends" to whom she had lent the money. In the meantime the prospect was made blacker because the theoretic result of the war whereby Germany was beaten and undertook to pay reparations failed in its turn to translate itself into practical finance. By the theory of victory and defeat and of reparations from the defeated, even the £5 per annum due to be raised by the British Government as interest on British expenses during the war would have been provided by Germany. In the early years following the war, however, the only thing provided by Germany was a long series of conferences about what Germany should pay, Germany in the meantime not paying anything worth looking at. Great Britain was doubly duped.

It was those conditions that gave birth to the Balfour principle. The Balfour principle was a weary, even cynical form of disillusion. What it amounted to was this. Great Britain would be content if she received from Europe enough to pay the 3 per cent. she had to pay America. In other words Great Britain faced the permanent and total loss of the 5 per cent. on British war expenses which theoretically were due from Germany; she faced the permanent and total loss of the 5 per cent. on the direct loan to Europe; and declared that all she aspired to was to receive the 3 per cent. which she had to pass

on to America. In a nutshell Great Britain abandoned all hope of reparations, abandoned all hope of being paid one penny of the loans she had made, and merely asked that she should be indemnified for the interest she herself had to pay on the debt to America which in essence was a further British loan to Europe. Such was the Balfour principle. Yet in 1927 we have not reached the point where the British Government receives even that 3 per cent. which has to be paid to the United States. If you laugh, the world laughs with you; if you are duped, the world laughs at you. Mr. Mellon, by false arithmetic, has discovered, or deceived himself into thinking he has discovered, that Great Britain is in danger of receiving from Europe the full amount, and even a little more, of that wretched 3 per cent. Immediately France, Italy and the rest, who received vast sums of money from British pockets which they have not and do not intend to repay, pointed an accusing finger at Great Britain exclaiming "Aha! the Shylocks!" Nor was it a Pecksniffian finger. It is the way of the world to take for granted and for normal an abnormal and even gross state of affairs merely because it has existed for some time.

The criticism, if any, on Mr. Churchill is that he is too young, too fresh, too unsophisticated. Lucian, at his best, could hardly convey the true measure of fantastic injustice of which we British simpletons are the victims. Yet the last thing that a simpleton, who is also a victim, should do is to protest his wrong or to expect redress. It is a wiser policy to cut one's losses in silence and to put on a cheerful front such as might delude the world into thinking that one is no dupe at all; for to him that hath, or is thought to have, shall be added; and from him that hath not, or is thought not to have, shall be taken even that which he hath. Mr. Churchill's green and innocent simplicity does credit to his heart but not to his head; neither American nor European opinion is in the least impressed by the wrong done to Great Britain. Moreover when occasion arises, foreign loans will again be sought in London and probably will again be granted.

Senator Borah refrained from taking Lord Derby at his word, and explained that as he had never imagined the English people to be ogres there was no need for him to be convinced that they were not. There are no doubt many who think that Senator Borah has never really stopped in his propagandist campaigns to wonder what the English people were really like. His main contention has been that it is America's duty to make Great Britain pay the interest on the debt to America because it would save Great Britain from the alternative and more dangerous waste of further expenditure on armaments. To try, however, and induce either Senator Borah or Mr. Mellon to give up their political stock-in-trade seems to be a profitless attempt.

BRITISH POLICY IN THE EAST.

The legend persists in Europe that British foreign policy is Machiavellian and farsighted. Even the best informed students of diplomacy in Berlin, in Paris, in Prague, as well as the uninformed student in Moscow, appear to be convinced that British policy is the result of a careful marshalling of facts and an almost uncanny judgment of future probabilities. It is useless for an Englishman to protest that the truer verdict would be that there is no such thing as British policy in the Continental sense. It is useless, because British policy, in spite of its lack of foresight, generally contrives by a kind of horse sense in the long run to be on the right side, even though often at the wrong time. Even the last two years of Chinese history have failed to dissipate the Continental illusion about British policy. Yet those two years have provided a good illustration both of the Continental fallacy and of the improvident British muddle which in the end escapes retribution. Great Britain has been saved by China. Continental diplomacy, which is an almost mathematical science, simply does not believe that British diplomacy, whose only principle is "Give us this day our daily bread," can be entirely simple. English students know that British foreign policy is mainly concerned with catching up events, not with forestalling them, and with mending the broken fragments of misfortunes which a little forethought might have averted.

China gives us an illustration of the providence which provides for the improvident. For two years the British Government, following the cumulative manifestations of Chinese Nationalism, has progressively developed the wholly admirable motive of giving China what she wants; of restoring the Concessions, of abrogating extra-territoriality, of advocating Customs autonomy. Her tactics by contrast have been deplorable. They culminated in the dispatch of an egregious Shanghai Defence Force which in effect constituted a libel on British policy. Just as the resultant predicament reached its climax China herself stepped in to save Great Britain's bacon. The civil war within a civil war which developed between Nanking and Hankow not merely presented the British Government with an excuse for drawing back, but left Great Britain no alternative from drawing back and saved her face at the same time. When the United States and Japan refused to participate in any further diplomatic demonstration after Mr. Chen had scurrilously rejected the identic Notes of April 11th, the British Government was faced with the unpleasant prospect of entering the breach alone. At that moment Hankow broke with Nanking. Now it is impossible to push against a wall unless there is a wall to push against. It is impossible to deliver an ultimatum, or to exert any kind of pressure against a government unless there is a government against which to press.

After the Nanking outrages of March 24th British prestige was pre-eminently engaged in the demand for satisfaction. The United States and Japan were only too content to acquiesce in that pre-eminence. It was unfair. Ever since the Tariff Conference opened in the spring of last year neither America nor Japan has been as willing as Great Britain to treat China on a basis of equality. Owing, however, to the superiority of American and Japanese diplomacy in their tactics as distinct from their substance Great Britain was jockeyed into the position of advocating justice for China on the one hand and of reaping the exclusive harvest of Chinese resentment on the other. British goods were exclusively boycotted. During the past two years in proportion as British trade has gone down American and Japanese trade have gone up. March 24th brought the paradox to a climax. America and Japan refused to sign a joint Note with Great Britain, thereby respecting Great Britain's position as scapegoat-in-chief, yet had to send identic, though separate, Notes to Mr. Chen to show their respective nationals that they were as stout as Great Britain in protecting life and property. Any schoolboy could have foretold that Mr. Chen's answer would be merely a reflex action to the well advertised disharmony in the Concert. He sent separate answers with frivolous differences of detail. Logically the only expedient left to the Powers was a formal ultimatum. America and Japan unitedly rejected that logic. The Bulldog would therefore stolidly have done it alone, faced all the risks, incurred all the hatred. That was one result of the British principle of living from hand to mouth. That the Nanking moderates of General Chiang Kai-shek and the Hankow "Reds" of Mr. Chen should have chosen that occasion to start a new civil war was unfortunate for China but fortunate for Great Britain. Great Britain gladly waited until it should be decided which Government should be the Government of South China or whether South China was to be further disintegrated.

An admirable summary of the most recent events in China was given by Sir Austen Chamberlain in the House of Commons on May 9th. He first of all recounted the Nanking events of March 23rd and 24th, the Powers' Note of April 11th, and Mr. Chen's answers of April 14th which he characterised as "unsatisfactory in substance and in detail." He then gave an analysis of the present position which not only showed the lines on which British official thought was working, but clearly marshalled the relevant facts. "The five Governments (he said) were already discussing the further action to be taken in view of the unsatisfactory nature of Mr. Chen's reply, when events took place in the Yangtse region which have entirely changed the position. When the outrages occurred, and even when the Powers' Notes were presented, China south of the

Yangtse was apparently united under the Nationalist Government, whose seat was in the Wuhan cities commonly known as Hankow. There was, therefore, a Government which was responsible for the outrages and which could be made responsible for reparations. Within four days after the date of Mr. Chen's reply that united Government in South China no longer existed, and Mr. Chen and his Notes represented little more than himself and his personal opinions. He no longer spoke for Nationalist China, or for the Kuomintang Party. The Nanking affair had precipitated a long-pending split within the Nationalist ranks. The looting of foreign property at Nanking and the shooting of foreigners were the culmination of a continued policy of agitation, rapine, terrorism, and murder; the tools of this policy were the unpaid soldiery of the Nationalist armies and the mobs of the great cities, but its organisation and driving force were borrowed, directly or indirectly, from the Third International. . . . By March it was becoming directed against the Nationalist generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek, of whose power the Communists were jealous. The organised side of the Nanking outrages appears to have been an attempt to embroil Chiang Kai-shek with the foreign Powers. The outrages at Nanking have already reacted in China in a dramatic and, to their authors, an unwelcome manner. Not two months ago it seemed as if the Southern Party and the Nationalist armies would sweep China from South to North. Nanking has already checked this victorious career, if it has not wrecked it altogether. It has split the Communist wing from the Kuomintang Party, and—most important of all—it has deeply discredited the Communists and their foreign advisers in the eyes of all China. In view of this momentous development, the question of punishment for the Nanking outrages has assumed an entirely new aspect. The Hankow Government which was responsible for the outrages no longer controls Nanking. The real offenders—the Communist agitators—have been punished by the Chinese Nationalists themselves with a severity and effectiveness of which no foreign Power was capable. In Shanghai, Canton, and other towns the extremist organisations have been broken up and their leaders executed. The Nationalist Government at Hankow has lost its dominating position, and is at present little more than the shadow of a name. Mr. Chen's Notes have received their answer in the practical disappearance of the power which he affected to represent; he has been left, cut off by the tide of events, in ruined and terror-stricken Hankow—the Minister for Foreign Affairs of a Government which exists only in name. So far as punishment is concerned, those in high places responsible for the Nanking outrages have been punished with a promptitude and a completeness unusual in human affairs. The question of respon-

sibility and reparation are on a different footing. Whatever Government emerges from the present confusion North and South of the Yangtse will be held responsible for outrages on British subjects resulting from the civil war, and compensation and reparation will be demanded. His Majesty's Government's one desire is that such a Government should arise; that it should renounce the policy of anti-foreign agitation and misrepresentation, which brought its predecessors to ruin; that it should shoulder its responsibilities fairly and squarely, liquidating the past and building up a better future on a reasonable basis of Treaty revision such as all foreign Powers have expressed a willingness to accept, and for which His Majesty's Government have already suggested a practical programme. A new Nationalist Government appears to be now being formed in Nanking. It is too early to predict either its strength or its policy, but I have no hesitation in saying at once that the moderation of the Powers in dealing with the Nanking incident is largely inspired by a desire not to embarrass this or any other new Government in their task of introducing order to the territory under their control.

"The question of a reoccupation of the former British Concession at Hankow has been most carefully considered by the Government. The logic and justice of such a step at first wrongly appealed to us. The signing of the Hankow Agreement had been an unquestionable sign of the friendly attitude of this country towards the Nationalist aspirations of China. It had been deliberately designed as such. We decided in its favour, instead of refusing to negotiate and waiting till it was convenient to us to make the effort required to reoccupy the Concession which was ours by Treaty right. Had we wished now to reoccupy the Concession, we have ample justification. The Nationalist Government have neither observed the spirit of the Agreement signed at Hankow, nor have they made any attempt to reciprocate the friendly attitude which we have displayed towards them. I need only refer to the recent occupation of the British Concession and Consulate at Chingkiang by Nationalist troops, to the events at Nanking and to the fact that all British subjects have had to be evacuated from up-country districts and from many of the towns of the Yangtse, and that our Consulates at Chengtu, Chungking, Ichang, and Changsha have had to close. We have, therefore, ample justification for reoccupying the Concession and for regarding the Agreement as cancelled by the Nationalist Government's own acts, and we have the means at hand to do so. But on full consideration His Majesty's Government have decided not to take this step now, and they hope it may not be forced on them. As I have explained, the Hankow Agreement was signed not for the exigencies of the moment, but with a view to our whole future policy in China. It was the earnest of our sincerity in plac-

ing before the Northern and Southern Governments our readiness to revise the Treaties in a broad and liberal spirit as soon as Chinese conditions which are outside our control make the execution of this liberal policy possible. It offered tangible proof of our sincerity, and has been so judged by the world in general and by all those Chinese who have been in a position to appreciate its significance and generosity. His Majesty's Government are unwilling, even under such provocation as they have received, to abandon their hope that this friendly policy will presently evoke an equally friendly response from a Chinese Government freed from foreign domination and thus enabled to devote itself to the single-minded service of the interests of the Chinese." Sir Austen ended thus: "Reviewing all the facts, taking into our consideration the future no less than the present, we have decided that the present application of sanction for the outrages at Nanking, or the failure to observe the conditions of the Hankow Agreement, is inexpedient, however fully justified. I believe that similar reasoning has led the other interested Governments to a like conclusion. In these circumstances His Majesty's Government do not propose to address any further Notes to Mr. Chen. We have so informed the other Powers. We have added that His Majesty's Government reserve to themselves full liberty of action as to the future and in particular in respect of any further outrages which may be perpetrated on the British flag, British nationals and British property."

MR. MACDONALD: A CORRECTION.

By a regrettable slip the 1924 "Ultimatum" to Egypt was ascribed in this section of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW last month to Mr. MacDonald. The "Ultimatum" was sent after Mr. MacDonald resigned, and was one of the first acts of his successor. The slip, no doubt, was recognised at sight and did no harm: but it is better to call attention to it and thus formally to correct it.

THE ECONOMIC CONFERENCE.

The Economic Conference of the League of Nations, the biggest and most important adventure entered upon by the League, was begun on May 4th. It could hardly have met at a more appropriate time. It is reasonable to anticipate that the economic disorders of Europe will reach a climax next year when the Dawes annuities payable by Germany reach their maximum amount. There is something so essentially fatuous in these vast sums of money being transferred from country to country that no serious economist believes that the practice can continue indefinitely. No economist believes that Germany, as a settled routine, can meet the maximum service of the Dawes annuities. The mere fact, therefore, that

some of the best economic brains of the world have been assembled by the League of Nations in advance of next year's crisis is in itself a valuable achievement on the part of the League. Both Germany and Russia are represented at the Conference. Both those countries are essential to any serious investigations into the present condition of European trade and finance. Whether or not the Conference achieves immediate results its work can hardly fail to do great good. The Council of the League has summoned to Geneva representatives not only of all States members but of the United States, Russia, Turkey, Mexico, Ecuador, and Egypt. A vast amount of preparatory expert work was done in 1926, and an imposing corpus of documentary literature was published from Geneva in advance of the Conference. There are many who think that the research and thought embodied in that literature are in themselves a work of lasting value. The Council of the League wisely refrained from laying down any conditions which might hamper the objectively expert freedom of the delegates. It is true that the delegates were appointed by Governments, but they were chosen for their personal qualifications in their various economic subjects, and it was made clear in advance that they were not to be the spokesmen of official policy.

The broad object of the Conference was summarised in a preliminary report adopted by the Council as the organisation of a general consultation about economic problems throughout the world in the course of which, as at the Brussels Financial Conference, alternative programmes, theories, and doctrines might be freely expounded. That freedom was further fortified by the absence of any immediate obligation for the League to translate the conclusions of the Conference into international engagements. The agenda of the Conference was divided into two parts. The first part dealt generally with the economic position of the whole world, particularly with the various national views of those problems, the analysis of underlying causes, and the consideration of economic tendencies capable of affecting the peace of the world. The second part divided the broad field into three main sub-divisions, commerce, industry, and agriculture. The work mapped out by each of those sub-divisions was systematically designed to examine present conditions, the existing obstacles to improvement, and the problem of removing them. The preliminary experts, foreseeing the danger that the Conference might lose itself in its own wilderness, cleared the ground in such a way as to concentrate the Conference mainly on two questions (i) commercial and tariff policy (ii) the advisability of international industrial agreements, such as the Federation of British Industries has been attempting to organise between Great Britain, Germany, France, and Italy (see CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, April, 1927, pp. 523 and 524, and January, 1927, pp. 101-104).

The proposal to hold an International Economic Conference dates from a resolution passed by the Assembly at its sixth ordinary session (September 24th, 1925). On December 14th, 1925, the Council set up a preparatory committee, appointed M. Gustave Ador as president, and prescribed the general lines of the committee's work. The committee held its first session at Geneva from April 26th to May 1st, 1926, when M. Theunis presided, because M. Ador was ill. The committee drew up a full scheme of documentary preparation and published a full report. The Council met specially on June 8th, 1926, to receive that report and to discuss the general organisation of the Conference. It appointed M. Theunis as president of the Preparatory Committee in place of M. Ador who had resigned on account of illness. The Conference was a subject of discussion at the seventh ordinary session of the Assembly, and the second session of the Preparatory Committee took place immediately after. The main business of that session was (a) to review the work of documentary preparation already accomplished and to arrange for it to be finished; (b) to make recommendations to the Council about the agenda, composition, and date of the Conference. In his closing speech to the Committee M. Theunis made the following remarks: "The distinguishing feature of the work undertaken by the League of Nations is the entirely different composition of the Committee entrusted with the drafting of the programme of the economic conference and the proposed composition of the conference itself. The League of Nations desired to lend a general character to the conclusions which would be reached, and, with that end in view, brought together members belonging to all circles. Thus, owing to its composition, the Preparatory Committee has brought together, and the forthcoming conference will bring together, economists, producers, traders, representatives of finance, labour, and the consumers themselves, the members coming from all parts of the world. This variety of interests and of origin will lend to the work which the conference will do a very special value. The political work of pacification undertaken by the League of Nations would not be comprehensible without simultaneous work in the economic field—a field which is closely connected with it. Too many people still think that the political field and the economic field are entirely different. This is a profound and dangerous error, for every important economic question is by that very fact a political question. The work of political peace and disarmament should go hand in hand with economic peace and disarmament. . . . It will no doubt not be our generation which will gather in the fruits of all our efforts, but in the life of peoples a few years hardly count. For those who are working for a high ideal, the greatest recompense is to be able

to feel that they have brought a worthy contribution to the collective work of humanity."

TRIANON AND THE LITTLE ENTENTE.

It was inevitable that the periodical meeting in conference of the Little Entente group, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Roumania, which began on May 14th at Joachimstahl (Jachymov), should be mainly dominated by discussions about Italy's relations with South Eastern Europe and in particular with Yugoslavia, Roumania, and Hungary. Some misgiving had been caused by the Tirana dispute between Belgrade and Rome which had not been diminished by certain pessimistic comments in the Roumanian Press to the effect that the structure of the Little Entente had thereby been weakened. The misgiving was increased by the conclusion of the Italo-Hungarian Treaty and by the visit of Count Bethlan to Rome. When, however, the three Little Entente foreign ministers, Dr. Benesh, Dr. Marinkovich, and Mr. Mitilineu, met at Jachymov it became quickly apparent that the Little Entente had lost nothing of reality or of vitality. Any doubt on the subject was removed by the subtle formula whereby Mr. Mitilineu informed Signor Mussolini that while Roumania was a friend of Italy she was an ally of Yugoslavia. No serious person would welcome any loosening of the bonds of so pacific and so constructive an organisation as the Little Entente. The fact, therefore, that Signor Mussolini's adventures, whatever results they may have had, have not affected the purpose or the coherence of the Little Entente is a matter on which good Europeans congratulate themselves.

RESOURCES OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT.

There is a department of the Russian Government whose business it is to make estimates for State enterprise in industry and finance. It has just drawn up an illuminating document designed to gauge the general prospect before the Soviet Government during the next five years. The estimates of State revenue, State expenditure, wages, and the probable margin for investment, are tentative, but are based partly on the experience of the past few years, during which the "new economic policy" has operated, and partly on a conservative estimate of the result of such new developments as the German scheme of credits for trade with Russia. It is estimated that new capital investments between now and 1930 will amount to £1,633,000,000. If that estimate is substantiated, it will mean that in the period contemplated the Soviet Government will spend such a sum on extensions of its industrial and other enterprises in Russia. The resources from which those

funds will become available are the profits of State industries, transport and commerce, excluding agriculture. During the same period it is estimated that the budget revenue will increase from £404,000,000 (the figure for 1925-26) to £629,000,000 in 1929-30. Such prospective prosperity, which is to form the basis of the Government's economic calculations, is highly impressive. Whether or not the estimates will prove to be true to life, the interesting thing is that they have been apparently drawn up, not for window-dressing purposes, but as a practical guide in the laying of actual plans. The expansion anticipated in agriculture is from an output of £550,000,000 worth of commodities sold in the home and foreign market in the year 1925-26 to £775,000,000 in 1929-30, an increase of 41 per cent.; the corresponding expansion in industry being anticipated as £1,132,000,000 (1925-26) to £1,665,000,000 (1929-30). The present average wage received by Russian workmen in Soviet employment is about £68 a year, which is represented as being practically worth over £100 because food is cheap and because workmen, as distinct from professional people, are given special reductions in rent, and in the price of municipal commodities such as gas and electricity. A further element in the calculations is that the population of the Russian Republic, which in 1920 amounted to 131,000,000 and is now 144,000,000, is expected to have increased to 159,000,000 by 1931. Russian official spokesmen, however, do not react enthusiastically when one suggests that some of Russia's wealth should be devoted to the funding of external debts. The Soviet Russian principle that debts should be paid out of the proceeds of new loans still persists, to the confusion of good relations.

May 15th, 1927.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

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LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

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NEW VIEWS ON CHRISTIAN SOURCES.*

Dr. Vacher Burch endeavours, in his *Jesus Christ and His Revelation*, to read afresh, indeed to restore, the spiritual values of Christ and of His Revelation by the help of careful research into the current and especially the Rabbinic literature of His age. His conclusions are supported by evidence brought from a North Russian version of the *Jewish War* by Josephus, which is held to be the translation of an Aramaic original and contains a striking passage about Jesus, not to be found in the Greek version of the book. This passage Dr. Burch holds to be genuine and to have been suppressed in the Greek Edition that became current in the Roman Empire, because the accounts, in extenuating the conduct of the Jews, laid such stress upon imperial responsibility for the treatment of Jesus as to be offensive to Romans. This particular judgment of explanation must be tested by competent criticism and no attempt is made here to anticipate the final decision. All that the passage can do if it be genuine and not a later interpolation, is to buttress a position that is established by other means. It should be added, however, that Dr. Burch brings forward powerful arguments to prove that the passage cannot properly be attributed to any Christian source.

The main thesis of the author is that Jesus Christ has been

* *Jesus Christ and His Revelation: Fresh Evidence from Christian Sources and Josephus.* By Vacher Burch, D.D. Chapman and Hall. 9s.

"Talmudised," not only by hostile Jews, but by Christians, who have obscured the originality of His Revelation either by subordinating it to the Old Testament, or by substituting for it a metaphysic of His Person, or by attributing to Him apocalyptic aims. The effect of any and all of these methods of interpretation is to hide the outstanding originality and value of His Revelation, in which there is a "fundamental unity" between Revealer and revealed (p. 118), which makes Him unique. It is true that Jesus Christ made "choice of little pieces for Hebrew prophecies" in the service of His Message (pp. 52-3) because these were the best medium for conveying His Revelation to His followers. But as the living Fount of direct and self-evidencing Revelation, He is as anti-Jewish as He is anti-Gentile. In particular, the intrinsic meaning of His Revelation sets it in antagonism to the Jewish, as to every other form, of *cultus*.

In support of this contention of fontal originality the author adopts from Dr. Bernard an interesting and attractive emendation of St. Matthew, xvi, 18, which, as we have it, reads "the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it." The usual interpretation of "the gates of Hades" as meaning the counsels or forces of evil has great difficulties. Dr. Bernard has suggested that by adding "a" (*pulaia*, for *pulai*) the original saying is restored and the true sense regained; "the massed hosts of the dead shall not prevail against it." That is to say, the accumulated tradition of the past shall not overlay the originality of the Revelation, which fashioned and inspired the Confession of St. Peter (pp. 119-125).

On the whole, it appears to us that, apart from the interest and worth of its particular discussions, the book is of value for its endeavour to set in high light the spiritual originality of Jesus Christ and the fact that His Revelation shines in its own, that is in His light. Yet it is unnecessary to establish this originality by carrying it to the point of a complete breach of continuity with the past. While Christ immeasurably transcended the greatest of the prophets He stood in the line of historic succession from them, while the fact that He so frequently conformed to the *cultus*, e.g., in His observance of the Passover, mitigates his hostility to it. Moreover, the very value of His Revelation, so essentially one with His Personality, carries with it the necessity of passing from the realm of Revelation to that of Being; that is to say, of endeavouring to set forth the place in the order of Reality, which the very nature of His Revelation shows to belong to Jesus Christ. The Christology of St. Paul and of the Johannine Writings, so far from overlaying the Revelation, springs naturally and inevitably from it. And the same claim may be made for the main outlines of the subsequent conclusions which were embodied in the Catholic Creeds.

The book demands and will repay careful study, though this is made difficult at times by certain peculiarities of style, which make the author's meaning sometimes obscure.

J. S. L.

* * *

EUROPE THROUGH AMERICAN EYES.*

Students of foreign affairs will welcome the latest work of Mr. Frank Simonds, one of the best known and most influential American journalists and publicists, and author of the most popular history of the world war written in the United States. His theme is Europe since the war, and he speaks as one having authority, for he knows the countries and the statesmen of whom he writes. But knowledge by itself is not enough to understand the national and international problems either of the past or present. The historian needs imagination, the capacity to realise what people are thinking and feeling, hoping and fearing, remembering and forgetting. The greatest merits of this book are the author's sympathetic comprehension of the various states of mind displayed during the last eight years, and his explanation of the different policies pursued by the leading actors on the European stage. The facts which he recalls are familiar to us all; but his grouping is masterly, and his American standpoint sometimes sheds new light on old problems.

Europe, he reminds us in his title, has made peace; but it is a very recent achievement, and most of his pages are filled with the passions, the quarrels and blunders of the years after large-scale hostilities had ceased. While the Treaty of Vienna was made without reference to public opinion, the Treaty of Versailles was the work of the man in the street. "All Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers in Europe, from Versailles to Locarno, were equally helpless in the face of their own public opinions. Each was compelled to adopt policies or resort to measures in which he did not believe, either to avoid disaster at home or to save a foreign associate, equally handicapped by a similar national state of mind."

The worst possible start was made in the Treaty of Versailles, the spirit of which was even more disastrous than its text. "It seemed in all German eyes a vast and coherent programme designed to plunder and destroy a great people on the pretext of moral guilt." Its failure was "complete and abysmal"; the reparation clauses were "conceived in folly and born to futility." The Germans were bound to resist, "for no people can believe in the moral turpitude of their race." Peace with Germany, in other words

* *How Europe made Peace without America*. By Frank H. Simonds. Doubleday, Page and Co., New York.

peace in Europe, was impossible while the atmosphere of Versailles remained, and for some years it seemed beyond the wit of man to change it. Wilson's scheme of a new international order was rejected by the peoples even more than by the rulers of the victorious Entente. Mr. Lloyd George, in whom our author sees little more than an adventurer of genius, had let loose forces of passion and prejudice which he was unable to control. France, bitterly and legitimately disappointed by the repudiation of the Anglo-American guarantee, plunged madly into the Ruhr inquest of the reparations which had failed to materialise. Poincaré appears in these pages as a very diminutive personality, timid, shortsighted and, despite his bold phrases, irresolute. The Ruhr operation is described as the final convulsion of the war, and when its author was overthrown in June, 1924, he left France without a friend in England or America, and with her finances sliding towards bankruptcy. That she had turned Belgium, Poland and other countries into her military satellites did not in reality increase her strength, for British opinion, nourished in the long tradition of the Balance of Power, began to resent the domination of Europe by French bayonets, and turned a friendlier face to Berlin.

From this threatening *impasse*, complicated by Franco-British antagonism in the Near East and by the smouldering fires of Bolshevism, Europe was rescued between 1924 and 1926 by the efforts of half a dozen British, French, and German statesmen, who were at last able to pursue the course demanded by the interests of each and all alike. "Unrestrained nationalism had failed," remarks Mr. Simonds; "its failure was no longer disguised." The advent of Mr. MacDonald at the end of 1923, and of Herriot in May, 1924, was followed by the Dawes plan, the German offer to recognise the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, the Locarno Pact, and the entrance of Germany into the League. Just as one error had led to another between 1919 and 1923, so one wise resolve facilitated a further advance towards pacification between 1924 and 1926. MacDonald, Chamberlain, Herriot, Briand, Marx, Stresemann—these were the real peacemakers, and our author praises them as they deserve. Nothing was possible, he believes, so long as Poincaré and Lloyd George were at the helm; but in the sunshine of Locarno even such prickly problems as the shortening of the Allied occupation of the Rhineland had become capable of solution.

Grave dangers involved in the Polish-German frontiers remain; for Germany regards her losses in Danzig, the Corridor and Upper Silesia as France regarded the Treaty of Frankfurt. Mr. Simonds is well aware of this shadow on the horizon, which indeed darkens the later pages of his thoughtful and impartial book. "It is on the Vistula and Danube, not on the Rhine, that French and German

policies clash." Locarno, he declares, is for France an end, for Germany a means. Happily, however, the League of Nations exists, and our author sees in the bankruptcy of European nationalism the real cause of the *Drang nach Genf*. The Ruhr adventure was the turning-point, and the League is now the watchword of Liberal Europe. Peace has, indeed, been made without America; but "Good Europeans" hope that the United States may in the fulness of time join more effectively in the preservation of our common civilisation.

G. P. G.

* * *

THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY.*

The latter part of the third volume of the *Cambridge Ancient History** dealing with the upgrowth from prehistoric times of Ancient Greece, the greater part of the fourth volume which deals with the Persian Empire and the west, the whole of the fifth and the forthcoming sixth volume combine to give a history of the growth, the prime, and the decay of classical Greece that could not be equalled within the limits of space—and they are generous—available. The results of the latest scholarship and textual investigation are placed in the successive sections and chapters at the disposal of the student and, so far as is humanly possible, individual views and theories are subordinated to a detailed and judicial examination of historical and archaeological problems, some of which have for the past century and more divided scholars and perhaps friendships. Here if anywhere the composite method of history is justifiable, for though it is true enough that classical Greece forms an historical entity or stage in the evolution of the human race, yet within that entity there is a necessity for the specialist to supply considered views at length on successive phases. The case is very different from that of the Roman Empire. In that case there was a need for one mind to absorb and reproduce in one literary structure the abundant though heterogeneous material. Gibbon saw his chance and took it, though he failed to appreciate the significance of the late Eastern Empire.

We have already said something of the growth of the Dorian States, of the birth of Athens, and of the expansion of the Greek civilisation as traced in volume three. The fourth volume of this remarkable series brings us face to face with the struggle between the civilisations of Persia and Greece. The volume brings Persia on to the stage, that Persia which had succeeded to the inheritance and organisation of Assyria, had dominated Egypt and Asia Minor and brought Asia, brilliant and threatening, face to face with the

* *The Cambridge Ancient History*. Edited by J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock. Vol. IV, *The Persian Empire and the West*, 35s. net. Vol. V, *Athens*, 47s. 40s. B.C., 21s. net. Cambridge: At the University Press.

budding civilisation of South-Eastern Europe. The weakness of the European Greeks, for the purpose of the inevitable struggle, was that they were nearer the tribal stage than the consolidated empire which Darius ruled. In the tribal stage confederations are not only possible but frequent, and it was tribal federations that saved Europe from the first of the great Asiatic threats. But such federations are unstable, and a good deal of the story told by successive specialists in this fourth volume deals with both the strength and the weakness of changing tribal combinations—for they were nothing else—facing a highly organised, despotic, and extremely efficient empire. Later Pericles strove to hammer the Greek cities and tribes into Imperial form, but such was the tribal strength and individualism of the Aryan stock that no bureaucratic Aryan Empire could possibly achieve permanence, even though moulded by men like Pericles or Philip or Alexander. Even the Roman Empire retained its tribal form. But the vigour of the race is perhaps best shown in the days when the struggle between tribalism and tribal feudalism had by no means ended, when tyrants still dominated the outworks of Greek civilisation on the Asian continent and even in Europe, when Persia could count on the support of skilled Greek minds and the threat of Asia became oppressive and imminent. We see in these pages the reform of the Athenian State and its equipment for commerce at the hands of Solon, the enlightened despotism of Peisistratus and the Peloponnesian League that he evolved; we see the abolition of the system of tyrants, and the story of the political struggle amidst which the death struggle between South-Eastern Europe and Asia began.

The chapter entitled "Marathon" is full of fascination, and the material supplied by Herodotus is subjected to much sound, necessary, and constructive criticism. The Greeks about the year 500 B.C. struck the first blow on the mainland of Asia, a revolt against the Persian overlords. Had this revolt received full backing from a united European Greece the invasion of Europe might have been averted. But there was no unity, and the suppression of the revolt, though long delayed, was inevitable. In the spring of 493 B.C. the Persians were ready to re-establish their rule in South-East Europe. The Persian navy dominated the Eastern Mediterranean while the Persian armies recovered Thrace and Macedonia. The struggle came to a temporary crisis at the battle of Marathon towards the end of September or early in October, 491 B.C. The Persian troops were well handled, but the Athenian commander, Miltiades or Callimachus, won by sheer genius a well fought field. The victory set the scene for the great struggle between Athens and Persia.

Mr. J. A. R. Munro admirably re-tells the story of Xerxes' invasion of Greece and the deliverance. After Thermopylæ—the story

of that great fight of August, 480 B.C., is told in illuminating detail and various vulgar and ancient errors are eliminated—and the occupation of Athens by Xerxes the Athenians had to depend upon their fleet. The position was not as desperate as it looked. Sea Power was the key to the solution of the problem. If Xerxes could be defeated at sea he must withdraw his armies. Themistocles saw that clearly. Xerxes on the other hand realised that he must destroy the Greek fleet if the occupation of Athens was to have a lasting effect. The story of the Greek sea-victory at Salamis recalls the genius of Nelson. Themistocles had planned the battle to the last blow. The account of the sea-struggle is vividly presented. Xerxes saw it all from a neighbouring and unidentified height; saw his fleet trapped and defeated, though, with fortune or skill, a large part of the ships escaped. The King, who lost his brother in the battle, lost confidence in his (largely Hellenic) sea power, evacuated Attica and returned with a great section of his forces to Asia. His General Mardonius remained, with perhaps an army of 120,000 men. But without Sea Power, in view of the well-defended wall at the Isthmus, Greece was no longer conquerable, and the Spartan victory at Plataea in the late summer of 479 B.C. relieved Greece and Europe from the threat of Asia for a millennium.

An important chapter in this volume is that of Professor Bury dealing with Greek literature from the eighth century to the Persian Wars. He makes the important point that this early literature reveals that sense of measure, balance, and objectivity which was to be a fundamental characteristic of the keen Greek mind in art and philosophy in the great days. Perhaps this is why in the region of politics the Greek has always failed, even to this day, since politics is a subjective and not an objective field of effort. The literary value of this charming chapter is great, and it is refreshing to see the absurd slanders against Sappho placed in their proper proportions. The classical age had not a word to say against her. It was reserved for an eclectic age to slander both Sappho and Shakespeare.

One outstanding feature of the fourth volume is the brilliant summing up by Professor R. S. Conway of the evidence as to source, stock, language and art of the Etruscans. The case for the Aryan origin of these peoples is apparently disposed of, partly on the grounds that they invaded the northern half of Italy from Lydia and that they apparently had a matriarchal basis to their society. It may be that the evidence is not absolutely conclusive on this point since the Etruscans might be a back-wash from the first Aryan invasion of Asia and might during a long period of settlement in Lydia have acquired both a Lydian tongue and matriarchal customs. But it is certainly difficult to believe this in view of other marked

conscious of the greatness of Socrates. "Posterity looks back at him as the most remarkable figure of the Illumination; the contemporary man in the market-place of Athens probably remembered him merely as an eccentric Sophist."

Dr. R. W. Macan devotes an important chapter to Herodotus and Thucydides, and all students of history naturally will turn and turn again to these remarkable pages, this "all too brief appreciation of a noble pair of immortals:—the swan song of a Phil-Hellenist well stricken in years." The editors were fortunate indeed in securing such a swan song. The volume ends—apart from the very important special notes on "points especially of chronology" and the very valuable bibliographies to the chapters—with a detailed consideration of Greek art by Professor J. D. Beazley, and architecture, by Mr. D. S. Robertson. Students of the history of art will turn for help to these learned pages.

* * *

LORD BRYCE.

Mr. Herbert Fisher has painted a convincing portrait of one of the outstanding figures of the last half-century. His intimate friendship extending over many years, a common devotion to history in its widest aspects, and a personal experience of high politics as a Cabinet Minister combine to render him an ideal biographer, while his easy though distinguished style makes the reading of these well-printed volumes a pleasure instead of a duty. No one could justly maintain that 600 pages are too many to describe a career so rich in achievements which touched life at so many points, and left considerable furrows in the field of national and international history.

"I like Mr. Bryce," observed Queen Victoria; "he knows so much and is so modest." "He was the same to everybody," adds his biographer, "simple, modest, courteous." He was far too interested in the world and its inhabitants to trouble about his own importance and world-wide fame. Other travellers have known as much of our planet, and other historians as much of the history of mankind; but no one has ever combined such universal knowledge of the stage and the actors. The accumulation of information was the passion of his life, and his judgments of contemporary problems were in large measure based on the experience of the past, which was ever present to his mind both in its bolder outlines and in its exact detail. His studies, travels, and friendships in many lands made him acutely aware of the unity of civilisation. Like other good citizens of the world, he was equally attached to national ideals and international solidarity. As a Victorian Englishman he loved national, political,

* *James Bryce*. By H. A. L. Fisher. Macmillan. 2 vols. 32s.

and religious liberty, and as a great lawyer he detested the mentality and arbitrament of war.

In his first volume Mr. Fisher leads us rapidly through the occupations and triumphs of Bryce's early middle life till his appointment to the Irish office in 1905. The appearance of *The Holy Roman Empire* laid the foundations of his fame, but it was not till the publication of *The American Commonwealth* in 1888, when he was fifty years old, that his name became familiar all over the world. Of these two classical treatises, as of his volumes of travel in Transcaucasia and South Africa, Mr. Fisher gives us a brief analysis, while the importance of his work as Professor of Civil Law at Oxford is properly emphasised. The chapters on his twenty-seven years in Parliament deal mainly with Ireland, and it is interesting to learn that the decision to drop the Arms Act in 1906, for which he was afterwards so sharply criticised, was a Cabinet decision to which he reluctantly bowed. Mr. Fisher admits that he was never a great Parliamentary success, and that his speeches were sometimes too academic for so miscellaneous an audience; but he was always listened to with respect, and he never spoke without raising the tone of the debate. The outstanding features of his Parliamentary career were his championship of Home Rule, his opposition to the South African War, his labours for national education, and his support of the Christian victims of Turkish misrule. It is a fine record of liberal humanitarianism.

"The main stress of the biography," writes Mr. Fisher, "is laid where, I imagine, Bryce would himself have wished that it should be laid, upon his connection with the United States." The second volume opens with a delightful chapter on Washington and proceeds to describe the historic achievements and disappointments of his six years' embassy. On the one hand was the removal of all difficulties between Canada and the United States, on the other the rejection of the Canadian reciprocity scheme, the failure of the Anglo-American Arbitration Agreement, and the exclusion, contrary to Treaty rights, of American shipping from the Panama Canal dues. Bryce's greatest work, however, was not in the field of official negotiations but in his manifold and fruitful contact with the American people. He was, in literal truth, ambassador to a nation, and the affectionate admiration which he earned prepared the way for the comradeship of the Great War. His bust stands in the Capitol, and it deserves its place. Lord Grey spoke of his "tremendous public service," and the imposing adjective is not disproportionate to the merit.

To an admirer of German scholars and scholarship, the Great War was a staggering shock, and the Chairmanship of the Committee on Atrocities in Belgium permanently darkened his horizon.

dissimilarities from the Aryan tribes. It is, moreover, a characteristic of these tribes that they retained their fundamental customs unchanged after many centuries of travel and settlement. The case for a non-Aryan source seems made out, but it may be suggested that an Egyptian source is apparently quite consistent with the evidence so far gathered.

The fifth volume of *The Cambridge Ancient History* is one of singular interest to classical scholars and students of art as well as students of the ancient world, since it deals not only with Greece as the heart of the picture but with Athens as the heart of Greece.

The political and intellectual activities of that city are the main subject of the history of the fifth century, and mattered most at the time and have mattered most to posterity. . . . The main theme of the political history of this period is the story how Athens acquired and maintained and then lost her Empire.

This "imperialistic democracy," Periclean Athens, was much more than a bold attempt to control the Grecian world. Athens was in fact "the intellectual centre of the Greek world, and witnessed the sophistic movement which led to an age of illumination. The Athens of Pericles was the Athens of Socrates." It was from a falling Athens which Pericles might have saved had he lived, but Alcibiades could not save, that Euripides departed to Macedon, leaving Sophocles and Aristophanes and the brooding Plato. To the same century belong Herodotus and Thucydides, and if it is not true that the latter listened with tears of wonderment to the former it is true that these Fathers of History were the fruit of an age of subtle and tremendous thought.

The Athenian Empire and the environment that saw it wax and wane is so strange and wonderful a phenomenon in the history of mankind and one so fraught with the future of mankind that it is of necessity a subject that any adequate history of the ancient world must dwell on with the austere regard that modern historians demand and that Thucydides himself would commend. Even Jacob's ladder was based on earth, and this volume very properly begins with Mr. Marcus Tod's essay on the economic background of the fifth century; population, agriculture and industry, commerce, the cost of living, money, wages, industry, public finance are all carefully considered in the light of the literary evidence supplemented by information "epigraphical, archæological and numismatic." Inscriptions are very weighty witnesses and "hardly less important is the archæological and numismatic evidence." It is to be noticed that Mr. Tod rejects the view, at least for the fifth century, "that servile labour drove free labour from the market and the citizen fell a victim to the competition of slaves." But the slave element must have been an ultimate source of weakness. An economy that accepted "the distinction of mankind into natural

masters and natural slaves" had effects that echoed through the world for more than a millennium and a half with disastrous results. The population of Athens is estimated at, as a minimum, of about 265,000 (of whom 150,000 were citizens and 80,000 slaves) and as a maximum 330,000 (of whom 170,000 were citizens and 120,000 slaves). The percentage of slaves was, therefore, enormous on any estimate of the population, and the fact implies an economy and a manner of life that even with the vast literary remains it is hard to visualise. Yet the modern instances of the slave States of North America gives some idea of the relation of master and slave with even something of the patriarchal and best aspects of the relationship.

The painting of the economic background gives a reality to the chapters that follow. Mr. E. M. Walker tells the student the story of the Confederacy of Delos, of the first Peloponnesian War, the Thirty Years' Peace, the Periclean democracy. This is followed by Mr. J. T. Shepherd's valuable account of the Attic Drama in the fifth century. Mr. R. Hackworth next carries us to Sicily, and so we pass to the breakdown of the Thirty Years' peace and the Archidamian War, to the story of Sparta and the Peloponnesians, the fatal Athenian expedition to Sicily and the fall of the Empire that Pericles built. It is a melancholy physical end to great hopes, great achievements which had ultimate results in regions of which Athens, her statesmen and her thinkers, never dreamed.

The last three chapters deal with these ultimate reactions of Athens on the history of the world. Professor Bury has supplied a very important chapter on "The Age of Illumination," that is to say, the period from about 530 B.C. to 400 B.C., "an age in which reason was striving to assert her rule in every sphere, and many superstitions, inherited from antiquity, were being challenged and discarded." The period falls naturally into two parts. The first perhaps ended about 450 B.C. when "a certain reaction has set in against Ionian philosophy and Ionian science," perhaps about the time when Leucippus had formulated his theory of atoms, a theory not negligible to-day. In the latter part of the fifth century the age of Sophists had come. "The results of science were coming into contact with life. Hellas had passed into an age of sophistication." The fact is of interest to-day. Our age of sophistication is just about ended for the present. We have suddenly entered a new age of investigation when experiment is closely related to intense intellectualism. Leucippus is among us again armed with modern instruments of precision. The modern Sophist is not dead (he is somewhat in evidence in the secondary schools) but the new Hippias is not much regarded. The section of Professor Bury's chapters dealing with the life and death of Socrates will be widely read. It is perhaps natural that the Athenians should have been, as a body, quite un-

Though sweet, than once was mine;
When I had wings, my brother,
Such wings were mine as thine.

Certainly his wings were clipped at Putney, but if they had not been clipped the middle-aged very foolish poet would not have lived to a serene old age.

When Oxford days were done the young poet went wandering into Italy just about the time that Browning found the material in Florence for his *Ring and the Book*. He lived with Rossetti in London for a time, was again in Florence in 1864; in 1865 wrote the immortal *Atalanta in Calydon*, and burst forth in 1866 into the *Poems and Ballads* which shocked society and were the delight of the young bloods of London, Oxford and Cambridge. To this task of writing love-poems of a curiously unpleasant but exceedingly melodious character he returned in 1878, but in that interval of twelve years the passion for Italy and republicanism deepened and the really great *Songs before Sunrise* appeared in 1871. His productivity was amazing, and his manner of life was also somewhat amazing, and after what Mr. Nicolson calls "a final saturnalia" with John Nichol at Glasgow (of all places) he entirely collapsed. "It was at this moment that Watts-Dunton arrived in a four-wheeler and translated the dying poet to Putney. Swinburne survived." The admirable solicitude of Mr. Watts-Dunton had good physical results, but the influence was not all to the good, despite the casting out of Bohemian London. "Watts was jealous of every pre-redemption influence," and exercised ever-growing influence on the very grateful poet, and effectively clipped the seamew's wings. From the point of view of poetry, immortal poetry, it is the pre-redemption period that matters.

A good deal of the poetry that was so famous seems faded as faded blossoms now. John Morley, in 1866, was very angry at the appearance of the *Poems and Ballads*. He called Swinburne in the *Saturday Review* "the libidinous laureate of a pack of satyrs." Well, that is true in a sense; they are not poems for a Tennysonian Sunday afternoon, but as Mr. Nicolson rightly says, they were "pæans of revolt." They were a brutal reaction from unreal Victorian prudery. The sensuality was unreal, absurd, wonderfully musical, and in the literary sense purposeless. It "led at its best to Flecker, and at its worst to Wilde." But even the worst of these poems contain wonderful passages that none of Swinburne's contemporaries could have written, passages perhaps that no one but Marlowe could have written. Such instances occur in *Anactoria*; while no modern critic or poet could pretend to disdain "A Match":

If you were April's lady
And I were lord in May.

But apart from the actual merits and the blazing demerits

We must never forget that to many sensible people in 1866 these hectic poems echoed as a bugle in the night time, that they blazed for lost wayfarers as a beacon lighted on some higher hill. And with fitting humility we must recognise that our very misunderstanding of the situation—our actual inability to visualise the thick undergrowths which once encumbered our fair fields of ease and liberty—are due to the completeness, the explosive rapidity, with which Swinburne accomplished his task. For the value of dynamite should be tested by the weight of accumulated matter which it is able, suddenly, to remove.

It is necessary in fact to realise that Swinburne was not a Catullus at all except in his amazing art. His Faustine, his Dolores were no more real than certain angels in certain houses and certain ladies of bad character in mediæval castles.

The threads were wet with wine, and all
Were smooth to spin;
They wove you like a Bacchanal,
The first Faustine.

Well, that is probably true. Drink was the trouble, and the Sunday afternoon poets did not recognise it. But there is a shrewder cut:

What ailed us, O Gods, to desert you,
Your creeds that refuse and restrain?
Come down and redeem us from virtue,
Our Lady of Pain.

The Sunday afternoon poets while they published the virtues of wine refused to allow cakes and ale and Sunday games (except in the vicarage garden). "The sleepless and deadly Dolores" was a fiction, and so was Guinevere—thoroughly bad lots, both of them—and yet the Victorians wept over Guinevere and blushed at and almost prosecuted the creator of Dolores. Reading between the lines there can be no doubt that Swinburne's assault on the Sunday afternoon poets was the deliberate assault of a critic who did not believe that a better world could ever be fashioned by romances as unreal as those that Cervantes destroyed in his own brutal way. If you want to have literary talk about Sin, here it is, said Swinburne. For his own hope of a better world he turned to a realist who painted the actual abominations of the Victorian age with a lurid brush, Dickens. The very love of Swinburne for Dickens shows the purpose of the author of *Poems and Ballads*. These poems will not live except as a bold effort to make the sentimental English, who tolerated all sorts of smug immoralities and social horrors in their midst, come back to reality, the reality that Chaucer and Shakespeare preached without ceasing.

Swinburne will be judged by that great poem *Atalanta in Calydon*, by *Songs before Sunrise*, and a selection of his lyrics. Mr. Nicolson considers "Relics" in the *Poems and Ballads* of 1878 as "the

The belligerence of the United States brought some comfort, but the treaties which concluded the struggle contained vindictive elements of which the traveller and historian fully realised the danger. The two stout volumes on modern democracies, the child of his old age and his correspondence with his American friends during his closing years, reflect the apprehensions which a life-long contemplation of the frailties of mankind inspired in a naturally optimistic mind.

G. P. G.

SWINBURNE*

Mr. Nicolson's excellent book on Algernon Charles Swinburne in the fascinating English Men of Letters series brings into mind the question, too little considered to-day in the clamour of new candidates for the bays, of the position of the great Victorian poets. Wordsworth, if we may call him Victorian, is secure; Browning and Matthew Arnold are secure. It is true that Wordsworth is less read than he was, but that always happens as a phase in the post-mortem career of great poets. Shakespeare had a period of neglect. Of course, neglect may be deserved and may forerun oblivion, but that is absurd to suggest in the case of William Wordsworth. On the other hand, Browning has reached the stage of a classic, and being a difficult classic, with a total disregard for the mental calibre of his readers, may be regarded as content to draw the thinkers with irresistible force, despite their anger and annoyance at his often quite unnecessary obscurities. When Matthew Arnold died the critics were in doubt whether it was his prose or his poetry that was to survive. To-day we can say with certainty that while his prose is likely to be read a hundred years hence, especially such work as his essays on criticism, his poetry must be read wherever English literature survives. But what about Tennyson and Swinburne? Tennyson is a difficult case to diagnose as to the likelihood of long life. He wrote too much; but the same may be said of Wordsworth. His sense of form and style very often touched the highest levels, and it would be absurd to suggest that his work where it touches these levels will not survive. But a poet who is to survive as a classic must survive as a thinker with a body of doctrine to communicate to later generations and not merely as a dominant personality who greatly impressed his own age, who possessed an excellent sense of numbers and at his best the highest technique that a knowledge of the Latin classics could give. Now Tennyson was not an original thinker, though he absorbed a good deal of the current science and philosophy of the Victorian age, and was a poet

* *Swinburne*. By Harold Nicolson. Macmillan.

not only of patriotism but of the highest humanism. In his poems he handed on in admirable literary form many messages from the thinkers and statesmen of his own time, as well as of past times, and certainly did very much to stamp out the gross materialism of the upper and middle classes in the Victorian age. He was a true poet who bade men live purer, better, more unselfish and more lovely lives, and in the last years of his life he brought all his great intellectual powers to the development of this theme as an imperial and world-wide ideal with the vigour of a Hebrew prophet. Yet with all this he was not an original thinker, and it may be doubted whether he achieved more—and it was a superb achievement—than to lead his own age into a better world. This means that his work rather illustrates an age than stands out as a star or beacon independent of time or space. He probably will not join the “one or two immortal lights.”

The case of Swinburne is wholly different. He was a singer and a critic pure and simple, but a singer whose technique certainly surpassed the technique of any of his contemporaries not only in England but in Europe, and he coupled with the gift of song and technique wild enthusiasms, mostly political, which gave a contemporary bite to his music that seemed to those who first read his work wholly incapable of oblivion.

Of an old Northumberland stock, Algernon Charles Swinburne was born in London on April 5th, 1837, and he died in London on April 10th, 1909. He was thus purely a Victorian. He was educated at Eton and Balliol where Jowett and others were “wisely tolerant.” He never forgave Oxford for twice rejecting him for the Newdigate, and the fact of this unforgiveness rather stamps the man. He refused an honorary degree when he was seventy-one from the University which delights to honour its great men. That was absurd, but much of his life was absurd, and not least when he came under the care of Mr. Watts-Dunton at Putney. He was from the first subject to obsessions, and despite his magnificent intellect wrote a great deal of nonsense in hysterical prose. Nevertheless for half a century he was a great critic, much of whose criticisms will undoubtedly live both for style and sense and penetrating appreciation of creative literary gifts. His experiences of life did not provide him with a sense of the realities of life, which in fact were wholly stifled in later years by his kindly guardian. Mr. Nicolson goes so far as to say that the lines “to a seamew” alone of the later poetry, “fills me with a conviction of actual experience”:

When I had wings, my brother,
Such wings were mine as thine:
Such life my heart remembers
In all as wild Septembers
As this when life seems other,

most perfect because the most subtle of all Swinburne's lesser melodies." The poet is broody over a flower in her hand, the white laurustine, and it takes him to Florence :

Thou hast a word of that one land of ours,
And of the fair town called of the Fair Towers,
A word for me of my San Gimignano,
A word of April's greenest-girdled hours.
The fair brave trees with all their flowers at play,
How king-like they stood up into the day !
How sweet the day was with them, and the night !
Such words of message have dead flowers to say.

And if the poet dwells in the past, what praise is there that cannot be given to him for his poems on children? They are as exquisite and as natural as those of the Blake that he loved with a love comparable to his love for Dickens.

But the work that makes him one of the immortals is no doubt *Atalanta in Calydon*. The present generation should study it and study it again, for there incomparable art goes hand in hand with the very passion of poetry, and he is not tilting against unrealities but making a philosophy of his own with an appreciation of Greek thought and Greek form that does not hamper his own approach to great thought. The superb chorus "Before the beginning of years" is as great as any Hebrew poetry. But many of the later phases of the poem are as magnificent. And this is true too of many of the poems in *Songs before Sunrise*. The minor note of that great volume does not despise tiny lyrics such as the famous *Oblation* :

Ask nothing more of me, sweet;
All I can give you I give.
Heart of my heart, were it more
More would be laid at your feet :
Love that should help you to live,
Song that should spur you to soar.

It is difficult to believe that Swinburne will share the fate of oblivion that lies before so many of the famous Victorians. It is true that his place is not yet fixed in the perspective of literature, but his amazing genius will find its place among the stars that do not set.

* * *

VERITY THURSTON.*

It is true pleasure to read a novel such as Mr. Walter Raymond's story of *Verity Thurston* which deals with the elemental passions as all tragedy must deal. It is a very simple story, told in dialect,

* *Verity Thurston*. By Walter Raymond. Faber and Gwyer. London. 7s. 6d. net.

of a West Country farm-girl. At the time the tale opens, she is living along with her parents at the farm. She is the youngest of the family, loved and made much of, no girl like "Verity the country round." A cousin, Peter, is one of the farm hands, a country bumpkin who loves Verity, and is continually pressing his suit; she puts him off from time to time, with "I've a-knowed ee all my life and I do like ee very much. But you be more like a brother. I do trust ee like one and I do like ee. But my mind is not bent on marriage. I be heart-whol' and I be fancy-free and I be likely to bide so." But, the boasted heart-wholeness the fancy-freedom does not last long, for a certain sea captain comes ashore, a free trader by nature and politics, who has not his equal in fooling the Customs House fellows.

Captain Merman is loved by the villagers for himself, as well as for the luxuries that follow on his visits. Verity knew nothing of his life, nor of his manner of living. He comes suddenly on a merry-making scene at Hollywood Farm, saves the life of a youngster who had escaped from Verity's care, and at once becomes a hero in her eyes. He came, he saw, he conquered, and then the tragedy begins. The development of it is lengthy—but sure. The cousin, Peter, watches and waits, and the country clown, as he is thought, sells his soul, and joins in the free trading, not for the silk, and the laces and the kegs, but with the full intention of handing over the Captain and his mates to the Custom House officers who were ever on the look-out for "Jack Merman." The end is not yet, and it would hardly be right to disclose it here, for there are readers whose interest in a novel is spoilt if the *dénouement* is revealed.

The characters are well drawn and lifelike, and there is much quiet humour in the country folk. Polly Fitch is a second Tilley Slowboy. The dialogue is easy, and natural, and the West Country dialect flows and ebbs "zimplly and zoftly." Mr. Raymond knows the soul of the Somerset people, he speaks their language, thinks their thoughts and he is, as well, a prose writer of great distinction who has devoted many years to the placing on record of the distinctive characteristics of a race that is possibly older in actual unmixed heredity than any other race in mid and southern Europe if we except the Basque peoples and some Plynlymmon folk. It is good to have this simple story of a race that is certainly rural but is not at all simple and has all the capacity and tenacity that are notes of the Basque races. *Verity Thurston* is a book to read and to keep. Something of the soul of a people is written in it.

S. DE M.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

Sir Lewis Amherst Selby-Bigge's volume on the Board of Education* is a work of importance that will be closely studied both here and in America and, of course, in our Dominions overseas. Sir Amherst was the Permanent Secretary of the Board of Education in the important period from 1911, when he succeeded that famous administrator, Sir Robert Morant, to 1925, and he, of course, knows the inner workings of his Board thoroughly and has had access to the special detailed knowledge of his former staff. The book gives a history of the educational processes that led up to the creation of the Board of Education in 1899, as the successor of the Education Department formed as long ago as 1856 to cover the work of the educational establishment of the Privy Council and of the Department of Science and Art. Sir Amherst shows in great detail what the Board can and what it cannot do under the Education Act, 1921, which combines the principles laid down in 1870, 1876, 1891, 1902, and 1918. It is the central force governing, but by way of partnership, the work of the local authorities created by the Acts of 1902-3 and given vastly extended powers by the Act of 1918. The Board has great power but that central power, and the process of national systemisation which it implies, is "consistent with a high degree of local freedom. . . . Those who have largest and closest experience of the public service of education have least doubt that in the last twenty years very great advance has been made, not only in the extent but in the content of public education, not only in the expansion of facilities and in the number of students, but in the use of them and the profit derived from them." Sir Amherst goes on to describe in detail the staff and organisation of the Board and its famous inspectorate, an inspectorate that gives a guarantee of great and systematised achievement in the many local fields. The question of educational finance is fully described. The system is of very recent growth, being based on the Report of the Departmental Committee on Local Taxation of 1917. Since 1902 "the service of education, by its inherent capacity for growth and its faculty of sharpening the appetite for itself, has attained, both from the administrative and financial points of view, a conspicuous if not a dominant position among Local Government Services." The whole question of educational local administrative machinery in its relation to the Board and the duties of the local authorities and the teachers are fully discussed, and the conclusion of the critic must be that the system of partnership between the Central body and the local bodies is hardly open to criticism however open actual achievement is to adverse comment. The danger is that in practice the freedom of the local authorities through central financial control will be unduly cramped. But the danger is realised and in fact the strength of the leaders and the local authorities was shown at the time when the Geddes Axe menaced that freedom. The system of partnership has room for voluntary effort on the part of the public. If the national system of education is to achieve the best results more voluntary effort, especially in the region of After Care Committees and Juvenile Employment Committees, is necessary. That is fully recognised in this book. The discussion of the Denominational Question is full of interest and the most recent proposals for a concordat and an Enabling Bill are considered. The book covers a very wide field, is singularly fair in its estimates and optimistic in its hopes.

* Putnam. 7s. 6d. net.

Miss Alice de Rosen Jervis has translated from the Italian *A Florentine Diary from 1450 to 1516*, by Luca Landucci, continued by an anonymous writer till 1542, with notes by Iodoco del Badia.* This detailed Florentine diary covering almost a century "represents to us vividly the public and private life of the second half of the fifteenth century, and of the first and most splendid years of the sixteenth century." Then were apparently many codices of the diary which was popular were circulated in manuscript. The somewhat imperfect autograph is still preserved in the public library of Siena. The gaps Miss Jervis has filled up from a Codex in the *Marucellianca* at Florence. She gives ample notes to all the references in the diary relating to Florence and Florentine customs. The author, Luca Landucci, was, it seems, born in 1436, a son of well-to-do parents. He practised as an apothecary. He was an ardent follower of Savonarola, and rejoiced that some of his sons were among "the blessed and virtuous troop" of the Friar. The diary, which must have been written in his shop near the *Tornabuoni*, is accurate as to dates and not over-coloured in opinions. He took little part in public life, though he helped to revive the Guild of Apothecaries. He died in 1516 and was buried in S. Maria Novella on June 2nd. The continuation is possibly from the hand of one of his many children. The special interest of the book is that it contains the opinions of a wide-minded burgher upon the exciting and sanguinary and startling public life of Florence in the late fifteenth century. The account of the execution of Savonarola is vivid and horrible. It took place on Wednesday, May 22nd, 1498. On the following Sunday "certain women were found kneeling in the Piazza where the *Frati* had been burnt, out of veneration." These were cruel and amazing days, but in sight of the Reformation.

Mr. Cecil Headlam, in "The Mediæval Towns Series,"† has written a most fascinating account of a fascinating town in his *Story of Naples*, illustrated from photographs and excellent drawings by Major Benton Fletcher. To those who remember Naples forty years ago, it will be a pleasure to learn that the modernisation which has been going on for nearly half a century outwardly, and since the Great War of 1914 inwardly, has in no wise taken from the charm of the Elysian City. Her history remains unchanged, her history, which is her freehold, can neither be bought nor sold, and the beauty of her environment is such that man is powerless, with all his material equipment of science, which is seldom beautiful, to rob her of her God-given loveliness. Naples is the treasure house of antique art, and day by day fresh discoveries are being made, and new treasures being added to her possessions. Naples is the second city of Italy and can boast a fine port, and is one of the largest cities of the world. There has been an immense increase of population in recent years, indeed, since 1850 it has more than doubled. The industrial development is marked, and new enterprises are being started in all directions. The author of this book describes how Signor Mussolini has taken Italy in hand, and aroused the nation to energy, and to the use of her abilities. In Naples the house problem is being met, new and spacious buildings are erected in cleared slums, water supply and improved drainage are rapidly making their mark on the health of the city.

* J. M. Dent. 7s. 6d. net. † Dent. 3s. 6d. net.

"See Naples and live" should be the tourists' catch-phrase, since to-day the odour of sanitation prevails, where dirt and vile smells held their own for countless generations. Travellers may now enjoy all the glamour of Naples with an undisturbed mind. Mr. Headlam has produced a book of historical, artistic, and literary merit at a very reasonable price, and a most valuable guide, not alone to the beauty spots which abound within and without the walls of this entrancing city, but also to the art treasures and the history attaching to them. Special interest is centred in the chapters dealing with the excavations of Pompeii and Herculaneum, and hope is given of future discoveries in the latter city, which is not laid bare and almost on a level as is the case of Pompeii, but buried far below the surface. The excavations just begun may indeed give the world the XII Tables and the lost books of Livy.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Mr. R. Moelwyn-Hughes has edited the sixth edition of Lord Birkenhead's work on International Law, originally published in 1899, and the edition bears the author's *imprimatur*.* Lord Birkenhead declares that the editor "has brought to bear on the task equal industry and discrimination." The new edition contains original chapters on the League of Nations and the Permanent Court of International Justice while the chapters on blockade and contraband have been, says Lord Birkenhead, largely re-written "in view of the experience of the Great War." A brief paragraph deals with war crimes. When the author was Attorney-General he appointed a committee to deal with the German and other breakers of the Laws of War but the report of this committee was never published and the subject of the presumably valuable report is apparently not dealt with in this book. Mr. Hughes' views on the doctrine of superior orders are somewhat vague. War crimes should be so defined that superior orders would not in any circumstances be a defence.

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Attention must be drawn to the admirably conceived, "Great English Churchmen Series,"† edited by Mr. Sidney Dark who himself writes upon St. Thomas of Canterbury. The idea of this series of studies of English bishops and priests "is to suggest the significance of the man in the age in which he lived and in the movement within the Church with which he was concerned." Mr. Dark's defence of certain forms of asceticism in the Middle Ages—the toleration of intolerable good and the welcoming of verminous conditions—is spirited and attractive. "The modern man does not understand such things. The modern man, indeed, does not understand discipline at all." That is, of course, an exaggeration. The modern man likes to find his discipline something that is not on the face of things ridiculous. That is all. But something to be spiritual must be ridiculous to the worldly mind. Athanasius must be against the world. Mr. Dark wisely holds the view that Becket's bones were burnt at the Reformation and he does not use the Elizabethan form, à Becket, that is, Thomas of Becket. Mr. A. S. Duncan writes on Law. He holds that the system in which Law believed was rooted in a spiritual, and not a material conception of the universe.

* J. M. Dent. 21s. net. † Macmillan. 6s. net per volume.