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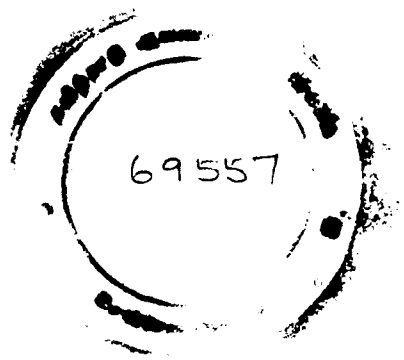
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THE INDIAN COMMISSION AND ITS TASKS.

I. By Lord Meston, K.C.S.I., V.D. II. By D. N. Bannerjea.

I.

LORD DURHAM'S description of his problem in Canada has often been quoted: "I expected to find a contest between a government and a people; I found two nations warring in the bosom of a single State." When Sir John Simon comes to sum up what he finds in India, it will comprise both these forms of conflict, and several others. In this and in all respects, his task is infinitely heavier and more complex than that which faced Durham ninety years ago. Then it was a question of harmonising, and creating an outlet for, the political aims of two communities with similar civilisations, and each with a long tradition of free institutions. To-day it is a question of drawing into democratic channels the political aspirations of a vast people in all stages of civilisation, and with no effective tradition save autocracy. And, as if the difficulties were not already sufficient, the leaders of the people are proposing to boycott the Commission of Inquiry. By their lost opportunities and their tactical errors the Indian politicians have often disappointed their best friends; but no blunder could be greater or more disastrous than the use at such a time of a weapon which has invariably failed them in the past.

The Commission which starts for India this month has a twofold origin. When Lord Chelmsford and the late Mr. Montagu were working on the new constitution, they strove to invent some remedy for the systematic neglect of India by the British Parliament. The empty benches in the House of Commons on the only night in the year when Indian business was discussed formed a striking contrast to the searching periodical inquiries which Parliament used to conduct into John Company's affairs; and the framers of the constitution proposed to revive the old full-dress trials which made India a living issue in the days of Burke and Pitt. That was one of their motives in providing for a statutory commission; but it synchronised with another conception and a new need. The whole scheme which Parliament enacted in 1919 hinged upon a graduated advance towards self-government. Each dose of political freedom to be administered was to be measured and regulated by a periodical inquiry into the efficacy of the last dose. The Montagu-Chelmsford report recommended a parliamentary investigation of the sort every twelve years, and the Commission which has now been appointed was to be the first of them. Sir John Simon and his colleagues are thus charged with the double duty, of interesting and informing

Great Britain on the progress of India, and of advising whether another step should now be taken towards her political freedom.

Political freedom by stages: the idea suggests nothing abnormal to us, whose constitution has been the outcome of slow and often painful evolution. The conception, it is true, of handing out self-government in measured doses is a little less familiar; but it is inherent in the special form of government which was set up in the provinces, as distinct from the supreme central authority at Delhi. Dyarchy, as it was nicknamed from its birth, has been the object of much cheap ridicule and unintelligent criticism, partly from those who never understood it, and largely from a small section of ex-officials who were hostile to all reform and would have preferred to sit on the safety-valve until the boiler burst. Dyarchy did not profess to be a perfect form, and was certainly not designed as a permanent form, of government; but it was the best method that ingenuity could devise at the time for giving the Indian leaders a practical training in the responsibilities of administration, while ensuring that the business of government should not be paralysed by their mistakes and inexperience. This result was to be obtained by handing over to Ministers the control of certain departments of State, the old official hierarchy keeping the other departments in reserve and continuing to administer them. It was hoped that, as experience grew, Ministers would qualify for the control of more departments, which would be transferred to them from the official reserve, until in the fullness of time the whole of the provincial government would pass into the hands of the elected representatives of the people.

The rôle of the statutory Commission was thus clearly defined. It would set to work after ten or twelve years, and survey the whole field of the experiment. In particular it would examine the recorded proceedings of each transferred department, and judge from them how the Minister had handled it, both in the legislature and in his executive capacity. The verdict would go by results. If, for example, the inquiry showed that Ministers had efficiently managed public health and agriculture in one province, Parliament would be asked to add prisons and forests to their portfolios for the next ten years. If in another province their work had proved defective, no extension of their powers would probably be recommended; in cases of definite mismanagement their sphere might even be curtailed. Different provinces would be differently treated; good work would always be taken as evidence of fitness for further power. Such was the theory. If tended by reasonable people, the mechanism would function smoothly, its results would be patent and its tests regular; political freedom would advance step by step with the proved acceptance of political responsibility.

Unfortunately this happy symmetry has not been attained. A certain amount of quiet useful work has been done by Ministers here and there. But the politicians who bulk most largely in the public eye have not handled dyarchy as reasonable people interested in making a success of it; they have done their best to wreck it. They suspect—or pretend to suspect—our good faith in the whole business. We have habitually exploited India in the past, they say, and can the leopard change his spots? We have no intention, they add, of ever consenting to self-government, and dyarchy is nothing but a device for demonstrating, by good evidence or bad, that Ministers are incompetent, and that their powers must not be enlarged. In any case they deny the right of the British Parliament to pronounce on the fitness of a great nation to govern itself. The inquiry they regard as a farce, and the Commission as an insult. Thus they secure a semblance of logic for their boycott. Incidentally they have destroyed most of the possible evidence for or against dyarchy as a training-ground for the political development of the country.

There are not lacking those who would refuse any further measure of advance whatsoever until the home-rulers come to heel and pick up the duties which the new constitution offered them. In their view, the inquiry is premature, and the *status quo* should be maintained till Swaraj sees reason. A national party, however, is not quite like a recalcitrant schoolboy. It may be short-sighted and wrong-headed; many of its efforts are indefensible, and we may genuinely believe that it has done immense harm to the cause of Indian progress. But it has courage, a strain of idealism, and unexpected tenacity; and, as a practical point, we cannot ignore the power it has shown of swaying the masses and of silencing moderate opinion. One of the chief occupations of the Commission therefore will be to discover what exactly the nationalists want. They have never disclosed it. Invitations they have had in abundance to draft the sort of constitution which will satisfy them; and they have never responded. It is now time that they should be pressed to table their demands and be cross-examined on them, taken through them to explain details and discuss consequences, called on to state definitely upon what terms they are prepared to play their proper part in the work of government. It may be that they will name terms which are impossible; but we ought at least to know authoritatively what they are. Here is a field of inquiry which may technically be a little beside the Commission's statutory reference; but it is a field that must be cleared before the building of the constitution can proceed.

Our home-ruler friends would instantly demur to this description of the position: we have consistently and categorically asked for two things, they would say, and for two things only—provincial

autonomy and Dominion status. This, in a sense, is true. There has been frequent schism within their ranks; they have more than once altered their unalterable policy; but their maximum demand has remained the same. Minor compromises have sometimes been mooted; it has, for example, been suggested that, if the provinces are granted autonomy, an element of British control might be left in the central government at Delhi. This is coupled, however, with the insistence on some measure of dyarchy in the central government; and as dyarchy has been condemned and rejected by the nationalists in its present sphere, its retention as a safeguard at Delhi would be only a transient illusion. The nationalists would be right in contending that their programme has been consistent; but they have yet to tell us what precisely it implies.

By provincial autonomy they mean, of course, something considerably short of real autonomy. The intention presumably is that in each province the government should be responsible solely to an elected legislature, and should be entrusted with all the functions of State except those which can be regulated only by the central power, such as external defence, foreign relations, and possibly the railways and the post office. In all other departments the ministry of the province would be free from any control by the central government, and *à fortiori* from any interference by the British Parliament. It would make its own laws, raise its own taxes, employ its own public servants. Dominion status would involve complete internal powers of self-government, and that almost unfettered external liberty which would accompany them, as defined at the recent Imperial Conference. The ambitions of Swaraj are easily enough stated in these vague and general terms. Not so easily enumerated are the constitutional problems which they involve. Two of them leap to the eye—the relations of the provinces to each other and to the central power, and the relations of the Indian Princes to both. Of these tangled problems there has not been even a preliminary reconnaissance. Its place has been taken by some loose talk about Federation; and students who know how lengthy and delicate were the approaches to a federal system in other countries will realise what would be in store for India. The blending of democratic (provincial) and autocratic (State) governments into one federal régime would alone constitute a problem for which there is no known precedent.

It is not only the mechanism of the Swaraj claims, but their immediate consequences, which call urgently for elucidation. Let us, with no desire to arouse prejudice, but merely facing essential facts, allude to some of the implications of Dominion status. An indigenous Government of India, enjoying the same independence as the Cabinet of General Hertzog or Mr. Mackenzie King, would be at entire liberty to accredit its own diplomatic representatives abroad,

to dispense with the British army in India, to officer its own navy and army in its own way, to remove all British officials, and to discriminate against the employment of British capital in Indian industries; it could close its markets to British trade; it could insist on treating Englishmen in exactly the same way as Kenya or Natal treats Indians. If a case is made out for the grant of Dominion status, then clearly its consequences must be accepted, especially as an Indian government would be most unlikely to do all those things; but the mere enumeration of them indicates the complexity of the issues to be negotiated before the British Parliament could be asked to abandon its ultimate control over Indian affairs. Similarly critical would be the negotiations with the rulers of the Indian States. At present the more important Princes are tending to emphasise the nature of their treaty relations with the British Crown. Would they exchange those privileges for the control of an indigenous government, or for any form of federal association and federal restrictions? It is for them to say; but up to now the question has never been broached.

These reflections are all contingent on the Commission being convinced that Dominion status and provincial autonomy should be conceded. How is the case for such a concession to be established? A favourite objection to the extension of political liberty in India is her inability to maintain an army and navy of her own, sufficient to guard her against any aggression. It is a plausible argument, but its importance is easily exaggerated. New Zealand or South Africa is not expected to arm itself against all-comers. In case of trouble, any one of our Dominions would look for military aid from Great Britain; it would certainly count on the fullest measure of protection from the British fleet. India would have the same moral right. In return, Great Britain would reckon on her help should the necessity arise; and she would probably respond as cordially as South Africa or New Zealand. No; the test of fitness for political freedom is not the strength of her armaments; it is her capacity for good citizenship and enlightened government. The application of this criterion will be the responsibility of Sir John Simon and his colleagues; and never, it is safe to say, has a graver responsibility rested on any Imperial mission.

Along what lines the Commission will require proof of the home-rule claims, it would be improper to speculate. To our western minds there are certain tests which we should at once impose on nations of our own type. We should expect a fairly widespread system of elementary education; a reasonable equality of opportunity for all classes and for both sexes; a substantial electorate with some capacity for influencing the actions of their elected representatives; and

so on. The commonplaces of western democracy, however, are by no means a universal gospel; and it would be ridiculous to apply them, *proprio vigore,* to an entirely different type of civilisation. We English are too fond of judging others by our own standards, or by what we imagine to be our standards. In speaking of India, we are always tempted to dilate on the backwardness of women and the treatment of the untouchables; the impediment of caste fills us with eloquence, and the inborn fatalism of the masses which makes them pathetically content with the second-best. But all this is a little beside the point. The real issue is whether the evils in their social life which Indians themselves admit, are capable of being cured by governmental action; and if so, whether India can best be helped to cure them by having a government of her own, or by being kept for the present under the guidance of Great Britain. The same argument holds good in the economic field and in the industrial field. In agriculture much lee-way has to be made up: the *morcellement* of land, the incessant sub-leasing, the adulteration of seed, and a thousand and one other ills on which Lord Linlithgow's Commission is presumably busy, have all a political aspect. There is, in short, hardly a phase of secular life in which the home-ruler does not claim that political independence would give him opportunities for reform from which he is otherwise debarred. The contention is one which Sir John Simon will find it difficult to ignore; the indirect evidence for it and against it will call for careful handling.

One social problem there is, on a footing and with an urgency of its own—the treatment of minorities. Much capital has been made in different senses out of the Hindu-Moslem feuds of recent years; the enemies of reform claiming them as proof that Indians will never unite in managing their own affairs, the home-rulers declaring them to be the direct fruit of our attempts to divide and rule. The Commission will no doubt take note of these prejudices, and then set out to ascertain the truth. It will find that there is no novelty about religious feuds, but only greater publicity. It will probably conclude that the real causes are only in a degree political. But it will assuredly discover a grave and general alarm among the people as a whole, however the politicians may belittle it, about the spread of communal bitterness, the failure of their leaders to allay it, and the imperative duty of government to interfere. For the problem itself there is possibly no complete solvent except the spread of education and the growth of a civic sense which will inspire the necessary, and not particularly onerous, concessions on both sides. But that means time, and the protection of minority communities is a burning issue. The leaders have worked for peace by agreements purporting to ration the seats in the legislatures and the appointments in public offices. These arrangements, however, have not always been

observed: in any event their effect has not penetrated the rank and file; and they leave untouched the anxious and critical question of communal electorates.

This will be one of the most delicate of all the Commission's tasks. That members of a legislature should occupy seats assigned to them by virtue of their religion, to which they have been elected by their co-religionists only, offends against all democratic theory; and yet in practice there has been no escape from it. It is a privilege to which the Moslems attach vital importance, and their insistence on it has recently redoubled. They have pledges from the British Government, dating from Lord Minto's viceroyalty; and they have hinted broadly that no further political advance will be acceptable to them unless communal elections are maintained. The Hindus object; in their view the device does nothing to bridge the gulf between the two communities, but rather widens it. There is thus a serious impasse. It may be possible for Sir John Simon to merge the electoral question in the larger issue of the protection of minorities, for there are other minorities as well as the Moslems, and in one or two areas even the Hindus are outnumbered. In this form, the problem is not peculiar to India. It occupies the talents of the League of Nations in other lands, and their experience may provide a clue.

In what is necessarily a very brief survey of the situation, it is now time to revert to the main topic. The arguments for and against immediate self-government, either as a whole or in that instalment which is misnamed provincial autonomy, are material enough for any single body of investigators; but it is conceivable that they may not prove the most exacting of the Commission's labours. Whichever way the decision may go, subsidiary decisions must follow. Some attempt has been made to indicate the consequences of accepting the Swaraj claim; but if it is disallowed, an almost equally thorny problem emerges. Should the Commission advise another stage of preparation and training for self-government, it will have to overhaul the constitutional machinery, both in the central and in the provincial governments. No one can pretend that the work at Delhi has been easy or satisfactory. It has been kept going by the exercise of infinite patience, and by a series of compromises which have not always been to India's good. But it suffers from the ineradicable defects of its own mechanism. The framers of the constitution of 1919 had rejected proposals which a group of Indian publicists pressed on them for the provincial governments. The scheme in question attempted to harness an elected legislature to

an irremovable executive; and Parliament was rightly asked to refuse its blessing to so ill-yoked a couple. And yet a very similar scheme was adopted for the central government, in the hope that the official executive would be able to harmonise the principles of statecraft with the wishes of a responsible legislature. The legislators had only to show themselves irresponsible, as in the legal sense they were, to bring the machine to a standstill; and it was by marvels of skill that this was averted. The Commission may find it necessary to advise changes at headquarters which will enable a great government to carry on its business without the excursions and alarms of the last six turbulent years.

In the provincial sphere, a formal compliance with the statutory reference might be secured by a mere readjustment of the Minister's portfolios. But the Commission will not be long in India before it perceives that the psychological interest of the problem transcends political forms. The attacks of the nationalists on dyarchy were not directed against its merits or demerits as a machine. They would in all probability have been equally vehement against any avenue designedly leading to the western democratic goal. It will almost assuredly fall to the lot of Sir John Simon and his colleagues to probe into the inner meaning of Swaraj, to search for its springs hidden in the philosophy of Hinduism, to ask whether the ordinary paraphernalia of our democratic régime are consonant with the background of Indian life. As a great imperial Power, we have always prided ourselves on shaping our institutions to the traditions and character of the peoples for whom they were designed. It may be found that we have fallen short of this ideal in India. We believed that, in giving to India the beginnings of democracy, we were endowing her with the best gift we had to bestow. We may have erred in judgment. Democracy may not be capable of thriving on Indian soil; or its plan may have to be substantially modified before it can take root. In face of this wider issue, the virtues or defects of dyarchy are of no moment. The Commission may feel impelled to search for a system that does not rest so entirely on that chain of responsibility between the law-giver and the voter which is our conception of political justice. If it succeeds in the search, it may render as lasting a service to India as Lord Durham did to the rest of our Empire overseas.

MESTON.

II.

It is no essential part of a serious contribution to the problems of India's constitutional advance to focus criticism on the personnel of the recently appointed Commission on Indian Reforms, even though the observation cannot be resisted that in the opinion of English and Indian experts a grave error of judgment has been committed in the exclusion of Indian colleagues, and in the reversal of the now well-established tradition of joint British and Indian membership of such bodies. English-owned newspapers in India had previously uttered a warning to Whitehall that a purely English Commission would serve no useful purpose; it may have to face the menacing possibility of a boycott; under the best of circumstances it must make larger concessions to appease public opinion in India; in the last resort there is always the disquieting contingency that, even if all its recommendations are sanctioned by Parliament, political India, basing its protests on the Commission's unrepresentative character, may decide not to co-operate in the working out of the new constitution.

We desire to attach the fullest possible weight to the considered statement of His Excellency the Viceroy setting forth the reasons why the personnel does not include British officials and Indian publicists, but we regret that those reasons leave us unconvinced, as the basal assumption would appear to be that the British Parliament would be impervious to the recommendations of all save its own seven emissaries and that the people of India have no right to present their claims except as witnesses or suppliants. Nor do we find any warrant in the Government of India Act for the Prime Minister's statement made at the Guildhall Banquet that there is a statutory obligation to appoint none save British Members of Parliament, but we take into account the fact that select committees of the Indian Legislature will closely co-operate with the Commission.

And this brings us to the first urgent problem with which the Commission will have to deal. It is exceedingly fortunate that we have as Chairman of the Commission a lawyer and a publicist of the eminence and mental calibre of Sir John Simon, a front-rank politician and a colleague of some of the most distinguished statesmen in the British Empire.

It would be disingenuous to conceal the fact that the principle of communal representation incorporated in the Government of India Act, 1919, with its twin corollaries of separate electorates for Hindus and Mussulmans, and the doling out of public offices among the various communities as such, quite apart at times from competitive standards and considerations of efficiency, has set hell loose in political India. It is difficult to exaggerate the highly inflammatory and dangerous part which communal representation and

separate electorates have played in this retrogressive process. Owing to the continuous and highly mischievous propaganda of a one-sided character being carried on in certain sections of the British Press, it is not sufficiently realised by the British public that, when left to themselves, the large majority of enlightened Muhammadans are at one with the Hindus in the demand for self-government and orderly progress. In an illuminating passage of his statement on the functions of the Statutory Commission Lord Irwin says : " It seems not impossible that the uncertainty of what constitutional change might be imminent may have served to sharpen this antagonism and that each side may have been consciously or unconsciously actuated by the desire to strengthen their relative positions in anticipation of the Statutory Commission."

With the recognition of the separate rights of each community as such are generated those fissiparous tendencies which inhibit the crystallisation of a common programme and which, by accentuating racial and religious antagonisms, throw constructive political and public activity into the background. We do not believe that anything short of the abolition of the communal principle and the adoption of common electorates will save India from drifting into anarchy. And we are glad to see that the leaders of the Indian National Congress and the All-India Moslem League have reached a practical agreement in regard to common electorates, reserving a sufficient number of seats for the minority community proportionate to its members.

The rights of all minorities can be insured by a Declaration of Rights embedded in the constitution itself, whereby every Indian citizen, Brahmin or untouchable, Hindu or Muslim, high caste or low caste, is entitled to any public office for which, by his educational attainments, integrity and efficiency, he has established his claim. The elimination of favouritism and communal bias in the award of office is an inexorable necessity, and the potent motive for it is the preservation of high standards of capacity and devotion to the public good without which self-government itself becomes a farce.

Among the issues which have engrossed public attention since the inauguration of the present constitution is the question of the " Indianisation " of the Army in India. The Army is largely Indian already, but the process of Indianisation which is recommended by all political parties in India relates to the need for throwing open King's commissions, as against the Viceroy's commissions, to approved Indian cadets in sufficiently large numbers to prepare India for the adequate defence of her borders within a reasonably short period of time.

The recommendations of the Committee presided over by General Andrew Skeen, which not only collected evidence in India but

studied the military systems in France, Canada and elsewhere, have removed this question from the terrain of a mere academic discussion. That Committee has recommended that, within the next twenty-five years, half the number of officers in the Indian Army should be Indians bearing King's commissions. General Sir William Birdwood, the Commander-in-Chief in India, has already accepted, in the name of the Government of India, a non-official resolution asking that full effect be given to these recommendations. There is a quite natural and inveterate prejudice in the minds of a certain class of old-fashioned military officer in India against the intrusion of what they regard as members of non-martial races, but the prejudice is based on a lack of understanding of the new forces which India's political awakening has released. It is no use labouring the point that in modern India the distinction between martial and non-martial races is wearing thin, as evidenced by the large number of candidates which the Benares and Aligarh University offered only recently in response to an appeal for cadets.

The ante-dating of the Statutory Commission pre-supposes and bears witness to the failure of Dyarchy. In the meanwhile a short analysis of the workings of Dyarchy may be relevant.

Have certain subjects been really and effectively transferred in the sense that they are in the control of Ministers responsible to and removable by the votes of the provincial legislatures? We have, for instance, been informed that Public Health, Hospitals, Agriculture, Education, Local self-government, etc., are now transferred subjects. But when we realise that the Minister in charge of Public Health, for instance, exercises only a shadowy control over the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, and that the latter official is the real administrator and ruler of the whole department throughout the province, carrying on his own policy and doing things on his own initiative as if the Minister did not exist at all, we come to close grips with the realities of the Montford Constitution. The Minister is absolutely helpless when he finds general practitioners pitchforked into appointments reserved for eye and ear specialists, nepotism rampant in the award of office, physicians and surgeons assigned duties with emoluments attached to them, which elsewhere it would nominally be against the honour of their cloth to accept. And the dramatic irony of the situation consists in the fact that, though the whole department is in principle transferred to popular control, racial disabilities still operate to the detriment of Indian doctors, who are generally given lower and subordinate positions carrying depressed scales of salary.

One would have thought that the above was a pretty exhaustive catalogue of grievances, but recently questions and answers in the present session of the Indian Legislative Assembly have led to the

disclosures that, in spite of the recommendations of the Lee Commission, and the pledges of the British Government that the Medical Department shall not be recruited outside India, short and long term appointments have been made confidentially in London, at twice the rates of emoluments obtained in India and with subsidies after five and ten years' service. What applies to the Minister of Public Health applies *mutatis mutandis* to Ministers in charge of other subjects.

Leaving aside for the moment the precarious tenure and flimsy " responsibility " of the provincial Ministers, let us attempt an impartial diagnosis of the position of the Indian Executive Councillors in the Governor-General's Cabinet. There is no Dyarchy in this domain but we see that the Minister for Education in the Governor-General's Cabinet, though not altogether without influence, does not direct the educational policy on his own initiative and subject to the collective responsibility of his colleagues. He is rather a rapporteur who takes stock of what the Director-General of Education, and others who formulate the policy, have achieved or propose to do. In the same way, the Member for Industries has not even a semblance of power for launching new industrial schemes or initiating the economic policy for the future. Like the Member for Education, he has his share in the masterly inactivity which must result from a spectacular display of high and lucrative office reinforced by a salute of thirty-one guns, but without adequate power and responsibility to carry out the far-reaching reforms which alone can justify such eminent positions.

Considered official opinion also inclines to the view that the Reform Scheme was launched in a hurry, without adequate financial guarantees for the development of the " transferred " administration, especially at a time when financial stringency crippled and thwarted every branch of administration and when the need for drastic economies all round could be satisfied only by the Inchcape axe! Nor was this all. The normal, much less vigorous, expansion of " transferred " efforts was handicapped and overweighted by that ingenious and ill-starred device which went by the compendious name of the " Meston Award." Whatever the benevolent intentions of this scheme, in practice and in effect it meant the transfer to the Central Government, as a contribution from the provinces, of almost the whole amount of money which the provincial Ministers could utilise for the extension of primary education or public health facilities or sanitary improvements. It is, indeed, to the credit of Sir Basil Blackett, the Indian Finance Minister, that he has made the cessation of the provincial contributions the aim of his policy.

The provincial Governor, generally a Member of the Indian Civil Service, nominates the Minister; the Minister on taking charge

of his portfolio discovers that though he theoretically controls a large number of permanent Civil Servants, they, in virtue of the covenant with the Secretary-of-State-in-Council and their entrenched and fortified positions, can either co-operate with him loyally if their temperament and outlook encourage them to do so, or snap their fingers at him and at his eccentric adventures into the realm of " Development." The cases of Messrs. Chintamini and Pandit Jagat Narain in the United Provinces, of Dr. Pranjpye in Poona, and Sir Chiman Lal Setalvad in Bombay, illustrates our contention.

But the vital task and the supreme responsibility which await the Commission, and for the discharge of which it has been appointed, is the framing of recommendations to be issued to Parliament concerning a feasible scheme of provincial autonomy which, while maintaining the political integrity of India as a whole, makes self-government in the provinces an effective and growing reality.

This compromise is possible to-day in the sphere of practical politics, partly because the exigencies of the old régime have necessitated the retention of military power for defence in hands other than Indian, and consequently the country is not prepared suddenly to assume entire control of the military and other resources essential for full self-government, but mainly because the responsible leaders of public opinion in India are averse from precipitate and catastrophic changes.

This proposal, which has been seriously formulated by distinguished publicists and statesmen of all parties since the discovery of the inherent defects of Dyarchy, does not postulate any violent break, or, in fact, any discontinuity in the existing administrative machinery. It only asks, as the natural development of the principle of devolution, the transfer of all Departments and subjects within the jurisdiction of the provincial administrations to the control of Ministers responsible to the Legislatures of the respective provinces. This involves, we repeat, no fantastic or catastrophic changes, as the transfer is subject to the adequate safeguarding of all legitimate interests, including the guaranteeing for a specified time-limit of even such interests as may appear to be inconsistent with the operation of a real and substantial self-government. The maintenance of the Indian Civil Service, for instance, still largely recruited in England, and having its status, emoluments and privileges guarded by Parliament, is obviously incompatible with the fruition of self-governing institutions in India. But even so, the scheme of provincial self-government does not preclude but may lend countenance to the continuation, for a limited period, of the Service as supplying the higher directing and controlling elements in the body

of permanent officials as distinguished from governors, administrators and legislators.

The apologists for provincial autonomy have often been challenged to present a concrete scheme, in which the lines of demarcation may be clear between the functions of the provincial and central orders of control, since, without the due correlation and co-ordination of these dual spheres of authority, so many autonomous provinces may set up as disparate and scattered entities without liaison with or obligations to the Central Government, not unlike the South Indian Kingdoms which sprang up with the weakening of the central authority of the Moghul Empire. This objection is not problematic : it was actually made by Lord Reading during his tenure of Viceroyalty, in the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State.

The limited space at our disposal forbids the discussion of details. But the whole scheme of provincial self-government rests on the central idea that the parts develop and progress as units of a large and comprehensive whole, and that the unity and integrity of India should on no account be comprised. We have in the first place the Governor with his Council of Ministers : closely connected with this is the organisation of the provincial and All-India services. The policing and military defence of the province against internal commotion, the administration of justice and other duties are parts of similar obligations incumbent on the Central Government for the whole of India.

Surely it is no impossible feat to establish or strengthen the numerous points of contact between a self-governing province and the Central Government. It is also evident that to redress the balance it is imperative to introduce the element of responsibility in the sphere of Central Government. For, as without co-ordination from above, the provinces may have no cohesion with or own allegiance to the rest of India, so, without the uprush of responsibility from below, the Central Government, committed to a system of control already condemned by Parliament, may burke the growth of democratic institutions in the provinces. Nor is the suggestion to introduce adequate Indian representation in the Government of India a bold or novel innovation. We have already three Indians on the Governor-General's Executive Council. The plan we have discussed requires that these should be made responsible to the Legislative Assembly, on condition that obstructive tactics be replaced by co-operation and a genuine sense of responsibility.

All parties are unanimous in this demand that, with the exception of relations with foreign Powers and with the ruling Princes of India, the military defence of India and problems of naval and ærial strategy, all the other Departments be transferred to the control of Indian Ministers. The more progressive and enlightened

ruling princes have already begun to perceive that they have nothing to lose, but may have a great deal to gain, from the Indian Government of the future which, while honouring their prescriptive and territorial rights, will only ask for the adoption of still more progressive standards of public duty and of general well-being, and the assimilation of ideals of administration and civic freedom in the States to those that hold the field outside their demesnes. Some States like Mysore, Baroda and Travancore are already ahead of British provinces in certain respects, and it is common knowledge in India that some of the less advanced States are getting tired of being used as bulwarks of reaction by the Indian Political Department. It is also grossly misleading to presume that the ideals involved in the struggle for a comprehensive self-expression fire the imagination only of the intelligentsia, and leave the aristocratic and ruling elements cold.

The Maharajah of Mysore takes pride in treating Mr. Gandhi as an honoured State guest and a distinguished friend, and the reception given to a Congress President by the Nizam of Hyderabad is a recent and refreshing memory. Political India has intensified her interest in and admiration for certain rulers by reason of the far-reaching and beneficent nature of the reforms introduced in their States. The outstanding instances are those of the Maharajah of Nepal, who took such a courageous initiative in the abolition of slavery, and of the Maharajah of Jammu and Kashmir, who raised the marriageable age-limit to fifteen years ; three years higher than that prescribed by England.

But to conclude. Some of the criticisms may appear trenchant, but many of them are endorsed by officials whose judgment carries weight and all of them are objective. In spite of the criticisms, our profound conviction is that England has, on the whole, striven conscientiously and nobly to discharge her obligations, and has a record of achievement in India of which any nation may be proud. The ideals of progress are alluring : but the maintenance of peace and the dealing out of even-handed justice are factors which cannot be lightly disregarded, and, in these respects, some of the best elements in the Indian Civil Service have set an example of uprightness and devotion which Swarajist India will do well to follow and excel. But England's task remains incomplete and the destiny of the British Empire unfulfilled until she admits India to the fellowship of freedom, without which friendship and co-operation are idle phrases and councils and assemblies are a mere farce. Far-seeing statesmen like Macaulay grasped the vision and hoped that prosperity might build on the secure foundation of liberty, justice, and political courage.

" The path of duty is plain before us, and it is the path of wis-

dom, of national prosperity, of national honour. The sceptre may pass away from us. There is an empire exempt from all natural causes of decay . . . that Empire is the imperishable empire of our arts and our morals, our literature and our laws."

To which an illustrious English member of the Indian Civil Service makes response: "Conscious of the benefits that have flowed from British rule and confident in her strength, India to-day knocks at the portals of democracy. Even if the Indian Civil Service were manned with angels from heaven, the inherent defects of a bureaucratic system would thwart their best intentions and make them foes to political progress. Not in dishonour, but in honour, proudly, as shipbuilders make over the finished craft to seamen, must they now yield up the direction of India."

D. N. BANNERJEA.

THE NEED FOR A ROYAL COMMISSION ON HOUSING.

A FEW weeks ago the Prime Minister received a deputation of people interested in housing, who urged the importance of appointing a Royal Commission to inquire into the whole question. According to the report in *The Times* neither the Prime Minister nor the Minister of Health were of opinion that there was any need for an inquiry into the housing problem; apparently they thought that the necessary steps to abolish the slums and provide a satisfactory standard of housing for the whole of the working classes were generally known and agreed.

The object of this article is to prove that there is no such knowledge, and no such agreement. I shall try to show, first, what has been achieved in the great post-war housing effort; second, what the immediate policy for the next two or three years should be; third, what are the difficulties which will prevent the achievement of a satisfactory solution of the slum problem, unless active steps are taken which are not at present in contemplation.

1. WHAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED.

The Tudor Walters Report in 1918 laid down a standard of working-class housing. This was adopted by the Ministry of Health, and imposed as a minimum on local authorities and others building houses since the war. The result of this has been the evolution of a definite post-war type of working-class house, which is familiar to everybody; the houses are built twelve to the acre, with a good sized separate garden for each house. As regards internal planning, regulations are laid down for a separate bathroom, a good scullery, and a minimum size for the various rooms.

It is generally known that in the last few months the millionth post-war house has been built. This represents a great achievement; not only is building now proceeding much faster than ever before, but an entirely new standard of working-class housing has been set, higher than had previously been attained in this or any other country. There were at first immense difficulties in the way of the provision of labour, materials and so on, and it is most encouraging that these have been gradually overcome, as is proved by the records of the total number of houses completed in each of the last four years. The following table, taken from the last annual report of the Ministry of Health, is of interest as showing how far these houses have been built with and without State assistance respectively:

	Houses built by private enterprise. With State assistance	Houses built by private enterprise. Without State assistance	Houses built by local authorities with State assistance.	Total.
1923-24	4,311	67,546	14,353	86,210
1924-25	47,045	69,220	20,624	136,889
1925-26	62,769	66,439	44,218	173,426
1926-27	79,686	63,850	74,093	217,629

As might be expected, those who can best afford to pay for their houses have been first catered for. Private enterprise has built only houses to sell. Some time ago the market for a house costing £800 or £900 and upwards was filled. During this year, in most parts of the country, the house that could be sold with the help of a subsidy at £600 has been so freely offered that the market may now be regarded as being saturated. There is no longer to-day any abnormal market for the purchasing of houses, and it is to be feared that the number of houses built by private enterprise will therefore decrease.

As regards houses to let, which have been and are still being built practically only by local authorities, here again signs of saturation are beginning to appear. The four-bedroomed house is no longer being built. The three-bedroomed parlour house, which is let at from 15s. to 20s. a week including rates, is being built on a much smaller scale, and in many towns, instead of being reserved for those with large families, it is now being let to anybody who can pay the rent. We have therefore arrived at a stage where the shortage of houses for sale has been met, as well as the shortage of houses to be rented at round about £1 a week.

Municipal building is now concentrated mainly on non-parlour houses with three bedrooms, generally let at from 12s. to 15s. For these houses there is still a big demand. But it is certain that the market for the 12s. house is limited, and that before very long the arrears as regards this type of house will also be overtaken if building continues at its present rate.

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE FOR THE SLUM?

After the war everybody thought that, if we only built a large number of good houses, there would be a rapid filtering up of slum-dwellers moving into the next better class of house, the tenants of those houses in their turn moving into the newly built corporation houses, and that in this way the new building would rapidly relieve the pressure on the slum. Unfortunately our hopes have not been fulfilled. In spite of the million houses, the universal testimony of housing experts is that the overcrowding in the slum is just as bad to-day as it was in 1919, and worse than it was in 1914. Curiously enough, there seems to be hardly any definite information available on this matter, but an interesting investigation was

made on a small scale in Manchester, where a house-to-house inquiry was made in a few streets in which the houses, seventy-one in all, are practically all of the two-up and two-down type, rented at about 8s. The inquiry was first made in 1919, and no less than twenty-two of these houses were found to be overcrowded on the basis of separating the sexes in rooms used for sleeping. The inquiry was repeated a few months ago, and the overcrowding was found to be almost identically the same as in 1919. Although the houses are by no means a slum, and although a large corporation estate had been filled with new houses quite close to the site, only a single family had moved to this estate. Even in these houses, well above the slum-level, there had been no reduction in overcrowding.

All over the country the slum houses have been getting into a steadily worse condition owing to the fact that landlords have not been carrying out their repairs satisfactorily. It is true that the Government has spent the beggarly sum of £100,000 on helping slum clearances; even so, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that nothing has been done for the slums. They are undoubtedly in a worse condition than they were in 1919.

2. IMMEDIATE POLICY.

There is pretty general agreement as to the policy for the immediate future. Nobody doubts that the principal task is to go on building new houses at the maximum possible speed, to continue to use the great organisation that has been built up to turn out for the next few years at least 200,000 new houses a year. The type to be built is a matter for serious consideration, but the vital thing is to build another million houses in the next five years.

As regards the slums, there is also a good deal of agreement about what is nowadays called reconditioning. It is of the utmost importance that health authorities should insist on owners keeping their houses in proper repair. There has been a lot of slackness about this since the war. There are ample powers, under the Housing Act of 1925, which enable the local authority in case of default to do the repairs themselves, and charge the cost of them to the landlord.

In addition to this, it is highly desirable that reconstruction should be undertaken on a large scale. An enormous amount of work of this kind was done in Manchester in the thirty years before the outbreak of war. Obstructive houses that were cutting off light and air from others were demolished; back-to-back houses were turned into through houses; pail closets were converted into water closets; and almost every house was provided with its own paved yard and separate water supply. After 1906 the City Council paid no compensation at all to the owners for houses that were destroyed, regarding it as the landlord's duty to provide habitable houses. The

result is that to-day there are no slums in Manchester as bad as those in other great cities. It is of the utmost importance that reconditioning should be vigorously taken up all over the country. Wherever the shells of the houses are sound, a great deal can be done in this way.

On the other hand, there are areas where the houses are so old, or so badly built, that reconstruction is impossible. In those cases there is no remedy except to pull the houses down ; under such conditions slum clearances are the only remedy. It cannot, however, be too strongly emphasised that the common idea that the way to deal with the slum problem is to pull down houses is a bad case of putting the cart before the horse. The only way to deal with the slum problem is to build new houses of a good standard, and under such conditions that the slum-dweller can afford to live in them. When that has been done there will be little difficulty in closing down the slum. Until it has been done, the pulling down of a slum merely causes increased overcrowding in the less bad houses, and creates new slums which are worse than the old ones.

Notwithstanding this, slum clearances will be necessary in the future, and in order to obtain information as to costs, as to the number of people who must be rehoused on the site, and as to the rents they can afford to pay, it is highly desirable that a few slum clearances should be undertaken in each important area as a guide to future action.

The immediate policy is therefore clear : to go on building the standard post-war house at the greatest possible speed, and in the greatest possible numbers ; to tackle the reconditioning of existing slum areas where it can be done satisfactorily with the utmost vigour, and to experiment with a few typical slum clearance schemes. This, no doubt, is what the Prime Minister had in mind when he informed the recent deputation that a Royal Commission was unnecessary because the Government knew how to tackle the slum problem. Up to a certain point this is true ; taking a longer view, it would be difficult to find a statement wider of the truth.

3. TASKS FOR A ROYAL COMMISSION.

The whole future of housing in this country depends on a decision of far-reaching importance which must be made in the next year or two. One of the things which have survived of the spirit of enthusiasm for reconstruction—" the homes for heroes " spirit of the early days after the war—is the new standard of working-class housing. In the middle of last century cellar dwellings were still common, and the public conscience was not in revolt against them. From that day, the standard of housing which was considered adequate for a working-class family has been steadily raised, culminating in the post-war house as defined by the Tudor Walters Committee. We have, since the war, built a million houses of the Tudor

Walters standard, or above it, but in certain districts the standard is now beginning to be seriously undermined as a result of economic pressure. It is necessary to decide in principle whether we are going to maintain this standard as a minimum or not. Broadly speaking, there are two alternatives ; the first is to continue building something like the present municipal house, until the economic demand for these houses is satisfied. This will certainly be the case in most districts within the next few years. If this policy is pursued, then, in two or three years' time, there will be standard post-war houses empty and waiting for tenants, but the slums will still be about as bad as they are now ; in fact, we shall be back at the conditions which prevailed at the time of the 1911 census, when there were large numbers of empty houses along with appalling overcrowding in the slums. That is the first alternative.

The second is to maintain the Tudor Walters standard as a rigid minimum ; to decide in principle that every child shall be given the opportunity of being brought up in a healthy home, and that whatever steps are necessary for the purpose shall be taken. This would involve prohibiting for the future the building of any houses below a properly defined post-war standard, pushing ahead with the building of such houses at the maximum speed, and, as new accommodation became available, gradually closing down the worst houses in each area until ultimately, in the course of a couple of generations, every family in the country would have a house at least equal to the minimum standard.

The public conscience has been demanding a steadily rising standard of housing. It would, indeed, be a tragedy if this process were to be reversed, and the ideals of the post-war reconstruction period abandoned. It is to be hoped that public opinion will demand the carrying out of this last great reform in public health. If so, the present policy of housing as above defined is totally inadequate. Nobody knows to-day how to house the labourer's family in a post-war house. If we really mean to accomplish this, we must at once set to work to find out how it can be done.

There are several problems of the utmost difficulty involved. The first thing is to lay down, much more definitely than was done in the Tudor Walters Report, what is the minimum standard of housing which should be accepted as enabling parents to bring up a family under satisfactory conditions. The second is to discover what steps can be taken to enable the labourer's family to live in such houses. That is the fundamental question ; it involves very serious financial difficulties. Although it has met with some consideration from individuals, and a few experiments have been made on a small scale, it has received nothing like adequate thought, and there is no approach to agreement, even among housing experts,

steadily rise during the next generation, and that gradually this gap may thus be automatically bridged. On the other hand, there is no doubt that costs in the building trade are abnormally high; it is at least conceivable that the organisation both of those industries which supply building trade materials, and of the actual building of houses, may be improved, and so enable houses to be built more cheaply. Reduction of cost and an increase of wages would be the best solution, but at best it will be slow, and, if the work is to go on, other steps are essential meantime.

RATING REFORM.

There is, however, one way in which the standard house to-day is artificially made expensive. If a man with a family, living in a slum, decides to sacrifice some of his personal luxuries in order to pay a higher rent, so as to be able to bring up his children under better conditions, he is at once told by an enlightened municipality: "We are very glad you have moved into a better house, it is exactly what we want you to do. Your children will be healthier, and, for that reason, it will cost us less to provide the services your family needs. There will be an actual saving to the rates through your moving, but as the house is a larger one we propose to make you pay an extra 2s. 6d. a week towards the rates." Rates are, in any case, the most vicious form of tax which exists in this country, but to increase rates under such conditions is surely worse than foolish.

It is true that the traditional basis of rateable value is the rent of the house in which a man lives. This is because the rent is supposed to be in some degree a measure of income, and for the larger size of house this must, of course, continue; but once we have decided what is the minimum standard of housing for health, surely we might also decide that a minimum rate should be levied on this type of house. Let us assume that the rates in a given town on the standard minimum house were fixed at 2s. 6d. a week; in that case the rate would be 2s. 6d. for every separate house up to the minimum, including the oldest slum house. If a man moved from a slum to a standard house, he would have to pay the increased rent, but would not pay any increase in rates. A reform of the rating system on these lines would not be difficult to carry through, and would be a public health measure of the utmost importance.

FAMILY ALLOWANCES.

Even so we should still have the standard house costing at the lowest 10s. a week; there would still be a substantial gap between the rent of the standard house and the labourer's ability to pay at the time when he has three or more dependent children.

One of the paradoxes of housing at present is that the working man, when he has no children and is content with a small house,

can often afford the rent of a large one. When he has three or more dependent children, then the unskilled worker, or even the skilled worker in the export trades, cannot afford a three-bedroomed house. The result is that the large houses are occupied by the small families, and the small houses by the large families. This state of affairs exists all over the country. From the public-health point of view it is a national tragedy. Somehow methods must be found to enable the worker to have the large house when he has the large family.

This is a problem of the utmost difficulty. There are only two sources from which the necessary funds can be drawn; firstly, the man's own savings at a time when he can afford an extra amount towards the rent, that is to say, when he is unmarried or before he has any children; and secondly, some form of subsidy from public funds. In the former case, some system of insurance would have to be devised by which the bachelor, and the married man without children, would pay something every week which would enable him to have a large house, when he required it, for a growing family. But it is certain that under present conditions this would not suffice. Some increase or alteration in the form of subsidy from public funds would be necessary, either in the form of family allowances, or perhaps in the shape of a reduction of rent as the number of children increased. After all, this system now prevails as regards education. The householder in a standard house in Manchester pays 1s. a week out of his rates towards the education rate. When he has a child at an elementary school he gets the education free at a cost to the rates of 4s. a week; if he has three children at elementary schools the cost is 12s. a week, but he still pays only 1s. This system combines the insurance principle, in that the householder constantly pays something towards the education of his children, with a suitable subsidy calculated so as to be large enough to ensure that every child gets a satisfactory education. If we are to make it an equally rigid rule that every child shall have satisfactory housing, we may be driven to make some similar arrangement as regards housing.

This is a problem which has never been faced. Until a solution has been found and generally accepted, we can hardly begin to deal with the problem of housing the labourer's family. It is for the purpose of considering this question above all that a Royal Commission is immediately necessary.

There are other problems which certainly ought to be dealt with if a Royal Commission is set up. There is no space here to say more than a few words about each.

Overcrowding.—It is clearly essential that there should be a reasonable and acceptable standard of overcrowding. No such standard exists to-day. The Registrar-General's standard, under which a house is only overcrowded if there are more than two per-

as to the lines on which it can be accomplished. The only obvious way in which public opinion can be focussed on this problem, and in which an agreed solution might be hammered out, is by the appointment of a strong Royal Commission.

Should such a Commission be appointed there are, in addition to the above fundamental questions, at least three others which could, with advantage, be submitted to it: (1) What is overcrowding? (2) How can we secure that garden cities shall be developed, and that generally houses shall be built in the best positions, wherever possible within reach of the country? (3) How can we ensure independent, efficient and sympathetic management of the immense housing estates which local authorities are building?

THE MINIMUM STANDARD OF HOUSING.

Owing to the enormous number of two-bedroomed houses which already exist in most towns, it is generally agreed that the task for the next few years is to build three-bedroomed houses. Owing to the limited power of paying high rents, it is generally agreed that only a very few parlour houses should be built by local authorities. The bulk of the building must, therefore, be confined to the three-bedroomed non-parlour houses, and the most important question of housing standards is this—what is the type of three-bedroomed non-parlour house in which a family of three or four children can be brought up in healthy conditions? The Tudor Walters Report laid down the general lines upon which such a house should be built, and for the first two or three years of municipal house-building the houses were pretty well of one standard. This standard has been maintained up to the present in Manchester, whose typical house has three bedrooms and a bathroom on the first floor, with a good living room and large scullery, as well as all the necessary offices, on the ground floor. The floor area is 820 square feet, and the rent is 9s. 6d. plus 5s. for rates, or 14s. 6d.

In Liverpool certain reductions in cost have been made by putting the bathroom downstairs, and reducing the size of the house from 825 to 710 square feet. This house is let in Liverpool at 9s. plus 3s. 3d. for rates, or 12s. 3d. In Birmingham they have gone even further in cutting down the quality of their three-bedroomed house. They have actually reduced the area to 620 square feet, with the result that the bedrooms are exceedingly small. In addition to this, they have done away with the back boiler, and there is no hot water circulation; all water has to be heated in the copper and then carried from there to the bath or sink. The house costs £315, and, as they have secured cheap land, is let at 7s. for rent and 3s. for rates, or 10s. in all.

Such are the cuts which are being made in the quality of the post-

war house in some parts of the country. Is Manchester right in maintaining the highest possible standard, and should the Corporation continue to maintain this standard for ever? Has Liverpool found the right mean between a healthy house and a cheap one? Has Birmingham gone too far?

It seems clear that the Ministry of Health is now granting subsidies from the public exchequer to houses of a standard which would have been indignantly repudiated in 1920; it is also clear that as the market for the 12s. or 13s. house becomes saturated there will be immense pressure to build houses at a lower price, that is to say, to build houses of the cheapest Birmingham type, or, if it is conceivable, even something worse. The determination of the proper minimum is a public health question of the most fundamental importance for the future welfare of the country. It is altogether too big a thing to be left for bureaucratic decision by the Ministry of Health. The whole future of housing in this country depends on the answer to this question, which will also settle the cost of future housing programmes. It is exactly the kind of problem that can be dealt with effectively only by a Royal Commission.

CAN THE LABOURER'S FAMILY BE PROPERLY HOUSED?

Once it has been settled what the minimum standard house is to be it becomes possible to tackle the financial question how to enable the labourer, with, say, three dependent children, to live in it. The rent, under present conditions of cost, would almost certainly not be less than 11s. a week, but a labourer with wages of 40s. a week, and a family of three dependent children, cannot afford more than 7s. to 8s., in fact, it is doubtful whether he can really afford as much as this if the children are to be properly fed and clothed. There is, therefore, a gap of, say, 4s. to bridge between the price at which a decent house can be built, and the price which the poorer families can pay. It is these poorer families who most of all need help in bringing up their children; it is these families which have hitherto not received one penny of help from the £10,000,000 a year which we are now spending on housing. It was in practice inevitable that the richer sections of the workers should be catered for first, but it would be utterly indefensible to spend immense sums on the artisan and the clerk, and then to fail to do at least as much for the labourer whose need is much greater. Once the minimum standard of housing is settled, the whole thing becomes purely a question of cash. How can the gap between the rent of a good house, and the rent which a labourer can afford to pay, be bridged?

By far the best way would be to bridge it either by raising wages or by reducing the cost of the house.

These are questions which are outside the scope of an article on housing, but it is to be hoped that the wages of the labourer will

sons per room, is useless for measuring the worst form of overcrowding, namely, the mixing of adults of different sexes in bedrooms, because it takes no account of which rooms are used for sleeping. Some standard of overcrowding should be formulated without delay which will be based upon the number of persons per bedroom and take cognisance of the separation of the sexes above a given age. Until we have such a standard adopted for the whole country it is impossible to know the size of the housing problem.

Management.—Enormous numbers of houses are being built by local authorities all over the country, and managed by their estate departments under the direct control of the housing committee. Thousands of people who pay rents to the housing committee also elect the members of the housing committee. This is a state of affairs which is clearly open to dangers and abuse, and it is a matter for serious consideration whether the management of these estates should not be in the hands of some independent body of persons who are not directly elected.

Then again, the experience of Miss Octavia Hill's work has shown how much can be done by a new type of highly qualified property manager. Municipalities have been slow in taking up this aspect of the work, and an inquiry by a Royal Commission would be useful.

Garden Cities.—Letchworth and Welwyn are now recognised successes. There is a widespread feeling that garden cities ought to begin to be built in large numbers, but there are great financial difficulties in the early stages, and nobody knows how to overcome them. Even where the new houses cannot be built in garden cities it is important that thought should be given to the best situation. Regional planning is in its infancy. Nobody knows how far it is desirable and practicable, when clearing a slum, to induce the people to go further out towards the country. Little is being done about driving great arterial roads into the centre of our cities, and running cheap express trams from workplace to country. All these questions, though in a sense belonging to the sphere of town planning and transport, are vital to a successful solution of the housing problem.

CONCLUSION.

I have tried to show that there is no difference of opinion about the immediate policy for the next two or three years. There is nothing in connection with this policy which a Royal Commission need consider, and there would be no conceivable excuse for any local authority to hold up the building of new houses, or the reconditioning of old houses, simply because a Royal Commission was appointed.

The task of the Royal Commission should be limited to the five fundamental questions which have been indicated above (or possibly

others of a similar nature)—questions which have little effect on immediate policy, but are absolutely vital for the ultimate solution of the housing problem. It is almost certain that if we continue to build 200,000 houses a year we shall, in a few years' time, find that the demand for the 12s. and even the 10s. house is saturated, and that we are almost as far as ever from solving the problem of the labourer's family. If we wait till that difficulty arises, we shall either leave things alone or be forced to adopt some hurried and unthought-out solution. It is obvious that to arrive at the right solution is a matter of the utmost difficulty, and will certainly require lengthy investigation and discussion. It is for these reasons that the immediate appointment of a Royal Commission is urgently necessary.

E. D. SIMON.

CREATING A CORPORATE STATE IN ITALY.

FOR students of industrial relations, Russia and Italy are to-day the most interesting European countries, because in both full-scale economic experiments are being tried out at the instance and with the support of the Governments. Of the two, Russia has hitherto received more attention : indeed, so deep is the feeling stirred by the issue that the triumph of one school in the Soviet Union has had effects far beyond the economic field, and has been sufficient to poison all the foreign political relations of that country. Because the Italian Revolution was carried out, not, indeed, without a civil war, but without a civil war on the Russian scale; because foreign interests were not involved; because the movement in the early stages was supported by the owners of capital; for these and other reasons *Fascismo* has enjoyed a more peaceful infancy, petted by many of whose creed, had they but known, it is a sworn foe. It is, indeed, capable of being as truly revolutionary in character as Bolshevism, with which it has much in common, both in practice and in doctrine.

We must, however, speak with some caution of Fascist " doctrine." The movement contains, of course, doctrinaires, but the scheme of executive action entrusts so much power to the one man that it is unsafe to predict that decisions will necessarily follow doctrine. Rather should it be said that each development depends upon the particular adviser, doctrinaire or otherwise, who has last had the ear of the *Duce*.

The phase which is engaging the public attention at the moment is the construction of a " Corporative State." Much will be found in the scheme strangely like the Soviet organisation. Indeed, if developed fully, it might transform government in Italy into a copy, with some important fundamental differences, of the Moscow pattern. Parliament still exists, but the life of the Chamber hangs by a thread, more or less thick, and it might be replaced by a delegated congress of producers entirely à la Russe. On the other hand, the industrialists may assert themselves and Parliament may revive. Which will happen depends on Mussolini, and the influences which gain the upper hand with him. That is why it is impossible to envisage the growth of *Fascismo* as ordered progress in the application of a theory.

Clearly, however, the construction of a " Corporative State " demands theory, and, before describing the laws which so far represent the structure, some opinions of the theorists may be quoted.

Carlo Costamagna, secretary of the Gentile Commission on reforms, in a book published early last year, clears the ground on which it is proposed to build. His examination begins, of course,

in Roman times, for Mussolini, like Napoleon, founds himself on a basis of traditional imperial grandeur. The mediæval guilds are introduced into the argument, and, however little the syndicates of to-day may resemble them, the guilds certainly afford valuable aid in art and rhetoric. I have heard the Podestà, autocrat of the municipality, invoke their ideals among his fellow-Florentines, addressing them in the best Russian manner as " workers " and " comrades." The art of the guilds is also being drawn on for the design of the standards of the Syndicates, some of which are very beautiful.

Passing on, Signor Costamagna treats of the Marxian theory, the combination laws, and the growth of Trade Unionism in England, and the Trust Movement in America. Finally, he deals with the post-war developments in Russia, where workers' syndicalism became supreme, and in Germany, where a " parastatal " system was adopted. His deduction is that the failure in the past has been due to putting the interest of the producer above that of the State. The consumer-basis he rejects utterly. That is the discredited Liberal-Democracy. Pacifist-international-socialist syndicalism he also rejects. It ignores the power of private initiative, and fails because it takes no account of human nature. The true course is to recognise the supremacy of the State, which lives and prospers or decays independently of the generations of men, but which demands production, and so frames its policy as to recognise and protect the citizen, primarily, if not wholly, in his capacity as producer. The rejection of the international aspect of economic reorganisation may perhaps be due not so much to any inherent difficulty it presents as to the political necessities of the Fascist Party, which is largely based upon commonplace pre-war Chauvinism.

Such, then, are the general opinions which inspired those who, in August, 1924, under the guidance of Gentile and at the behest of the National Party Council, set about the construction of the Corporative State.

* * * *

In describing their work, three documents must be mentioned : the law of April 3rd, 1926; the decree of July 1st, 1926 filling in the details of the law; and the labour charter published on April 22nd, 1927. The first is the most important, for in it the principles are enacted, and, compared with it, the Charter, where it is not a repetition, is concerned with details.

The Law of April 3rd is divided into three parts : firstly, that dealing with the juridical recognition of syndicates and collective work contracts; secondly, that instituting a Magistracy of Labour; and, thirdly, that regulating strikes and lock-outs.

First comes the constitution and control of the syndicates, which, of course, will be those of workers on the one hand and " givers of

work" (*datori di lavoro*) on the other (the intellectuals, artists, writers, and others, though forced rather unnaturally into the same mould, may be neglected for our purpose). For a syndicate to secure recognition, at least 10 per cent. of those concerned must be enrolled in it. It is stated that for the present (that was in 1926) employers and employed are to be organised separately. Subsequently the Ministry of Corporations formed the crown uniting the two collateral structures. The annual contribution in each case is a day's pay. One-tenth of this sum is to form a guarantee fund for the execution of contracts. Next we come to the qualifications required of members, which are frequently referred to. Those in control (*i dirigenti*) are to give a guarantee of trustworthy national faith. Members must be of "good political conduct from the national point of view," and a right of expulsion is reserved as a sanction. Further, the president and secretary must be approved by the competent Minister and the Minister of the Interior, who may revoke appointments.

The local associations are subject to the supervision of the prefect. Recognition of a syndicate may be withdrawn, and it may be superseded by a Government Commission. No associations are to be formed in the Army, Navy, Air Force, among the professorial and judicial classes, and among certain sections of the Civil Service. The recognised Association represents all the workers and masters, whether members or not. Contracts made by them are alone valid, and contributions are universally leviable from members and non-members alike.

Next there is the Magistracy of Labour. It consists of judges aided by expert assessors, and deals with the application of old and the making of new contracts. It is to judge "according to equity," bearing in mind the interests of both parties and the superior interests of production. Imprisonment or fines may be imposed for a refusal to carry out the decisions of the Court.

Finally, the law of April 3rd forbids strikes and lock-outs and devises penalties for the same. The employer who locks out his workpeople is liable to a fine of from 10,000 to 100,000 lire; the workmen who, to the number of three or more, in concert abandon work, or act in such a way as to hamper its continuity or regularity, are liable to a fine of from 100 to 1,000 lire; the promoters or organisers, to imprisonment for from one to two years. These penalties apply to ordinary trade or industry. Strikes among those in State employment, or in public enterprises, or works of public necessity, are dealt with by imprisonment, in the case of the rank and file, of from one to six months; of the leaders, from six months to two years. Where personal safety is jeopardised the penalties are more severe. Those in these employments who fail to

do their best to secure continuity or renewal of service are also to be imprisoned, and promoters of strikes or lock-outs intended to influence or coerce a public body, local or central, or a public official, are liable to imprisonment for a period of from three to seven years.

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The Decree of July 1st, 1926, follows the general outline of the law, filling in the detail necessary for its operation. It repeats at several points the requirements as to conduct which appear in the law itself. Any person over the age of eighteen may join a syndicate if of "good moral and political" conduct. Further on, there is a passage which appears to impose on the members the same tests of fitness as those to which the directors are subject. The same point crops up again in reference to the appointment of experts to assist in the Magistracy of Labour. These must be Italian citizens of at least twenty-five years of age, of "shining and spotless" moral and political conduct. The exclusion of opponents of the régime is, therefore, fairly complete, for "good political conduct," needless to say, means conformity to *Fascismo*. An official of one of the syndicates explained, however, that the test was not intended to be exclusive. A large membership is naturally their aim, and men known to have been Socialists are received and even petted so long as they are willing to subserve the new order.

The Decree is further concerned with the local, regional, provincial and national organisation of the syndicates; the collection and use of the funds; the making and enforcement of collective contracts, and the procedure of the Court. The regulations as to associations of Civil Servants have a special interest in view of the new Trade Union Act. Such associations may be authorised by the Government, but have not the same juridical existence as the syndicates, and may at any time be dissolved. The definition of what is a public necessity service rests with the Minister, but he must include work carried on by lawyers, notaries, engineers, architects, surveyors and agricultural experts, and may add other employments. There is one further regulation worth mention. Associations constituted ostensibly to watch the scholastic and professional interests of students in educational establishments of all kinds are forbidden. To constitute or participate in such associations is considered as a grave disciplinary offence and will be punished by exclusion from all State schools and institutions. An anti-Fascist Professor stated that hitherto party politics had been kept out of the universities, where the staffs were, in fact, not generally favourable to the new régime, but that steps were now being taken to compel the present holders to train successors who will be of the required political opinion.

The principle of the prohibition of strikes and lockouts has, therefore, been extended to include fines for minor offences. Article 23 says: "Employers must take on new workers from the Exchange, and have the right of selection from the lists, giving the preference to Party members and members of the Fascist syndicates according to the date of their membership."

The remainder of the thirty articles is interesting, but deals rather with detail of holidays, welfare and conditions generally. It is presumed that, as from the date of the promulgation of the Charter, these conditions will be included in collective contracts. The officials of the Confederazione Generale del Lavoro declare that it is but an attenuated copy of agreements reached by the federal organisations in 1920 and 1921. In any case, as an appendix to the Charter there was published an Order of the Day which declared that the aforesaid principles should be embodied in labour contracts subject to the provision of an ample margin of time to secure the necessary adjustment to the new financial situation (this referred to the rise in the lira) and to the difficulties of international competition.

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In these three documents is to be seen the foundation on which the Corporative State may be, or is being, constructed. A further step forward is contemplated in the proceedings of the Grand Council on November 16th last. The experiment will be watched with interest. It has behind it many *ci-devant* Socialists, eager for its success; the working people have been fed with stories of what it can achieve; and there are in existence large syndicates, in leading-strings now, but organised, and perhaps capable at the right moment of insisting on their policy. Mussolini alone will decide how far and at what rate construction is to proceed, and, so long as his militia are to be relied upon, his word will prevail.

WEDGWOOD BENN.

ION BRATIANU.

"A BRATIANU," they say in the cafés of Bucharest, "has always a king to do his will," and so, since the father of Ion Bratianu fetched Carol I from Sigmaringen, it has always been. No wonder that foreign observers, seeing the country deprived of both Bratianu and king, foresee disaster for the State. True, there is an industrious financial pedant bearing the name of Bratianu, as there is a child bearing the title of king, but the one is as well fitted as the other to fill the vacant place. For good or ill, a chapter in Roumanian history closes with the death of Ion Bratianu. The efforts of the Liberals, with Vintila Bratianu at their head and M. Duca, the Minister of the Interior, furnishing such driving force as they possess, are directed towards picking up the threads of the story in the new chapter; those of Julius Maniu, the leader of the National Peasants' Party, towards making the last chapter the end of a volume.

Ion Bratianu was a great figure and a gifted personality. He was no mere figurehead such as Pilsudski, no "pocket Mussolini" such as General Averescu or General Pangalos in Greece, but a full-blooded, authentic dictator in his own right. I well remember the superb gesture with which I saw him sweep aside the entirely righteous protests in Parliament of Julius Maniu against his arbitrary regulation of the Succession. It was at the first sitting of the Chamber after the death of King Ferdinand. Maniu set forth at length the long series of violations of the constitution through which Bratianu had secured the power to exclude Carol, to make little Michael king, and to appoint his obedient Council of Regency. The Opposition leader concluded with a ringing declaration that his Party—which everyone knew even then to possess the confidence of the vast majority of Roumanians—refused to recognise the new settlement. Bratianu, who had listened with growing impatience, disdained a reply worthy of the name. In half a dozen crisp sentences he conveyed to the deputies that what he did was right, that black was white if he said so, and that he desired to hear no more of these futile and querulous protests. Gathering up his papers, he turned on his heel and left the Chamber, the President immediately suspending the sitting. Thus ruled Bratianu.

Yet there is much for which the country had to thank him. Throughout the earlier years of the war, he bargained cautiously, first with the Allies and then with the Central Powers. Had either side realised how far he had gone with the other, his territory would have been invaded. The Central Powers in particular cast longing eyes on the grain and oil of Roumania, but refrained from taking it by force because Ion Bratianu succeeded in making them believe that

So much for the Decree of July 1st, which was followed on July 2nd by a decree constituting the Ministry of Corporations, the bridge between the national organisations of workmen and masters. Of this Ministry the effective head is Bottai, a young man about thirty years of age, connected at one time, I believe, with the Tevere, and subordinate, of course, in the discharge of his task, to Mussolini himself.

With the Law and Decrees the creation of the structure was complete for the moment, the task being passed on to Administrators and organisers who assisted the growth of membership of the official societies by methods familiar to readers of the Press. In theory, there was nothing to hinder the continued existence of the Confederazione Generale del Lavoro and its collaterals and subsidiaries, but, as they had no status, and as their members had to pay to the Fascist syndicates, it is not surprising that, effectively, they ceased to exist.

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The next stage was the promulgation of the Charter of Labour. Its advent became the main theme of the Italian Press in April of last year. Hints were given that its character was to be sensational, and the personal interest taken in it by the *Duce* was described. In due course, on April 21st, the Grand Council of the Party met at the Palazzo Chigi, and the text of the Charter was disclosed to the public. A foreword explained that Mussolini had personally supervised and modified its contents, " con travaglio appassionato," up to the very moment of its production. He stated, so the foreword continued, that the Charter was a document of fundamental importance, which no doubt in parts would be the subject of legislation, but which from that moment had executive value. Such a declaration forms an interesting comment on the status of Parliament in Italy.

The Charter opens with a statement of essential doctrine. " The Italian Nation is an organism having ends, life, and means of action superior to those of the individuals who compose it. It is a moral, political and economic unity which finds its realisation in the Fascist State." . . . "Labour in all its forms, intellectual, technical and manual, is a social duty. In this sense, and in this sense only, is it protected by the State." (Article 2) " The purpose of Labour may be summed up as being the well-being of the producers and the development of the national strength." . . . " Professional or syndical organisation is free "—how free in practice we know—" but the recognised syndicate alone, under the control of the State, has the right of legally representing the employers and employed, of stipulating for collective labour contracts for all belonging to its category, and of imposing contributions on them. The collective contract is the expression of the solidarity of the various factors in

production : is the means of reconciling the opposing interests of employers and employed and subordinating them to the superior interest of production." . . . " The Magistracy of Labour is the appointed means by which the State regulates controversy, whether touching existing contracts or new conditions of labour."

So far, up to Article 6, we have little but a statement following the same lines as the Law of April 3rd, 1926. Articles 7 and 9 are interesting, and mark the distinction between Bolshevism and Fascism. Article 7 says : " The Corporative State considers private initiative in the field of production as the most efficacious and useful instrument in the interests of the nation." The next passage is of special interest. In Article 2 (*vide supra*) it was declared that Labour only enjoyed the protection of the State in virtue of its social value. It is said that in the first draft the rights of Capital were similarly defined. This view finds some support from the fact that *The Times* translation of Article 7 contains a sentence not to be found in the official text published in the Italian Press, which runs : " Private organisation of production being a function of national interest, the organiser of production has a responsibility for it in regard to the State." *The Times* says : " Private organisation of production being, *like private property and capital*, a function of national interest, etc." The omitted passage looks like a tail to something that went before, and it may be that in Article 2 there was one of those last-minute modifications introduced " con travaglio appassionato " by the *Duce*, who considered that it was going farther towards Socialism than was warranted by the public temper at the moment.

Article 9 says : " The intervention of the State in economic production occurs only when private initiative fails, or is insufficient, or when the political interests of the State are at stake. Such intervention may assume the form of control, encouragement or direct management." Several following Articles deal with the character of the collective contracts. The most interesting sentence relates to the fixing of wages : " The determination of remuneration is withdrawn from any general rule and confided to agreement between the parties." As to unemployment, " The consequences of crises in production and of monetary fluctuations must be divided equally between all the factors in production."

Three other provisions are of a general character. It is declared (Article 22) : " Only the State can ascertain and control the phenomenon of employment and unemployment among workers, for it is a complex index of the state of labour and output." Article 19 provides that " infractions of discipline and acts committed by workpeople calculated to disturb the normal operation of the business are to be punished by fine or discharge, according to gravity."

he was on the point of selling it to them at his own price. He concluded his bargain with the Allies at last and, at a moment when his country was almost entirely surrounded by their enemies, declared for the Allied cause. His realisation that despite all outward appearances the Entente was going to prove the winning side was an instance of the man's sagacity, not to be discounted because his country was immediately overrun by the enemy. Caring little what the Allies might desire, he preserved his capital intact by refusing to defend it, and so arranged matters that the greater part of the devastation wrought in the country—the destruction of the oil wells—was done by the Entente who, unless his entire calculations were wrong, would have to pay up promptly. What else stands to his credit? Certainly the nationalisation of the land, on which Greater Roumania is founded. The expropriation of the owners of unwieldy *latifundia* was vitally necessary to preserve the country from sheer anarchy. This fact has to be weighed against all protests of the Hungarian landlords, who still demand that they alone should be exempt from the measure while native-born Roumanian landlords suffer under it. Should the careless drafting of the Treaty of Trianon really secure them this immunity—and there is much reason to believe that a strict interpretation of the Treaty's clauses will do so—the Treaty-makers will be responsible for creating another intolerable situation in Europe. The nationalisation of the sub-soil—which means, of course, of the oil supplies—was another wise measure of Ion Bratianu, and everyone will approve of his action in abolishing the laws limiting the franchise to a few rich landowners and conferring universal suffrage.

The Liberals propose to erect a statue to him bearing no name, but having these words inscribed on the pedestal : " Greater Roumania, expropriation and redistribution of land, universal suffrage." The hypocrisy of the inscription is exposed by the simultaneous proposal of his brother, Vintila, to the Peasants' Party of M. Maniu, to hold elections from which the peasants are to emerge with 45 per cent. of the seats. The proposed inscription on the statue of Ion Bratianu would be justified if the reverse side bore the words : " Alienation of the liberated Roumanians, employment of expropriated land and mineral wealth for purposes of political corruption, nullification of the franchise by a perfected system of violence and fraud."

There is much to be said in defence of Ion Bratianu's conduct of affairs in the past ; there is nothing to be said for the desire of the Liberal Party to perpetuate this bribery and corruption which is slowly but surely destroying Roumania. Julius Maniu has admitted to me that, at the end of the war, the whole country was behind Bratianu, particularly his own people, the Roumanians of Transylvania, who, thanks in part to the clever bargaining of the Roumanian Premier, had been released from the merciless oppression of Hungary. Bratianu was a man of the Orient—one cannot, if one wishes to understand Roumania, repeat too often that only fifty years ago Roumania (as it was until 1918) was sunk in the degradation of Turkish misrule. This Oriental province Bratianu ruled with the absolutism, corruption and bribery to which the East is accustomed. His great mistake was that, while posing as the Prime Minister of a Western Power, refusing indignantly to admit even that Roumania was a Balkan State because of the admixture of Latin blood in the veins of her people, he encouraged a system that he should, even in Little Roumania, have tried slowly to abolish, but which in Greater Roumania should not have been tolerated for a day.

But the Liberals were less a party than a consortium of bankers who, under the cloak of politics, had laid all the Regat (Little Roumania) under tribute to themselves and proposed to secure still greater spoils in the vast new territories which had been acquired. No effort was made to consolidate the country, to create just Roumanians out of the Orientalised inhabitants of the Regat, the Austrianised people of the Bukowina, the Magyarised Roumanians of Transylvania, and the Bessarabians, who are still unpersuaded that they are not Russians. Thus Julius Maniu, who had devoted the first half of his life to resisting the tyranny of the Magyars and in struggling towards unity with the Roumanians of the Regat, speedily found himself compelled to devote the second half to combating the corruption and dishonesty of the Regat with which his country had been united.

There is, of course, no looking back to the past. M. Maniu emphasised to me that the mismanagement of the minorities in Roumania by M. Bratianu could not in any way be compared with the tyranny of the Hungarians when they ruled Transylvania, and declared that not one Roumanian could be found who considered the Hungarian propaganda for a revision of the Treaty of Trianon as anything but mischievous. I mention such an obvious fact only because, in speaking frankly of the discontent in the new Roumanian provinces, I do not wish to mislead anyone into thinking that the new territorial arrangements are regretted.

The Liberal Press of Bucharest rings with appeals to M. Maniu to be patriotic and to recognise that the country needs a united government. I do not think that the brilliant and clear-sighted Transylvanian lawyer is likely to compromise with unrighteousness. Vintila Bratianu's financial policy of the past six years has been a complete failure. The *leu* is still unstabilised, the cost of living still rising. Ion Bratianu's diplomacy won him distrust abroad, and

foreign capital fights shy of the lesser brother. The Liberals are as discredited as any party could be, and they have lost their powerful head. Behind them stands nothing but the power of the banks. Worst of all, they have no leader. There is no other party in the country. General Averescu will hastily attach himself to the winning side when the issue is decided—if they will have him. There is no Carolist Party, though Maniu preserves an open mind on the question of the return of the Prince, and after he has attended to more urgent matters, is likely to sanction this if the Prince will accept the strict conditions which he intends to impose.

The country itself is enormously rich and capable of development, requiring only an honest and efficient régime. The apathy of the people is a drawback, but this is often exaggerated. The peasantry in many parts of the country is hard-working, and this does much to counteract the indolence of the city population and of other sections of the peasantry. Despite the display of uniforms on every hand, the Roumanians are not a military people, and a period of external peace is certainly essential. Given that, the tragic death of the greatest Roumanian, Ion Bratianu, may yet prove the salvation of the country which he had created but which was proceeding slowly to ruin.

G. E. R. Gedye.

THE ENLARGED POWERS OF THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT.

THERE has been a sudden and important increase in the powers of the President of the United States. This has not resulted from any amendment of the Constitution, nor from congressional delegation of authority. The enlarged powers have come by judicial fiat. The Supreme Court of the United States has interpreted a clause of the Federal Constitution.* Six out of nine judges have announced that, to their minds, the President has authority which for one hundred and thirty-nine years it had been almost unanimously agreed that he did not possess. He may now remove any official whom he appoints, and, conversely, all congressional legislation imposing restrictions on removal is unconstitutional.

This constitutes a sharp challenge to the axiom of American political theory that a written framework of government makes for definiteness and certainty in the relations between the public powers. In actual practice this is not true. When a governmental system works by custom and convention, there may occasionally be more or less material departures from the course that would seem to be indicated as " constitutional," but there is rarely, if ever, a sudden and complete reversal of important and well-established procedure. Under the American Constitution, on the other hand, there may seem to be general agreement on the meaning of certain clauses of the Constitution, and the organs of government may function according to this interpretation. It is, however, always within the power of five out of nine judges of the Supreme Court to reverse both the interpretation and the practice, and to say that they alone know what the Constitution really means. This has just been done. The six judges have said that Congress, Presidents and constitutional lawyers have been wrong in believing that Congress had the power to give security of tenure to subordinate officials appointed by the President. Six judges, in short, have determined what the Constitution would have said on this subject, if the Constitution had not been silent. The Court, moreover, has made the Constitution's delayed utterance rather voluble, for the holding goes far beyond the issues of a relatively insignificant case.

The American system of government, as is well known, relies on complicated checks and balances. The Supreme Court, in removing an ambiguity that has existed in the Constitution for one hundred and thirty-nine years, has said that the President shall be unchecked in removals. Thus a wedge has been driven between executive and legislature. The theory of the separation of powers has been reinforced. Since the beginning of Mr. Coolidge's administration, how-

* *Myers* v. *United States*, October term, 1926, No. 2.

ever, the Senate has been exerting more of a check upon appointments than had previously been the case. This senatorial scrutiny bolsters up one of the checks of the American Constitution, but an occasional veto by the Senate does not balance off the President's complete freedom in respect of removals. His authority to designate and remove officials of the Government is, perhaps, the most important bulwark of the most powerful elected executive that the world knows. Recent events, therefore, warrant a brief reconsideration of this aspect of the American Presidency.

In spite of the fact that civil service reform began nearly half a century ago, the President of the United States still appoints more than twelve thousand officials. Their salaries run to millions of dollars annually. Few of the statutes creating these offices prescribe qualifications for the appointees. The President may nominate as he sees fit, subject to confirmation by the Senate.* In the Convention that drafted the Constitution James Wilson thought that this association of the Senate in the appointing power would give to that body a dangerous authority. "According to the plan as it now stands, the President will not be the man of the people, as he ought to be, but the minion of the Senate." Few, if any, Presidents have been "minions of the Senate," but the confirming power has made the members of the upper Chamber share in appointments to a degree that was unanticipated by those who drafted the Constitution. The result has been one of the most important of the unwritten conventions of the American Constitution—a convention which is called "senatorial courtesy."

This is simply a kind of *liberum veto*. It means that while the Senate, as a body, will not suggest particular nominations, it nevertheless expects that the President, in naming certain local office-holders (e.g., postmasters and collectors of the Customs), will choose persons satisfactory to the Senator or Senators of the President's political party from the State in which the offices are located, or from which the appointees come. "The strength of the pack is the wolf, and the strength of the wolf is the pack." Consequently, if Senators are ignored, or if their objections are flouted, the Senate in most cases will not approve the nominations. I say "in most cases," for there have been instances of presidential victories. These, however, depend on the accidents of circumstance, the strength and popularity of the man in the White House, the merit of the appointee, the standing of the Senators with their fellows, and the general political situation. Senatorial courtesy waxes and wanes, depending on the interests of the Senate and the occupant of the White House.

* The clause of the Constitution is as follows: "He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments."

To an extent, such a system is inevitable. With so many appointments, scattered all over the country, the President must rely upon nominations by others. As President Taft pointed out some years ago: "The President cannot make himself aware of just what standing the official appointed has. He cannot visit the district; he cannot determine by personal examination the fitness of the appointee. He must depend upon the recommendations of others; and in matters of recommendations, as, indeed, of obtaining office, it is leg muscle and lack of modesty which win, rather than fitness and character." In practice, therefore, "because of the knowledge of the Senators of the locality, the appointing power is, in effect, in their hands, subject only to a veto by the President." Hence, "a President with high ideals and professions of a desire to keep the Government pure and have efficient public servants, can appoint to an important local office a man of mediocre talent and of no particular prominence, or standing, or character in the community." This, however, is the lesser of evils: party patronage is not so objectionable as personal patronage. It is better for appointments to be distributed to strengthen party organisations than to build up a political machine for the President himself. Even so, a President can, by appointments, placate some Representatives and Senators so as to turn them into blind supporters of his legislative projects. "Senatorial courtesy" cannot prevent, but can only scrutinise, the *pourboires* that the appointing authority proposes to bestow on members of Congress. If the American executive were responsible to Congress—if, in other words, decisions were not taken by an executive, unadvised except by politicians who are outside the Government, and whose interventions are not advertised—there would be a stronger case for unfettered presidential discretion. With the executive separated from and independent of Congress, there would be grave dangers in appointments by the President without senatorial confirmation.

In respect of the major appointments, the Senate has shown great restraint. There have been few attempts to influence the President's selection of Ambassadors. Senatorial scrutiny of judicial nominations has rarely been dictated by politics, but has gone to the issue of fitness. During the last two years, however, objections have been made in respect of the administrative commissions, such as the Tariff Commission, the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Federal Trade Commission. Senators have protested because cer-

tain sections of the country were not adequately represented, and because particular appointees have had business or professional connections which might disqualify them from service on a quasi-judicial body. The Senate has protested, in some cases successfully, when the President nominated proponents of high protective tariffs, railroad attorneys, or advocates of no State interference with business, for service on the boards having jurisdiction over such matters. Similar considerations caused the shattering of the tradition that the President is entitled to the Cabinet—that is, the heads of the large Departments of the Government—that he desires, without any interference by the Senate. In March, 1925, a Cabinet nomination was rejected for the first time since 1868. The reason was that Mr. Coolidge's choice for Attorney-General had had close connections with the sugar trust, recently charged by the Federal Trade Commission with activities in restraint of trade. The Senate feared that the trust laws would not be vigorously enforced. It was influenced also by recollections of its consent to President Harding's appointment of Mr. Daugherty as Attorney-General and its subsequent investigations of his office. The more care, therefore, with the new Attorney-General. Such vetoes by the Senate stand on a different footing from the usual senatorial courtesy. They go to questions of public policy. They indicate the wisdom of not leaving the President unfettered.

Mr. Coolidge, moreover, is the first President for many years to receive Senate resolutions requesting the removal of an official of the Government. For this there is no direct constitutional warrant. Any legislative chamber, however, is entitled to express its opinions on matters of public policy. It may pass silly resolutions, or rush in where angels fear to tread. It may pronounce upon subjects not strictly within its constitutional competence. Sufficient checks inhere in the amusement or disdain that will greet foolish or improper resolutions. There is, however, a special reason for pronouncements by the Senate on the fitness of office-holders to continue in the public service. The Senate, by confirming the nomination, has put its stamp of approval on the appointee. Surely it can say to the country that it has changed its mind, and that the person may be removed. This is what the Senate did in February, 1924, when it declared it to be " the sense of the United States Senate that the President of the United States immediately requests the resignation of Edwin Denby as Secretary of the Navy." The resolution was an aftermath of the disclosures of the scandals of the Harding Administration, which later resulted in the indictment and trial of two Cabinet members. Mr. Coolidge, however, declared that " no official recognition can be given to the passage of the

Senate resolution relative to their opinion concerning members of the Cabinet or other officers under executive control." He declared that " the dismissal of an officer of the Government such as is involved in this case, other than by impeachment, is exclusively an executive function." This was a correct statement of the law, but there was certainly no legal objection to action by the Senate. Nor was there any consideration of policy to prevent the Senate's expressing its opinion on the fitness of the President's Cabinet or a member of it. Public opinion could then determine whether to support the executive, or the body which had assumed some responsibility, when it confirmed the appointment. On which side the merit lay in this case may be guessed from the fact that the Secretary of the Navy speedily resigned from the Cabinet.

The congressional system of government is poorly adapted for any control of administration. Scrutiny of executive activities is, in parliamentary systems, an important duty of the legislature. In the United States, however, the separation of powers theory, and the fact that the executive never meets the legislature, mean that congressional influences on administration are confined to occasional opposition speeches, to debates on the budget estimates, which are considered without the presence of representatives of the executive, and to inquiries by congressional committees. These devices are inadequate substitutes for the questions, interpellations, and motions of lack of confidence known to parliamentary systems. If, by resolutions expressing the opinion of the Senate on particular appointees, some slight measure of executive responsibility can be enforced, and efficient administration can be encouraged, the result will be a great gain. Such senatorial interventions, however, have been rare and their future importance is threatened by the recent increase in the President's powers of removal.

This increase was decided by the Supreme Court in one of the lengthiest opinions in the Reports. Chief Justice Taft, who spoke for the majority, required 22,000 words to outline his position. Mr. Justice Brandeis and Mr. Justice McReynolds each filed a separate dissenting opinion of almost the same length, but asserting the contrary view. Mr. Justice Holmes also dissented with characteristic brevity and pungency. But the 22,000 words of the Chief Justice are more potent than the 45,000 words of the minority justices: the President's powers were increased.

The problem is an old one. It was raised in the first congressional session after the adoption of the Constitution. Did the President have the right to remove by virtue of his office, or was it necessary for Congress in creating offices to authorise removals? Much of the Chief Justice's opinion is taken up with an analysis of these early debates, of opinions expressed in the Constitutional Convention,

and of contemporary interpretations. The dissenting judges drew exactly opposite conclusions from the same material. Whatever the merits of this controversy, however, Presidents early began, and have continued, to remove officials of the Government. Had this not been the case, the spoils system could not have been developed, and new incumbents of the Presidency could not have distributed offices among their party followers. What the Supreme Court had to decide in the recent case was a different question : whether Congress could give certain officials security of tenure, and limit the President's power to remove. A congressional statute of 1876 provided that postmasters " shall be appointed and may be removed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and shall hold their offices for four years unless sooner removed or suspended according to law." In 1920, President Wilson, without consulting the Senate, removed a postmaster, who then brought suit for his salary for the remainder of his term.

Generally speaking, the Supreme Court of the United States is reluctant to give broad interpretations of the Constitution. It is usually eager to narrow the point at issue, and pass only on the pending case. When it must add to the Constitution, it prefers to do so by jots and tittles. No such considerations, however, restrained the Court in its recent decision. Instead of simply deciding that a particular postmaster had been improperly removed, Chief Justice Taft asserted the unconstitutionality of practically every legislative restriction on the right of the chief executive to dismiss the persons whom he appoints to office. This means that a number of congressional statutes are unconstitutional. The President may even dismiss Army officers, although Congress has sought to make them irremovable in time of peace except by sentence of a court-martial. Of more political importance is the fact that in creating administrative boards with quasi-judicial functions—such as the Interstate Commerce Commission—Congress has attempted, in some cases, to prevent removals except for neglect of duty or malfeasance. It has been the congressional theory that such officers should be protected against a President of opposite views, whether the divergence was political, or whether it related to the issues of a case before the quasi-judicial tribunals. All such restrictions are now wiped away. Indeed, the decision contains a plain invitation to the President to remove quasi-judicial officers if their decisions are not in accordance with what he believes to be sound policy.*

* In his opinion, Chief Justice Taft said : " Then there may be duties of a quasi-judicial character imposed on executive officers and members of executive tribunals whose decisions after hearing affect interests of individuals, the discharge of which the President cannot in a particular case properly influence or control. But even in such a case, he may consider the decision after its rendition as a reason for removing the officer, on the ground that the discretion regularly entrusted to that officer by statute has not been on the whole intelligently or wisely exercised. Otherwise he does not discharge his own constitutional duty of seeing that the laws be faithfully executed."

Perhaps the most important official whose tenure now becomes dependent upon Presidential pleasure is the Comptroller-General of the United States. In 1921, when Congress inaugurated a budget system, it created " an establishment of the Government to be known as the General Accounting Office, which shall be independent of the executive departments and under the control and direction of the Comptroller-General of the United States." The duties of this office, generally speaking, are to see that no expenditures are made except according to law. Congress, in other words, desires an audit under the control of the legislature rather than the executive, which should not be permitted to make its own interpretation of the legality of its acts. Thus, the Comptroller-General is appointed by the President with senatorial confirmation for a term of fifteen years, and may not be removed by the President, but only by Congress, on grounds of incapacity, inefficiency, or neglect of duty. Under Chief Justice Taft's opinion, however, it is now impossible for Congress, charged with responsibility for the appropriations, to have an accounting officer independent of and able to restrain the executive. The Comptroller-General may be removed by the President.

Indeed, the single class of officials now protected against the President are those minor functionaries whose appointment is vested in the heads of departments. The Supreme Court some years ago decided that Congress had the power to give security of tenure to officials designated by department heads. Thus the recent decision has no effect on the Civil Service. Thus also, a way is opened for Congress to protect certain officials against the President. It may do this by vesting their appointment in department heads. This would mean, however, unlimited executive discretion in appointments, for such designations would not be subject to senatorial confirmation. Congress must choose, therefore, between senatorial confirmation of appointments by the President, with subsequent presidential freedom to remove, or unlimited executive discretion in appointments, and subsequent absence of presidential authority to remove. Patronage is probably of sufficient importance to the Senate to make this body desire to share in appointments, and there will, therefore, be few if any attempts to take the way out suggested by the Supreme Court's recent decision.

The reasoning used by Chief Justice Taft in his 22,000 words cannot be analysed here. It is sufficient to say that, after drawing aid and comfort from century-old congressional debates, he made much of the argument that, if restricted as to removals, the President might not be able to perform his constitutional duty of seeing that the laws of the United States are faithfully executed. This con-

sideration is valid if the officer is a department head or one who can exercise discretion; it would seem to be less valid in other cases. The question was raised in 1867, when there occurred "the most striking instance of discussion between the President and Congress that has ever yet occurred, and which probably will ever occur."* One of the congressional weapons used against President Johnson was the Tenure of Office Act. This sought to enable civil officers of the United States to continue in office until their successors were appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The executive power of removal was limited to suspensions for misconduct or crime which had to be reported to the Senate, and if this body failed to approve of the President's action, the suspended official returned to his post. Johnson vetoed the Act, but Congress repassed it over his veto. He then attempted to dismiss Mr. Stanton, the Secretary of War, and was impeached by the House of Representatives. The Senate tried the impeachment, and the vote failed to convict. Twenty years later, the statute was repealed. To-day no one maintains that it was wise legislation. A President must not be compelled to keep as the heads of the departments of the Government or in other responsible positions officials whom he cannot trust. Occasionally, by way of *dicta,* the Supreme Court had intimated that the law was unconstitutional, but not until the recent case was such a holding definitely made. Then it was not necessary to the decision of the precise point before the Court, but Chief Justice Taft, in sweeping away all congressional restrictions, included the Tenure of Office Act, which had been repealed forty years before.

A minor postmaster, however, is in a quite different situation from a Cabinet member. Congress would keep the President from appointing, and it is difficult to see constitutional objections to the lesser power of restricting removal.† There are, however, as I have

* Walter Bagehot: *The English Constitution,* introduction to the Second Edition, 1872.

† This point was stressed in the dissenting opinion of Mr. Justice Holmes, who is the Dean of American jurists. His opinion is worth quoting in full, for it says nearly everything that is necessary to be said: "The arguments drawn from the executive power of the President, and from his duty to appoint officers of the United States (when Congress does not vest the appointment elsewhere), to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and to commission all officers of the United States, seems to me spiders' webs, inadequate to control the dominant facts. We have to deal with an office that owes its existence to Congress, and that Congress may abolish to-morrow. Its duration and the pay attached to it while it lasts depend on Congress alone. Congress alone confers on the President the power to appoint to it, and at any time may transfer the power to other hands. With such power over its own creation, I have no more trouble in believing that Congress has power to prescribe a term of life for it free from any interference than I have in accepting the undoubted power of Congress to decree its end. I have equally little trouble in accepting its power to prolong the tenure of an incumbent until Congress or the Senate shall have assented to his removal. The duty of the President to see that the laws be executed is a duty that does not go beyond the laws, or require him to achieve more than Congress sees fit to leave within his power."

said, certain officers whom, for convenience, the President may be authorised to appoint, but whose tenure during good behaviour should be fixed. As to these no checks and balances now apply, and in announcing this conclusion Chief Justice Taft took a different view of the executive's ability to inform himself of the fitness of candidates for office. When President Taft, as quoted above, thought that the executive was completely dependent upon information furnished by Senators, as Chief Justice Mr. Taft thought that:

> "In the nature of things the defects in ability or intelligency or loyalty in the administration of the laws of one who has served as an officer under the President, are facts as to which the President, or his trusted subordinates, must be better informed than the Senate, and the power to remove him may, therefore, be regarded as confined, for very sound and practical reasons, to the governmental authority which has administrative control."

Whether the President of the United States will make any extensive use of his new authority is doubtful. He may conceivably dismiss the present Comptroller-General of the United States, who is popular with Congress but annoying to the executive, whose expenditures are scrutinised in a manner that is always meticulous and sometimes tactless. Political wisdom, however, will be more important than legal power. The President, that is to say, will be deterred by fear of criticism. As Professor Howard Lee McBain, the distinguished authority on the American Constitution, has said, the decision has unquestionably enlarged the President's legal powers. "It gives him full rein. Judges excepted, he may retire every presidential appointee to private life at the stroke of the pen." But Congress still possesses some retaliatory powers. If the President is capricious in making removals, the Senate may refuse to confirm the new nominees. "It is difficult to see what the President will gain by making an opposed removal, only to submit to dictation in respect to a successor in the office." It is possible, therefore, "greatly to exaggerate the institutional consequences of this decision. Congress, if it be wise, will continue to impose restrictions on the President's power of removal whenever it deems restrictions expedient. These will not be legal compulsions; but they may serve as moral guideposts—perhaps even as danger signals." Six of the nine Supreme Court Judges have decided that the legal compulsions no longer exist. Congress and public opinion will determine how many danger signals are set up.

LINDSAY ROGERS.

FRENCH TARIFFS AND FRENCH COLONIES.

IN opening the Colonial Office Conference on May 10th of last year, Mr. Amery remarked that the whole system of British Crown Colony administration, with its haphazard complexity and lack of co-ordination on any structural basis, " would, I fancy, not be tolerated for a moment by our more logical neighbours across the Channel." The observation, though it needs qualification, was essentially just. By a coincidence, it is illustrated in the most interesting way by the new Tariff Bill lately before the French Parliament, which threw light on the aims and methods of the economic administration of the French Colonial Empire.

Politically, it is true, there is a striking diversity among the units of the French Empire, which are held under a variety of tenures as mandated territories, Protectorates and absolute possessions. The genius of the French for racial contacts has enabled them, moreover, to accommodate their rule to the character of the native populations, while administrators of strong personality, like Lyautey in Morocco, have given the countries they governed a definite aspect of their own. In economic administration, nevertheless, the French methods reveal an aim never quite realised, which contrasts sharply with the British system, or lack of system. Where the directors of British policy have conceived of a number of individual and active parts loosely coalescing through their relationship with the centre in London, French statesmen have seen, or tried to see, a connected whole in which the parts, restricted in their initiative, were shaped and disciplined to fit.

From 1814 to 1866 the French Colonies were subjected to a régime recalling the rigours of the old and discredited Mercantile System and the Navigation Act. The " Pacte Colonial," as it was called, exacted from them a production not competing with home industries and an almost exclusive consumption of French products. The Second Empire, yielding to the contagion of Cobdenism, gave the Colonies a brief period of practically complete tariff autonomy. But it is significant of the persistence of the old ideas of exploitation that M. Bokanowsky, the present Minister of Commerce, passes a very severe judgment on that interval of freedom. " Our Colonies situated in proximity to markets which could deliver to them, in favourable conditions, raw materials, machinery and products which they needed," he writes, " often lost sight of the ties which bound them to the home country and took account, perhaps too exclusively, of local interests."

Early in the eighties of last century the reaction came. Restrictions began to be imposed with an almost brutal disregard of local

interests. Indo-China, a customer of Hong-Kong and Singapore, whose imports from France were only one-third of those from other countries, was subjected to the French tariff so capriciously and suddenly that a large section of the commercial community was thrown into bankruptcy. Algeria, whose closeness to the home country constituted it a special case, was in 1884 made a department of France and completely incorporated in the French Customs system.

It was in the full flow of that reaction that the Tariff Law of 1892, the basis of the present system, was framed. Impressed by the example of Algeria, hypnotised by the ideal of an ultimately homogeneous Customs Union embracing France and all her possessions, the Parliament of that day passed the measure with singularly little discussion of its Colonial clauses. There is this excuse to be made for the legislators, that the reconstituted Colonial Empire was in its infancy, and that they did not realise its great potentialities or its variety. Its total area is now more than 10,000,000 square kilometres, as compared with 900,000 square kilometres in 1870, its population is 55,000,000, as compared with 2,800,000. It should be said also, in fairness to the legislators, that they shrank from the full application of their theory of " assimilation." They divided the Colonies into two groups. The first group, which now includes Guadeloupe, Martinique, Guyane, Reunion, Indo-China, New Caledonia, Madagascar and Gabon (a part of French Equatorial Africa), was to have free trade with France in both directions, but the French home tariff was to be applied to goods imported from foreign countries. Colonies of the second group, consisting of the French West African territories, Tahiti and the French establishments in India, were to be given special tariffs of their own, including duties on imports from France, but their exports to France were to meet the French minimum tariff. The second group was excepted from the scheme of assimilation, either because of the geographical situation of its units or because international treaties prevented the application of the French tariff, but it was hoped that these territories would be brought gradually into the first group.

A modicum of prudence also moved the legislators of 1892 to foresee the need for modifications of French tariff duties in the cases of particular colonies of the first group, where the disadvantage or injustice of the theoretical system proved to be sufficiently glaring.

The system has failed in its main object of " assimilation." After thirty-five years the " free " Colonies of the second group remain free, and M. Bokanowsky admits that their geographical positions and the necessities of their soil and climate do not allow any change to be made in their status. The present Tariff Bill,

indeed, proposes to add to their number Gabon and New Caledonia, which are to be withdrawn from the first group. Nor is the "assimilation" anything like complete in the case of the Colonies to which the full French tariff is nominally applied. The system is riddled with exceptions, which tend rather to increase than to disappear. The net result is, however, that while the march towards the ideal is suspended, if not abandoned, some of the worst vices of the *zollverein* remain.

There is no need to belittle the French achievement in the political organisation and economic development of the Colonies and the North African Protectorates. System or no system, the total expansion in commerce is remarkable. The progress of the ports of Dakar and Casablanca bears witness to the extent of the development in Africa, and almost every individual unit in the Empire shows signs of prosperity. According to official returns, the total trade turnover of the Colonies in 1920, imports and exports taken together, amounted in value to 10½ milliards of francs. It would be dangerous, however, to take this figure as an exact measure of growth. The economic gusts which followed the war, with the disturbances of the exchanges, injure the representative character of recent returns. Whatever the true figure, moreover, whatever the real advance in prosperity, the question of most vital importance is whether the Customs system has helped or hindered progress, whether, with a greater freedom, the prosperity would not have been greater still.

The answer is not doubtful. In the first place, the Colonies of the second group, which enjoy a certain autonomy, have made more successful use of their resources than those of the first group, whose position approximates most closely to the ideal of absorption into the *zollverein*. During the twenty years 1887-1907, the total trade of the French Colonies increased by 111 per cent., but the trade of those which were subjected to the tariff of France actually diminished by 16 per cent. The effects of the imposition of the French tariff have ranged, in particular cases, from mere thwarting of natural development to positive stifling. French Equatorial Africa, whose plight is all the more lamentable by its contrast with the flourishing condition of the neighbouring Belgian Congo, is languishing to death. As long ago as 1910, M. Merlin, then Governor-General, had the courage to declare that the main cause of the decay was the French tariff. The case of St. Pierre and Miquelon is even worse. From 1892 to 1914 these little islands, which had drawn their supplies in the most natural way from Newfoundland, Canada and the United States, were held mercilessly within the ring of a tariff designed for the benefit of manufacturers living 3,000 miles away. Compelled to accept French goods free of

duty and to raise an almost insurmountable wall against their neighbours and suppliers, the fishermen gave up the struggle. In a few years one-third of the population emigrated. The decree of 1914, which at last granted tariff autonomy, saved the one industry of the islands from extinction. On the other hand, French West Africa, which has a moderate tariff against a certain number of commodities, with a preferential rate in favour of goods from France, has attained a relatively large measure of prosperity.

It is impossible to resist the conclusion that a deliberate attempt has been made to divorce territories from their traditional sources of supply and substitute French trade for foreign trade. It would almost seem, indeed, that the sternest effort was put forth precisely in those parts of the world where the French Colonies had the most flourishing relations, as customers, with non-French markets. The case of Indo-China has already been mentioned. The French tariff cannot bring about a complete separation from Hong-Kong, but it can and does make the Colony pay dearly for the continued connection. New Caledonia, similarly, is largely isolated by the tariff barrier from Australia, though Sydney is only four days' sail away. By one of the anomalies with which the system teems, Tahiti, on the other hand, is allowed to trade with Auckland and San Francisco. In the case of Madagascar, the old and considerable importation of cotton manufactures from European countries other than France has been entirely stopped. Up to May, 1898, even with a 35 per cent. duty, cotton goods to the value of 6,000,000 francs were imported from foreign sources and only 600,000 francs' worth from France. But the duty was then raised to 45 per cent. and the whole of the trade passed into the hands of French manufacturers. This is all very well for Rouen, which has successfully resisted every attempt to get the duties lowered, but the price of cotton goods is grievously high for the natives of Madagascar. Nor should the effect of this abnormal form of protectionism on the revenue of the Colonies be ignored. Local import duties have been regarded as a considerable source of revenue. But if foreign goods meet a prohibitive tariff, while the French goods which take their place enter freely, the Colony loses its revenue though the home country gains the trade.

As a counterpart to this policy of imposed protection, the home Government has shown only too frequently its resolve to defend the French market against possible competition from the Colonies. There is an import duty, for instance, on Tunisian wines, which are good ordinary wines quite capable of holding their own in comparison with those of Algeria or the South of France. At one time, as a result of the successful negotiations of the Italian Government, Tunisian wines were actually subjected to a higher duty than Italian wines. That is no longer the case, but an import duty remains and,

more serious still, the quantity of wines which Tunisia is allowed to send to France is limited to a contingent fixed every year. It is difficult to imagine a provision less encouraging to a young industry. Other Colonial products are similarly restricted to fixed contingents. On the other hand, consideration for Colonial interests did not lead the French Government to temper the first effects of the establishment of sugar beetroot cultivation in France, which caused an economic crisis in Guadeloupe and Martinique.

The campaign to coerce Colonial trade has been accompanied by a parallel effort to distort the regular lines of sea traffic in the interests of the *zollverein* idea. The Tariff Law provides that goods shall pass without duty between Colony and Colony, but lays down the condition—and this principle is followed in the new Bill—that transport shall be direct. The enormous inconvenience of this stipulation is obvious in such cases as that of Dahomey, which depends essentially on the port of Lagos. The Minister of Commerce himself draws attention to one anomaly, which he proposes to remedy. At present, as he points out, French goods carried in a French ship to Australia and there transhipped to another French vessel are subject to the French tariff on arrival in New Caledonia. Numerous other anomalies of the kind exist. The promoters of the system can claim that, with the help, also, of subsidies, it has had considerable effects on the carrying trade. The share of French shipping in the export trade from the Colonies to the home country has increased from 71 per cent. in 1913 to 83 per cent. in 1925.

It would be too much to expect that the new Tariff Bill should break fundamentally with the whole system thus set up. The Administration has always been influenced, in the long run, by a conception of the Empire born at its centre, rather than by the accumulated opinion of the Colonies themselves. The principal Chambers of Commerce in practically all the Colonies of the first group have repeatedly asked for tariff autonomy. Immediately after a period of marked expansion in trade the Hanoi Chamber deliberately expressed the opinion that a more liberal régime for Indo-China would have given even better results. The commercial interests of Marseilles have steadily maintained their demand that the whole plan of applying the French tariff to the Colonies should be abandoned. To the idea of starting with the French tariff and then making exceptions in favour of the Colonies they oppose the idea of making a special tariff for each Colony, taking account, first, of the general interests of the Colony and, secondly, of the interests of industries in France. M. Bokanowsky has rejected this proposal for drastic reform. He does, however, provide for an amelioration of the present régime in the direction of greater freedom and greater suppleness of administration. New Caledonia and

Gabon are to be transferred from the first group to the second and thus enjoy tariff autonomy. Those Colonies of the second group which, while maintaining import duties, accord preferential duties to French goods, are to have either free entry or a very low duty on certain of their exports to France, their other goods meeting the minimum tariff imposed on goods from Great Britain and other most favoured nations. The Minister of Commerce explains that it is intended to give free entry to raw materials and foodstuffs from these Colonies on which at present the minimum duty is paid.

The two groups, however, remain. Indo-China, Madagascar, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Guyane and Reunion are still submitted to the French tariff, with exceptions to be established by decree. An arrangement, which the Colonies will certainly welcome, is made for the codification of the exceptions within four months of the promulgation of the new Law. During that period the General Council of a Colony may make a formal request that the exceptions shall not be applied to it, or may ask for other exceptions or modifications, and pending a decision on these representations the application of the proposed régime will be suspended. This promises clearness, at any rate at the beginning, and a removal of the innumerable complications which have accumulated as a result of the issue of a long series of independent decrees imposing tariff changes. Only too frequently exporters find it impossible to discover what duties are imposed on commodities for which they have received orders. It is also provided that where a Colony in future asks for a tariff modification the Governor-General may institute the modification by his own order if a decision is not forthcoming from Paris within four months. This is a concession to the Colonial Chambers of Commerce, which have complained that proposals which they make for tariff changes wait for a decision for months and sometimes years. With the same object of accelerating administrative methods the form of decree is simplified, and it will not in the future be passed about, as it now is, between three or four Ministries.

All this, it will be seen, does not amount to a revolution in the methods of Colonial management. There is still a jealous hold on the idea of regulation from Paris, and the real extent of the concessions made by Mr. Bokanowsky depends on the degree to which the grip is to be relaxed in practice. On a general view the French appear to be a long way from the ideal of allowing the Colonies to grow by their own force in the full faith that the home country will receive its due share of profit from their expansion.

W. L. MIDDLETON.

raised and there have been depressed, and that from time to time we see in the crevasses glimpses of lava smashing through from unknown and unanalysable depths below, which unchecked might easily sweep away that accumulated labour of centuries which we call civilisation? " 'Twas merry in England before the New Learning came up," was a cry of the Tudor age. Pessimists, idealists, social reformers, and Laodiceans to-day find a strange unanimity in the cry that " 'twas merry in England before the Industrial Revolution got Great Britain in its choking stranglehold." We are all ready to babble of green fields and dream of a new Great Britain, retaining by some magic of civic statesmanship the population, the wealth, and the concentrated economic production that the Industrial Revolution gave us, but set in an ordered and rhythmic pattern of Garden City Jerusalems in a green and pleasant land, and encircled by our historic silver sea.

What help, if any, does history provide? Was William Morris right in the fundamental principle which inspired the sleepless and feverish energy of a poet, an artist, a craftsman, a social rebel, that, roughly, since the final break-up of the mediæval age, about A.D. 1500, our English civilisation had been on the wrong course, and that salvation could only be found by going back, tracing out and following up the path of development that was then missed? Grateful as we must always be for the regenerative power and ideas that made Morris anything but " the idle singer of an empty day," we cannot accept either the diagnosis as correct, or the prescription as adequate and practicable. Are we then driven to take refuge in the determinism of a Comte, a Buckle, or a Karl Marx, profoundly as the determinism of each of these three differs in its principles or their application?

For reply let us take a rapid and panoptic view of our national history. Three characteristics will, certainly, impress us—first, its considerable length; secondly, the apparently inexhaustible adaptability of our race; and, thirdly, the prominence of definable stages of development with equally well-marked transitional links between them. As to the first, we are not to-day a young or a new people. Two thousand years have made our national subconsciousness an amazing treasury of accumulated experiences, and this subliminal national self is probably more potent than, as well as in continuous conflict with, the conscious national self, say, of 1927. This subliminal national self continuously surges up under stimuli of which we are very ignorant, and sometimes resists and sometimes reinforces the reconstructive efforts of the present; and this combination or collision probably is the explanation why some reforms succeed quickly, some very slowly, and some end in unqualified failure. Secondly, from dim and misty Anglo-Saxon days onwards, the

pragmatic power of our race to assimilate even the indigestible and distasteful, to crush from it some nourishment into the capital stock of the corporate national mind, and to make the illogical a piece of working and beneficial efficiency, has always impressed the foreign student of our record, and is perhaps our most remarkable racial characteristic. As to the third, do we not see in that record surveyed as a whole well-defined social and political anti-cyclones, that is, periods of relative stability, spaced between no less defined cyclonic intervals in which the combination of conditions that made the anti-cyclone breaks up, fades, re-combines with other incoming forces, presently to be stabilised afresh in another but different anti-cyclonic system?

Our national history, in a word, with its remorseless and increasing continuity in progress and its no less remorseless and unceasing progress in continuity, provides tempting evidence in support of that hypothesis of emergent evolution which we owe to Professors Alexander and Lloyd Morgan. For our purpose that theory may be summarised in this way. At a given stage in the process of development the elements that make a given synthesis combine to produce forms and an integration specifically new, the nature and properties of which could not be inferred from their components. If there is only a regrouping of pre-existing elements and forces, nothing that could not be predicted by accurate analysis, then there is no emergent evolution. Emergent is, therefore, contrasted with mere resultants. Emergence implies an incoming of the new, both new and unpredictable, and the integration which emerges represents a new creation, which may itself be presently replaced by another and similar emergent development. Each emergent step in fact represents a qualitative difference from the previous stage, and is a quantitative change of direction in the course of events.

The process of development is, from one point of view, discontinuous in that it is operative by stages; from another point of view, we can trace the continuity and measure the distance traversed by marking off the stages, and noting their qualitative differences. When we speak, say, of the Victorian or the Tudor epoch, we are confronted as a historical event with a synthesis of the political, social, economic and intellectual forces that make up at a given time a definable civic integration, which can be distinguished by analysis alike from the synthesis which preceded and that which followed. Not only was there in the Victorian or the Tudor age a marked regrouping of the pre-existing elements, but there was an incoming of the new, and the totality of the result was a new creation, and one which could not have been predicted by the most careful analysis of the pre-existing elements. The Victorian or the Tudor age could justifiably, therefore, be called a step or stage in an emergent

HISTORY AND CITIZENSHIP.*

THE Creighton Lectureship was founded annually to commemorate the career and achievements of an ecclesiastical statesman, whose work as an administrator was profoundly influenced by his mastery of historical science and whose work as a historian was distinguished by its philosophical grasp of affairs. If I have selected a subject which touches both on history and the science and art of politics, I can at least plead in extenuation of my temerity that such a subject is a tribute of piety to a great bishop and historian.

" History and Citizenship." We all, I presume, know what history is; but what is citizenship? If this is an absurd question to ask, the answer ought to be obvious and easy. Yet is it? Citizenship is a phrase that is hourly on our lips. We are, for example, instructed with monotonous regularity by laymen even more than by professional experts that the chief function and end of education from the nursery school and the home to the University is to produce good citizens. Civics, which has begotten so many textbooks, we are assured with categorical confidence, should be an obligatory subject in the curriculum of every school and University, and civic ideals should inspire our lives from the cradle to the grave. " Citizenship," in short, bids fair to be such a watchword for our generation as " the March of Mind " was for the generation of the Reform Act, that " March of Mind " which, as Dr. Folliott in *Crotchet Castle* said, " so many humorously identify with progress."

The question is not merely dialectical and academic, and I turn to that authoritative and abundant literature on Citizenship for enlightenment. Even if we do not go back to Aristotle, but are content to range from Hegel's *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts* to such writers and thinkers as Sir Henry Jones, Sir Henry Hadow, Sir John Marriott, and Professor Graham Wallas, we find that this literature breaks roughly into four groups—the purely philosophical, concerned with the theory of the State: the analytical and historical, which traces the evolution of ideas or the evolution of the form that the machinery of government has taken: the purely ethical, concerned with the implications that citizenship as membership in an organised community involves; and the psychological, which explains how the mind of the community and of the individual works. It is, we should all agree, a literature of range, distinction, and value, much of which has filtered into the manuals and text books which summarise the science and art of civics in ten chapters, or teach the whole duty of civic man in thirty lessons, with bibliographies as precise and select as the lists in the telephone directory.

* The Creighton Lecture for 1927, in the University of London. Some passages in the Lecture as delivered are omitted.

And now let me assume that both our State and we the citizens have assimilated all the truths and carried out all the precepts that the masters have provided in these treatises. Let us picture our State composed of those who have settled beyond dispute that " right ordering of loyalties " which Sir Henry Hadow accepts as the definition of citizenship, so that by a self-imposed discipline of brain and appetites they can reconcile successfully the competing claims of self, family, parish, county, nation and church, which paralyse the intelligence unversed in civic morals; who at school and university have acquired an adequate knowledge of modern history, and of the structure and mechanism and working of the State to which they belong, so requisite for the performance of civic functions; who can differentiate with ease the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council from the Recorder and Quarter Sessions, and the rôle of the local milkman from that of the Empire Marketing Board; who obey scrupulously every law on the Statute Book, and pay cheerfully every tax demanded by the appropriate authority, and do all this because they have grasped the truth that rights imply duties, and that the individual is but a single and related cell in a complex but integrated social organism; that in addition, as British citizens, they are adequately, but not aggressively, stimulated by an imperial faith and a deep sense of imperial responsibilities, and have learned how to harmonise a discriminating and radioactive patriotism with a no less radioactive, cosmopolitan, cosmic and international conscience; if, I repeat, we picture such an achievement of citizenship, shall we either individually or collectively have a clear idea of where we are going, into what we are developing, or how, either by purposive action or automatic reaction to external forces and environment, we can make certain what the next phase will be into which our State and society will pass?

For that there will be a next phase we can be quite certain. We cannot command the sun to stand still in the valley of Ajalon; and not even the Utopia of achievement will remain that particular Utopia for long. This problem has a poignant relevance for us today. Are we not painfully conscious that even before the war the anchors of our polity and society had unmistakably dragged; that we have been and are still passing through a slow but unceasing revolution in thought and feeling; that alike in the sphere of mind and spirit and ideas as in the world of material economic forces, a grinding denudation and detrition of the structure of our society are continuously at work; that the verdure which we loved is being remorselessly stripped off, and that the crust and strata of what we thought was a settled world have cracked; that levels here have been

process, for it represented both a qualitative difference in its integration and a qualitative change of direction in the course of events. That qualitative difference and that qualitative change of direction are the result of the creative power in the elements themselves; and when we apply such a theory of emergence to human society we obviously include the will and purposive action of human minds as no less an essential part of the totality of the creative elements at work than the most purely physical and material forces. Indeed, it seems to me that, as this emergent evolution proceeds, an increasing control by purposive mind is revealed and becomes for each successive emergent step or stage an increasingly decisive, though not the sole creative factor, in bringing about the next stage.

It is no less important to remember that in emergent evolution the previous elements are not shed or lost; they are retained, but fused by the decisive act of creative emergence in the new integration; and it follows that the longer a society has been developing, and also passing from one creative integration to another, and the greater the number of successive integrations through which it has passed, the more of the old and the pre-existing will it be carrying with it: and the more that the really creative elements in that accumulating heritage are conserved and fostered, the more easily will the next integration be successfully prepared and its character and direction be influenced.

And now let me focus the analysis on the situation to-day. The integration of political and social and intellectual forces that made the Victorian age has, beyond dispute, broken up. A new integration is in process of formation; if we use our eyes we can almost see the pre-existing forces creatively at work and bringing about a different complex, both unpredictable and new.

We have in Great Britain to-day not only larger numbers than ever before in a limited space, but the population is urbanised as it has never been urbanised before. Whereas a hundred years ago 30 per cent. were urban and 70 per cent. rural, to-day 80 per cent. are urban and 20 per cent. rural, and the transformation has not stopped. We have an ease and rapidity of communications that is literally recasting the structure, habits, and ideas of the community; and the political and social emancipation of women, the full effects of which have not yet been worked out, is, without exaggeration, a social revolution. These three features in combination are producing a political and social synthesis differing in quality from any previous integration, and one for which there is no parallel in our history. But the novelty does not end here. Let me add two more decisive points.

The control of environment by an increasing alliance of science and social organisation is steadily increasing longevity and efficient longevity at that. A child born to-day has, we are authoritatively

informed, an expectation of life of seventeen years more than had a child born in 1840. There is no reason to suppose that we shall stop at these additional seventeen years; but already this established fact is upsetting all our vital statistics and the calculations on which government and private institutions have based pension or insurance schemes. One fundamental result already making itself felt in the life of the community is the alteration in the traditional conception and potentialities of middle age. Consider for a moment the social import of a change which demonstrably is steadily increasing the ratio of our citizens of both sexes between forty and sixty-five years of age, physically and mentally capable of playing an active part in the life of the community. Already this change is working out in two very different ways—a higher percentage of those who will be justified by their vital efficiency in retaining their positions in the administrative, professional and industrial activities of the nation, thereby blocking the promotion to these positions from the younger strata below—and an increased ratio in the class, largely industrial, whose improved physique has enabled them to retire into the category of unemployed leisure, but still in enjoyment both of economic means and bodily health. Youth (*i.e.*, those between twenty-five and forty) to-day, and still more so in the future, will, in fact, have to wait longer and longer before it can reach a position of leadership and control, while we shall also have larger and larger numbers of functionless men and women living in our midst, retaining all the legal and political rights of citizenship but not directly associated with the responsibility of administrative, professional, or industrial work. What I may conveniently call this "problem of middle age" is, beyond question, going to be, if it is not already, a problem of great complexity and consequence, which is bound to lead to a far-reaching revision of many of the fundamental principles and ideas on which life, both of the individual and of the whole social organism, has so far been based.

Complementary to this problem are the conclusions to which physical anthropologists are inviting our attention. Let me cite here some sentences from Dr. Parsons' recent address at the British Association at Leeds:

> "We have been creating," he says, "in the last fifty years a new type of Englishman physically and mentally: although the width and breadth of the skull had altered very little from those of the oldest known British skulls, the height and the brain capacity had definitely increased. . . . It is not a harking back to any ancestral form, but as an evolutionary process is in harmony with the greatly changed conditions of life in the nineteenth century. . . . Heredity alone, therefore, will not account for the Englishman of the future. . . . Some of the characteristics of the Englishman to-day do not seem

to be hereditary at all; they are not following any Mendelian laws: we are building up a new kind of man differing in certain ways from the Long Barrow, Bronze Age, Celtic or Saxon types."

A new kind of man, living longer, and retaining an efficient vitality longer, in a new kind of political and social integration, an increasing and purposive control by the community over the environmental framework and counteracting the results of heredity—if this is not emergent evolution at work, it is something so like it that the name does not matter.

What is the significance of the argument for our problem of citizenship? Firstly, function clearly decides structure and not structure function. Control, therefore, of development can be largely secured by concentrating on function—by the creation of new organs with assigned functions and by extending, limiting or removing the functions of organs already in existence. Turn to the nineteenth century, and it is broadly true that the extraordinary success of the "Benthamites" between 1830 and 1860 and 1870 was almost wholly due to their concentration on "function." They had a coherent and logical interpretation of the life of an organised society, which they could express philosophically in terms of "values" and which in the spheres of political and social action was translated in terms of "function." Their opponents were driven to the defensive, but without any clear idea of what they were defending, or why; and the "Benthamites" wrought, in less than two generations, a revolution. What Benthamism accomplished in the nineteenth could be repeated in the twentieth century, but only if an organised and determined body of citizens can clarify our present intellectual anarchy into a comprehensive, concentrated and accepted theory of social life as a whole, expressed in terms of "function."

Secondly, any hypothesis of emergent evolution implies that in each emergent and creative integration the new relations of the elements at each higher level guide and sustain the course of events distinctive of that level which depends on their continued presence. Applying this interpretation to social and civic developments we can only distinguish "higher" from "lower" elements by a qualitative criterion, derived from an interpretation of what civilisation not only can, but in terms of "values" ought to mean for a humanised social life, that is to say, life as organised by and for a civic community. This expanding and continuous revaluation of "values" is itself an emergent creation. A new and unpredictable integration brings with it both as cause and effect a new conception of the integration itself and of the potentialities for further evolution that it contains. The function of mind as a creator of "values" asserts itself more and more clearly as the civic organisation develops, and this continuous revaluation in turn increases the creative power of mind. In what does that creative quality consist?

The answer brings me to my third point. I have suggested that, in the process of emergent evolution, while each fresh integration means both the new and the unpredictable, the old elements are not shed or lost, but are retained and fused, to emerge in a new set of relations. Nations, like individuals, have their neuroses and their morbid complexes, the roots of which lie in past but frustrated effort. We can provide a fresh task and a regenerative inspiration for historical science if we realise that perhaps the chief function of the historian is not so much to determine events in time as to disentangle, by a more scientific technique, the elements at work in each successive integration, to measure the values of their effects, and to differentiate their qualitative worth and their several contributions to national growth as a whole. We can either stand aside from the evolutionary process and let the blend make itself, or we can, by a constructive and selective effort, make it for ourselves. It is the function of a true historical science to aid creative citizenship by placing at its disposal not a mere register of facts, but a qualitative analysis of their "values." Not philosophers but the philosophical historians will be kings in a progressive society, and *The Institute of Historical Research* will be subsidised by a grateful nation in priority even to the Committee for Scientific and Industrial Research.

Let me illustrate my point by two examples. About 1620 we ceased to be the musical people that we unquestionably were in the golden anti-cyclone from Tallis and Byrd to Gibbons, Bull, Weelkes, and Wilbye. The renaissance to-day of that Tudor music, now seen to be as essentially English in its genius as the work of Spenser or of Shakespeare, may be, indeed already it is, a creative re-emergence of the past which will, I am confident, result in a new but unpredictable expression of the spiritual qualities and potentialities inherent in the nation's mind: for what a nation has once achieved supremely well can be, not reproduced as an exact copy, but re-created as a dynamic force. Not a mechanical repetition, but re-creation relative to a new environment, is what we envisage in selective control.

Look, in the second place, at that Industrial Revolution which is generally mentioned only to be denounced as a black page that we should all desire to tear out from the national record. But do we not too often forget that in every epoch the deliberate and purposive reactions against the predominant, but frequently transient, forces can be more lasting than the direct effects of those forces? Against the grime of mean streets and the squalor of the slums, the vulgar

materialism and the spiritual waste of industrialism, we can set such reactions as the best of Carlyle or Ruskin; the pre-Raphaelite movement; the renaissance of humanism which revolutionised our secondary education; the foundation and supremacy of our sanitary science which we owe to Chadwick, Simon, and Buchanan; the new conception of municipal citizenship that originated in Birmingham; the ozone of individualism which blows perpetually through every page of John Stuart Mill, and the careers and personality of men and women such as Shaftesbury and Arnold Toynbee, Angela Burdett-Coutts, Florence Nightingale, and Dorothea Beale. Moreover, much that one age inherits from its predecessor is simply a temporary organisation of environment; and by altering or abolishing the environment you sterilise the activity that created it. The removal of a slum, for example, is like draining a pool in which mosquitoes are bred; it sterilises the slum mind, not only in the slum dweller, but in the community that accepted slums as the inevitable consequence of intense industrial activity. Conversely, by retaining a mediæval Cathedral or an Elizabethan Manor House, you perpetuate the spiritual force and the ideal of beauty in the religious or social form that brought it into existence.

The familiar formula that we must be true to our past ought to mean that in each stage of development experience is not merely the name that we give to our mistakes, but is a scientific and historical register of our successes, which, line upon line, precept upon precept, here a little and there a little, have woven into the accumulating stock of principles and ideals precisely those elements which have sustained the nation, through successive integrations, in reaching a higher level, and which, if deliberately strengthened, will be operative in preparing for the next leap forward to a fresh, and in its turn creative, synthesis. Where but in the laboratories of historical science can the aid required be sought? And historical science, while it is concerned with the morphology of abnormal structure and the morbid anatomy and pathology of the social organism, is even more fundamentally concerned with the morphology, anatomy, and physiology of dynamic social progress and health. Joy, as all the finest imaginative minds have taught us, can reveal more of the secrets and the mystery of existence than sorrow. Nations which wish to win the Rubber of Life, like the players of bridge, have to develop their strong, and discard from their weak, suits.

Let me conclude by an example. In our national record no two achievements stand out more impressively than the principle and system of representative government and the principle of freedom of thought and speech. Not once, but half a dozen times from the fifth century till to-day, at critical epochs in the evolution of our representative system, we cut ourselves adrift from the main stream of

political development in a Europe which regarded our attitude as an irrational or ignorant insularism: and then, to the intense surprise of that Europe, we emerged not only with a strengthened system of representative government and a greater freedom of thought, but with a political and social organisation which triumphantly met the challenge of antagonistic systems of government and society. It was not Great Britain, but Philip II., Louis XIV., Napoleon or William II., who crashed; and a Europe which was always learning the lesson and always forgetting it inferred rightly that there must be some mysterious creative force in the insularism of these infernal islanders. The moral of defeat is transient: and the history of Europe is paved with the good resolutions of the sick, the disillusioned, and the stricken. Dictatorships, whether of one or of a minority, are born in the Cave of Giant Despair.

Mill's impassioned treatise on *Liberty* reminds us of the prolonged struggle in the Victorian epoch to retain intellectual independence as the most creative element of social health and growth. Political and social democracy, in which everyone counts for one and no one for more than one, makes the tribunal of the average, that is of the mediocre, mind the Supreme Court of Appeal; and to Mill the innate sympathy of the mediocre mind with mediocrity in every sphere of human activity, and its antagonism to all originality, were more formidable dangers than positive law or governmental tyranny. Fundamentalism is a moral, not an intellectual, vice; and it is not from ignorance that the Inquisition of the average man would have burnt Lister or Pasteur, Manet and Dégas, Wagner and Swinburne, as cheerfully as it would have burnt Darwin, Rénan, Bradlaugh, and the authors of *Essays and Reviews*. Would anyone claim to-day that, with manhood and womanhood suffrage, with the increasing mechanisation and standardisation of life to the scale of the average mind, and with the mass-production of opinion by powerful organisations—the newspaper syndicate, the cinema and the wireless—the danger emphasised by Mill is not as formidable as ever it was, and that a taste for crude, novel, but fleeting emotion is identical with an appreciation of real originality? The poisoning of the human mind by itself can be attenuated or sterilised only by the ultra-violet rays inherent in the sunlight of Freedom of Thought.

The principles and system of representative government are once again being challenged and particularly outside Great Britain and the British Commonwealth. We may be required once more to cut ourselves adrift from the stream of development outside our island, once more to turn our backs upon Europe, to plod our British way along the road of splendid isolation, and once again to save these precious achievements of our race, not only as a creative force for ourselves, but for the world. And what a scarred, blurred,

puzzling but inspiring record is ours, from the simple, primordial, single-cylinder engine of tribal society in the damp and misty dawn of Angle, Saxon, and Celt to the roaring furnaces, the controlled rhythm of the linked dynamos, and the infinity of geared and interlocking machinery, that make our modern imperial Commonwealth. Beneath the unending struggle of purposive mind with environment, with the inherited savagery of our animal ancestry, and with the vindictive and delusive Idols that one generation sets up and worships in its Market Places and the next grinds to powder by the brooks of Kidron—beneath this tangle woven in the loom of time lie the secrets of that inward and upward urge, which perpetually proclaims that a progressive nation and race is the master, and not the helpless slave, of Life. What were the emergent factors in the past, in what quality did their creative power lie, and what made these emerge? these, indeed, are the supreme problems both of History and Citizenship. It is my conviction that historical science must recognise the duty imposed on it to map the labyrinth, decipher the writing on the wall, and piece the interpretation into a scale of unchallengeable values. On such a foundation alone will rest a citizenship, emergent in the present and creative of a greater future.

C. GRANT ROBERTSON.

THE RELATIONS OF THE WHITE AND COLOURED RACES.

I WISH to discuss Colonisation, and the relations of the White and Coloured Races which it involves, as a peasant talks of his cabbages, and not as an artist or a poet would depict the same cabbages. It is the point of view of the man who is in the work, who has to dig and sow, manure and tend the plants. Let us concentrate upon the essential problem of Colonisation, which is the conservation and protection and the exercise of the rights of man.

The independence of primitive or semi-primitive peoples is lost at the moment when the first white man's boat arrives with powder or rum, salt or fabrics. The social, economic and political situation at that moment begins to be turned upside down. The chiefs begin to sell their subjects for goods. From that point the political work of a State in colonising is to correct, by its action, the evils developed through unrestrained economic advance.

Independence, then, is not lost by primitive peoples from the moment when a Protectorate or other form of government is proclaimed; but has already been lost in the commercial advance of which the political colonisation must be a corrective. The question for us, therefore, is not—"Have we a right there?"—the question is simply one of alternatives. Are we, on the one hand, the masters of these folk and lands, simply as raw material for our industries; or are we, on the other hand, responsible for developing a new social order, so as to create the possibility among those peoples of resisting the evils, and of developing themselves a new political organisation? We have, I hold, the right to colonise if we have the moral authority to exercise this influence.

The idea of the rights of man was formed and developed in the eighteenth century, when society was an organised and stable thing. Whatever the fundamental rights of men are, they can only be fully secured in a stable and well-ordered society. In a disordered society the very well-being of man himself often demands that his fundamental rights should be abridged. We have, then, to start in our discussion from an empirical rather than a philosophical basis.

The fundamental rights of man are, first, the right to habitation; secondly, the right to move freely; thirdly, the right to the soil and sub-soil, and to the use of it; fourthly, the right to freedom of labour and of exchange; fifthly, the right to justice; sixthly, the right to live within a natural, national organisation; and, seventhly, the right to education. We now ask ourselves how far are these safeguarded by existing colonisation?

The power to safeguard the rights of man varies in direct relation with the social order. If the social order is normal, the rights can

be complete; but if it is abnormal, they are menaced and limited. For instance, the sense in which our life is less normal since the war than before it, has its effect on our freedom of movement in Europe, and a consequent development of the passport difficulties as against freedom of movement. For this reason, in order to develop and establish in practice the rights of man in the colonies, our fundamental aim is to develop a social State more normal than that which exists to-day.

Let us now examine one by one these rights on the spot, face to face with the existing situation in primitive societies under colonisation.

1. *The right to habitation.*

Man has the right to live where his life has been developed, and not to be displaced. This is a burning point in primitive and semi-primitive society. Yet in colonisation the right is constantly menaced; often not by ill-will in any degree, but by the sheer force of facts. For instance, a large, modern white city grows up round a small, primitive village, or the creation and development of an arterial road on which the very lives of the inhabitants depends, involves living by that road. The future development of the good of the people may necessitate the movement of villages, yet, if it is done without long foresight, careful planning and adequate warning, with provision for the creation of new plantations, and if any violence enters into it, a fatal impression will be created in the mind of the native that he is delivered up to the working of an arbitrary will. Any movement that is ordered must always be on a rational basis and for the future good.

2. *The right to circulate freely.*

The right of emigration and immigration is to-day surrounded by every kind of difficulty. For instance, vast cocoa plantations exercise a very strong economic pull for labour on the population of the neighbouring territories. To allow that economic pull to have free play would rob neighbouring colonies of the essential labour. Therefore there is restriction on movement. In the collection of taxes again, there is a strong temptation to the natives to disappear into the forest and move to another area to escape taxes. So the administration insists that he stays in his own canton. From the State's point of view and from that of the development of the country this is reasonable; but the right to circulate is limited.

3. *The right to the soil and to its development and use.*

There is a right to the natural riches of the soil and sub-soil; and to dispose of it as one will. But here, again, two very strong factors enter in. First, the development of the value of the whole

land by enterprises from without. Few things are more difficult to foresee on a long view than what lands and sub-soils should remain in the hand of the native, and how much should be placed in the hands of enterprises that will develop their values.

Again, on the other hand, a chief is offered money to sell his land. The money is put into his hands. He spends it on clothes, and trinkets, and tools and other things for himself and his wives. The land is gone and the money is gone; and his descendants find themselves pariahs—landless labourers. It is, therefore, in the interests of the people themselves to restrict the right of the chief to dispose of his land.

4. *The right to free work and free exchange.*

No right is more fundamental or more essential than that of the free disposal by a man of his labour. In the present condition of things, however, we are confronted from time to time by circumstances and conditions that seem to make it essential for the State to demand labour. The State has the right to impose taxes to be collected in money or in kind. Has it also the right to collect service in actual labour? To take two instances. A famine occurs in a certain area to which food must be transported if life is to be saved. The men will not carry that food for simple payment. (Payment, of course, is always made whether labour is forced or not.) Is it not then essential actually to command labour?

Again, the destruction of human life by long porterage is in Africa terrible. The only way to stop it is by the engineering of long, arterial roads capable of taking motor-wagon traffic. In order to save life, therefore, it may become essential both to make the road by forced labour and to insist that along that road villages shall maintain the area of the road within their neighbourhood clean from the forest, which in six months would completely overgrow it; for a road left for that period disappears in the undergrowth. The labour of those villages is paid for, but is enforced. Directly we attempt that, however, we are faced by the problems of time and space. If men are taken long distances, leaving their families and villages, with consequent problems of food, sanitation and so on, great injustice can be done. The African loses his vitality and his elasticity directly you take him from his village. He is the most rooted of men.

The African primitive man who is accustomed to seeing his womenfolk at the plantation work, cannot see why they should not do the road work; and women are used on the roads to some extent.

In the control, therefore, of what forced labour is needed I would lay down these principles:—

(1) That it should only be used by the State and under stress of

about doing an educational work among the natives, I say to it: "Do not make phrases; show me your work. How many educators have you in fact exported to your colony?"

The work of education among a primitive people must be a blend of the intellectual and the manual adapted to the needs of citizenship in a primitive society. We must send out to such areas not only ordinary teachers, but artizan educators; in fact, a central problem of education there is how to make a craft loved and practised among primitive peoples. The native is in danger of cutting out the stage between primitive life and professional. That is, he tends to eliminate the stages of agriculture and handicraft. He has a certain antagonism to the use of tools, and a desire to sit in an office with a cigarette in his mouth and a pen in his hand. I am constantly hearing the phrase "I want to be a writer." At my hospital recently I was helping to carry things to the garden, partly in order to create this impression of the dignity of labour. I saw a native in white clothes standing by the fence, and asked him to join in and help. His reply was—"No, I am an intellectual; a brain-worker." I went to a store, run by a native for natives, and could not get a single tool that I wanted, but found masses of silk stockings. We cannot, therefore, build a proper social organisation until the native himself is skilled in making the essentials of his life—that is, growing his food and building his habitation. All independence, and therefore all capacity to face economic stress and to secure justice, is rooted there. If from the European side we want through our administration to hasten this end, our work is not to elaborate minute regulations for guarding the native, and so build up in Europe a façade of justice that really conceals injustice out there; but to send out as administrators tested men of humane feeling and goodwill, making them take all responsibility on the spot face to face with the natives on the one side, and with their own superior on the other; to increase the initiative of the officer and the authority of the chief; and establish our control by regular visitation through skilled, experienced men. The native moves under patriarchial authority. He does not understand dealing with an office, but dealing with a man in whom he has confidence and who understands him.

Many commercial men and administrators whom I know do their work among the natives with idealism, and it is after all on the character of such men that our success depends. It is on the development of manhood in the native craftsman and cultivator that a new social order can alone be built, and it is in manhood in the administrator and educator from the West that we can alone find the means of helping the native to re-create a new civilisation on his own soil.

ALBERT SCHWEITZER.

WOMEN STUDENTS IN THE UNIVERSITIES:

FIFTY YEARS AGO AND TO-DAY.

"OH! blessed are the few who sit at the table where the bread of angels is eaten. Oh! unhappy they who have common food with the sheep." Thus does Dante speak of those who, on the one hand, attain to the knowledge which "as being necessary to their perfection is desired of all," and, on the other, of the larger number who, by reason of the "many hindrances from within and without," fail to satisfy this desire. Dante's words might well have been used by the women of sixty years ago, conscious as they were of being deprived of the "noble perfection of knowledge"; and the men and women who, in the sixties of last century, took part in what was known as the movement for the "Higher Education of Women" aimed at removing the hindrances whereby they had been condemned to share the "common food of the sheep" and make a place for them at the "table where the bread of angels is eaten."

During the last fifty years the hindrances have been gradually removed and the aim thereby accomplished. Women are freely admitted to places of learning. They have shown themselves able to acquire knowledge, though some persons still question whether they do so to their profit and that of society. Such impediments as remain are those which they share, though possibly in greater degree, with men—"the lure," as Dante puts it, "of false pleasures or the demands made by domestic charges."

Now that the gates of knowledge stand thus wide open, it is interesting to look back and take note of the use which women have made of their new opportunities.

In the year 1877 (I take for convenience the half-century) the term "University Women" represented a handful of greatly daring students who, through the courage and foresight of two small groups of women and the disinterested sympathy of some members of the University of Cambridge, had been enabled to attend lectures, receive tuition and take unofficially the degree examinations of the University. During the six or seven years in which such privileges had been open to them, about three hundred women had availed themselves of the facilities for study thus offered, and thirty had ventured to put their newly-acquired knowledge to the test and had shown themselves able to do well in University examinations. Actually, there were in 1877 seventy-one women students in residence at Cambridge; to-day there are 465.

At Oxford women's colleges were still non-existent, though movements for starting them were on foot. Lady Margaret Hall and

absolute need. (2) That the sharing of women in such labour should only be (a) when it is near their own village to which they can return to sleep; (b) when plantation work is not needed (this time is in practice quite clear and sharply defined); (c) when they are not nursing a child. (3) That no children should be allowed to work. (4) That where the men live while working away from their villages, proper preparation shall be made in the way of sanitation, food, habitation; and (5) That the pace of the labour shall never be forced.

In the matter of the right to free exchange face to face with private enterprise, we confront a difficult problem. Experiments have been made in two directions of giving a particular company a monopoly of a certain area, or of allowing competition. Each process has its own advantages and disadvantages. If you give one company a monopoly of an area, it is to its interest to look after the natives there, to see that the clothes and hatchets, etc., that they buy are good; to refrain from introducing alcohol and so on. The disadvantages are that the company, having a monopoly, can sell to the native at its own fixed price.

The State now comes into alliance with commerce for developing the value of these areas, and here again we confront a problem of forced labour. Rubber or palm-oil grown a long distance from the coast is absolutely useless unless it can be transported; and often the only way to transport is by forced porterage by the State from the plantations to the point at which commerce on the coast can send up its steamers or its railways or motor-wagon. There is no other way of development, and it has desperately dangerous tendencies in it. Frankly, it is better to leave them undeveloped, in a certain number of cases, rather than develop along abnormal lines and with injustice. Where development is proceeded with, the State must exercise the most strict supervision. The indolence and inconsequence of the African may be infuriating often, and I personally suffer greatly from it; but I do not believe at all in the educative value of forced labour. That is not the way to educate him to work.

5. *The right to justice to and for the native.*

Primitive tribal justice has the great quality that it is justice for everybody face to face with his adversary, administered locally and swiftly by the chief. Attempts to administer justice by Europeans, with a judge either infrequently there or at a long distance, not knowing the language or the people individually, and unable to penetrate behind the lives of the witnesses, is often long, slow, difficult and inefficient. Furthermore, the natives' own law (often more severe than ours) has been developed to meet their own conditions. Therefore in order to secure the great need for a settlement on the spot at a man's own door, we must have travelling

judges or administrators who will move from place to place giving justice on the spot, in co-operation with the authority of the chiefs. One of the best administrators that I know always passes his judgment with the aid of three well-known and universally-respected older men on whom he puts the responsibility for judgment.

The greatest bar set up between the races on the spot comes less from the big, spectacular injustices that appear in the press than from the little repeated cases of violence on the part of immature, untested and inexperienced white men, exasperated beyond expression by the ways of primitive man. Before condemning even these acts of violence we should ask whether we ought not in fact really to condemn the governments and commercial enterprises that send young, untested, inexperienced men of inadequate moral calibre into the interior to difficult posts. The interior should also be subject to regular visitation by inspectors to investigate cases. This system must be accompanied by very careful protection for the witnesses. The inspectors must in all cases be experienced men who know the land and the folk, and the chief's authority must be strengthened. To do away with that authority is to destroy your one intermediary between the administration and the multitude. In Europe the intermediary between government and the people is the office. That process is impossible with primitive peoples. It is always the man that matters. We have to do not with peoples but with tribes; not with organised governments, but with chiefs. We are thus brought to

6. *The right to natural, national organisation.*

The only way to defend and extend the other rights already enumerated is to develop a new stable social organisation. To go back to the very beginning of what I have here said—the rights of man are a direct function of the normal organisation of Society. We have, therefore, to create a social organisation and economic conditions in which the native can flourish face to face with Western commerce. To do this, we need a stable population, possessing houses, fields, orchards, workshops, and the requisite capacity to create and use them. This can only be achieved by the exercise of the last right on our list—the right to education.

7. *The right to education.*

The education so far undertaken has been incomplete—in fact, usually the only educational work yet done has been that contributed by the missionaries. If, for instance, I want (or any man wants) an artizan—someone who can really work skilfully with his hands, a carpenter, for instance—I cannot find any save those educated by the missionary societies. When the modern State talks

Somerville College were founded two years later. Last year Oxford had over 800 women students, full members of the University, of whom 580 belonged to the four colleges, the remainder to the body of Home Students. London, too, had no university women students in 1877, though a year later the university did away with sex distinctions and women began at once to prepare for its examinations. In 1880 four women students obtained the B.A. degree. In 1927 over 500 women students graduated in London : and not less than 3,000 full-time matriculated women students were registered in the different colleges of the university. The ten English provincial universities (one only of which—Durham—was in being in 1877) registered in 1925-26* four thousand five hundred and eleven undergraduate women students. Thus the number of women students in the Universities of England has increased during the last fifty years from seventy-one to more than 9,000. They have a similar history in the Universities of Scotland and in that of Wales.

When, in 1922, the University of Oxford admitted women to membership with the rights and privileges pertaining to it, the women of Cambridge were still in the position accorded to them by the Graces of 1882, which admitted them to Previous and Tripos examinations but gave no further rights. In 1923 they were admitted to titular degrees and since 1925 a more definite connection with the University has been accorded them. While still excluded from membership and hence from any share in the government of the University, they can now hold university teaching posts and compete for scholarships and prizes. The Fellows of Girton and Newnham may become members of Faculties and Faculty Boards. At the present time ten women hold the position of university lecturers. Oxford women occupy similar positions. Moreover, Miss Grier, Principal of Lady Margaret Hall, has a place on the Hebdomadal Council and last year the Newdigate Prize was won by a woman student, Miss Trevelyan. The newer universities all include women as members of their teaching staff. In the University of London eight chairs are held by women.

This notable spread in university education among women is not the only point of difference between 1877 and 1927. Women needed courage and the readiness to face ridicule when, at the earlier date, they wished to take advantage of the newly-granted facilities for study. They were spoken of as " wild women," as " strong-minded," or " blue-stockings " (terms intended to be opprobrious). They had often to overcome opposition from relations and to push through many barriers before they reached the home of learning. To-day the majority of students enter the university as a necessity

* *Note.*—The figures are taken from the return of the University Grants Committee—the latest available by 1926-27.

—sometimes an unwelcome necessity—at the wish of their parents, or because they realise that in so doing they will have a better start in life.

Then, again, in 1877 a considerable proportion of the students were of age—some nearing middle age. They belonged to a time when only a few schools (e.g., Cheltenham Ladies' College, the North London Collegiate School for Girls, St. Leonard's School at St. Andrews, some schools of the Girls' Public Day School Company) aimed at giving an education comparable to that offered to boys. They had to make up for the deficiencies of their school or schoolroom days by hasty preparation for college entrance, and many crammed in their first year at the University the Greek, Latin, Mathematics and Divinity needed before they could aspire to the Tripos. Present day students have had the advantage of an excellent training in one of the many well-equipped, well-staffed boarding schools or day schools now in existence all over the country.

Again, if we look back to 1877, we remember that a student of that time generally differed somewhat in appearance from the women of her immediate circle. Her attire was what was then called " mannish," or it was in the æsthetic fashion of the time, or it was more austere and less elaborate than that of her sisters. She was a pioneer starting on a voyage of adventure upon an uncharted sea and, as such, showed a certain independence in disregarding the accepted limitations of the sheltered life of a girl of the period. Her days were strenuous, not as are those of a vigorous student of 1927 by reason of the multiplicity of her occupations, but on account of her singleness of purpose. Not a few students of that time worked ten to twelve hours a day and put into those hours an intensity of concentration difficult to realise in our own more easy-going times. No one entering Newnham, even in the eighties, could fail to be impressed by this fever for study, nor escape some of the exhilaration due to the sense of adventure and to the knowledge that upon her success, and that of her fellow-students, depended not their own reputation only but that of women as a whole. Every success obtained was a new rung in the ladder which women were not only climbing, but actually building, towards a secure footing in the University. Each First Class in the Tripos was therefore hailed with an enthusiasm which would seem ridiculous to-day. Rejoicing knew no bounds when in 1888 Miss Agnata Ramsay* was placed alone in the first division of the first class of the Classical Tripos : and when, two years later, Miss Philippa Fawcett was ranked above the Senior Wrangler in the Mathematical list, the students of Newnham lighted a bonfire and danced round it in their exultation.

* Afterwards Mrs. Montague Butler.

While the hours of work were long, the opportunities for recreation were not many. Games other than tennis came later. Bicycling began with the early nineties. For some students an hour's walk had to suffice as exercise. A weekly political debate, an occasional meeting of a college society, a weekly musical recital or choral practice—these, with a bi-terminal debate followed by dancing, formed the diversion of most students. The main recreation was talk—talk, not chatter, carried on often far into the night—about life and religion, philosophy and literature, political and social problems. The life was, to use a word in vogue at the time, " intense " intellectually. Social intercourse in the University was in the houses of the Fellows interested in the Women's Movement, where, too, the interests were mainly intellectual. The talk, as among the students themselves, would be of ideas and things of the mind—often brilliant and inspiring. With the exception of those who had brothers in one of the colleges, the women students had little to do with the undergraduates, upon whom they were inclined to look down as frivolous and lacking in serious interests. Such intercourse as took place was rigidly chaperoned. Chaperonage was, indeed, a marked feature of the period, not only on social occasions but also at lectures in the men's colleges.

An inevitable result of the spirit in which these early students went to work and the interests that absorbed them was a certain isolation, which continued even when the conditions giving rise to it were modified. University women formed something of a caste, shunned by the many, respected by the few, themselves to a less extent shunning the ordinary more trivial intercourse of their fellows. Even to-day, when students resemble their sisters in dress, in fashions, in love of games and gaiety, they are found to be a little aloof in society, having a slightly different outlook from their comrades. They are less easily satisfied with days wholly given to frivolous occupations and interests. Such differences as exist are in no way to be compared to the gulf which separated a Girtonian or Newnhamite of 1877 from the ordinary feminine world of her day.

Turning to the life of a student in 1927, whether in the ancient or more modern universities, we find it to be—as I have said—less highly specialised. The semi-cloistered seclusion is no more. There is no looking-down by women students upon their fellow undergraduates. They meet freely. The debate held not long ago at the Oxford Union, in which women took their part, is a token of how far this breaking-down of barriers has gone. Joint meetings of the debating societies of the men's and women's colleges at Oxford and Cambridge are frequently held. In London and the provincial universities such meetings are a commonplace. The Union of the University of London is run by men and women jointly. The conferences and expeditions planned by the National Union of Students affords another example of the easy intercourse and co-operation between students of the two sexes.

In speaking of the varied interests of university women to-day, as compared with those of two generations ago, I do not mean to suggest that work does not hold a place—a considerable place—in their lives. But, except to the few, it is not all-absorbing. Games, matches at home or in different parts of the country, innumerable societies, dancing, theatres, excursions—in fact all the activities which in all ages have been the pleasure of young people—claim, in greater or less degree, the time and thought of students in 1927. Their days are varied and cheerful. They are sometimes harassed as to how to fit in all these conflicting claims. They do not often overwork in the strict sense of the phrase. This being so, it is interesting to note that, judged by examination results, the work done is not less satisfactory than it was fifty years ago. The percentage of First Classes and good Seconds is as high as or higher than in the early days. Many students proceed to higher degrees and gain doctorates.

The success of present day students may be attributed in part to the excellent grounding they have obtained at school, in part to the rigour of the requirements for admission to most of the women's colleges and, again, in part to the very differences to which I have alluded—shorter hours of work, more recreation and hence greater freshness of mind and body.

A striking development in the higher education of women of late years is due to the general democratic trend of the period rather than to anything peculiar to women. It was undoubtedly hoped by Miss Emily Davies and her friends that women of leisure and the daughters of professional men would take advantage of the opening to them of the universities, and Miss Clough, though she was specially interested in a better education for teachers, had the same desire. Actually, the great advance in female education has not been among the leisured classes. The stamp of the universities has been sought mainly by girls who have to look to themselves for a livelihood in a more or less immediate future. Society mothers grudge to their daughters, for whom they desire an early marriage, the three or four years at the university needed to secure a degree, and fathers are disinclined to add to the necessary financial burdens of education the expense of a course of study which has no obvious material advantage. Further, the schools (many of them excellent) which cater for girls of this class find it difficult to provide an incentive to hard work, and are inclined to rest satisfied for their pupils with the lighter subjects of study and forego those which require more strenuous effort. It not infrequently happens that girls

thus educated are debarred from entering for a university degree because they have not the latin and mathematics demanded as a preliminary thereto.

Whilst there are thus various reasons why the universities are not largely sought by the well-to-do, every facility is offered to girls who come from homes of less affluence. Government, County and Municipal Scholarships and Exhibitions, to be held both during the school and university years, are plentiful. They offer an incentive to hard work to the ambitious among the girls (some of whom have begun their education in elementary schools) who see in the university degree to which they lead a means of advancement. The schools, too, acquire reputation through the number of scholarships to the universities won by their girls, and no pains are spared in preparing candidates for them. It follows that a considerable proportion of women students (certainly not less than 50 per cent. of the whole number) hold scholarships drawn from public funds.

I have no wish to deprecate the expenditure of public money on the Higher Education of Women, or to regret the facilities by which outstanding boys and girls, however poor, may have the chance of a period of advanced study. But it is to be regretted that there are not among women students a greater proportion of those who are not obliged to regard their university years as a mere training for a career, for whom the acquiring of knowledge can be more of an end in itself and who, moreover, add to the education afforded at school and college a tradition of taste and culture which cannot be gained in one generation. While there are happily always a few persons alive to the profit to the individual of the pursuit of learning, the general tendency to-day is to look upon the universities as training grounds for careers, rather than as places where the mind may be enriched. In particular, they are apt to be regarded, so far as women are concerned, as institutions for the training of teachers—an idea fostered by the high proportion of women graduates who actually enter the teaching profession. The figures at my disposal show that this proportion lies somewhere between 50 per cent. and 75 per cent. The limited choice of careers open to women forces them thus to enter a profession for which they have not necessarily a vocation.

In looking back over the fifty years in question and recalling the doubts and anxieties of the early days of the movement for the higher education for women, there is cause for astonishment and congratulation. There have been great achievements. The changes to which I have called attention will, no doubt, be differently regarded by different persons, by some as good, by others as unfortunate. They may be welcomed or deplored. There is, in fact, both loss and gain. There is loss on the side of singleness of purpose.

There is gain in that University education, with all the advantages which may accrue from it, has reached the average woman. If the keenness for learning to-day cannot be compared with that of the seventy students of 1877, we cannot be surprised since that number has been increased by so many hundreds.

I may perhaps close on a word of warning. There is from time to time a demand from some of the schools or in the Press for an easier access to the women's colleges. If this were accorded there would be a danger of further demand for the lowering of the standard in the universities themselves. Such a demand must defeat its own ends. It is not the term " university degree " which confers a benefit, but a certain excellence which it connotes. If a less exacting post-school course is required for girls than that offered in the universities, it should be taken outside the universities. It would ill repay those who worked so zealously to secure for women the " banquet of the angels " if, by so doing, they had been instrumental in lowering the quality of the viands there set forth and approximating them to the " common food of the sheep."

MARGARET J. TUKE.

CHILDREN IN THE WORKHOUSE

THERE is no English institution with a more unfortunate reputation than the Workhouse. In the early years of the last century it was justly regarded with horror by all enlightened humanitarians. One of the great services rendered by Dickens to the country was the infliction of shrewd blows at this hated institution. There was no more pathetic figure than Old Betty Higden in *Our Mutual Friend*. Ill and feeble, she hastens from place to place like a hunted animal, hoping only to escape "the great blank barren Union House," and to die untouched by Workhouse hands.

The effect of the Workhouse system on child life was appalling. The accounts that come down to us arouse indignation even now. The Report on the Training of Pauper Children, which appeared in 1841, in the same year as Dickens' *Oliver Twist,* said, " The atmosphere of a workhouse is tainted with vice ; no one who regards the future happiness of the children would ever wish them to be educated within its precincts." In the second half of that century, Miss Frances Power Cobbe could write of the workhouse, " I can affirm one thing on my own experience, and that is this : that one of the largest channels through which young lives are drained down into the dead sea which underlies all our vaunted civilisation is the workhouse." In 1865 she recorded an appalling fact : " Out of a single workhouse in London, inquiry was instituted two years ago concerning eighty girls who had left it and gone to service—it was found that every one of them was on the streets."

A change for the better has taken place within the last thirty years. Bodies like the State Children's Association have influenced public opinion and Poor Law administration. The authorities responsible for the supervision of Poor Law work have become increasingly humane and enlightened. Public opinion would not tolerate to-day for a moment many things that were taken as a matter of course by our grandfathers. Though there is still much that calls for amendment in Poor Law administration, the spirit and methods that characterise it are a vast improvement on what once existed.

There is still one reform which has only been partially carried out, and which calls for drastic action. It is urgently desirable that all children over the age of three should be removed from the workhouse. Whatever improvement has taken place, that institution with its hopeless aged and its human wreckage and failure is not a fitting home for the little ones whose eyes ought to be opening on life with hope and happiness. While the Workhouse shelters some who are the victims of misfortune, it is also the refuge of the incompetent, the vicious and the imbecile, whom society has been

unable or unwilling to support outside. It is not right that the children should associate with these unfortunates.

At a meeting of the Hinckley Guardians in August of this year a question arose as to what was to be done with two child inmates of the Workhouse who had been away at a convalescent home. " We ought not to bring them back to their former environment," said one of the Guardians, " it must be terrible for them in that day-room with all those old people. Their faces are enough to frighten them." To surround the young by features marred and deformed by poverty and sorrow and vice is cruel and unjust. The Minority Report truly said, " The person who would urge that the atmosphere and associations of a workhouse are a fit upbringing for a child merely proves his incapacity to express an intelligent opinion upon the matter."

The growth and development of children is retarded by the monotony and unnaturalness of their lives in the Workhouse. Like all children living in barrack institutions they become dull, sullen and mechanical. They are a class apart, and get stamped with the stigma of pauperism and exhibit an unmistakable type. The machinery for washing, cooking and the like, that must necessarily be used in large institutions, leaves the child dependent and helpless and ignorant of domestic work and appliances. The organisation and discipline that are essential where children are congregated together deprive the children of initiative and resource and the capacity to cope with the daily difficulties of life.

The true aim of those who are responsible for the bringing up of children should be to develop the individuality of the little ones and the differences in their characters and gifts, and not to encourage a dull uniformity of thought and action. This requires individual attention and care, and it is rarely possible for the officials (however well-intentioned) to give these. The children are thus deprived of what more than anything else is essential to their happiness and wellbeing. Poor Law children need the same individual affection, care and training as every good father would wish for his own children.

A typical instance of the effect of Workhouse life on children is afforded by a discussion that took place this year at a meeting of the Hastings Board of Guardians. (The *Hastings Observer,* March 19th, 1927.) It is stated :

> " The Nurses' Committee reported that for some time past the members of the Committee had felt very perturbed at the nervous timidity displayed by the children in the Nursery. The appearance of a dog or cat in the Nursery frightened the children to an abnormal and unnatural extent. Long confinement between four walls and a general absence of organised amusement and play was undoubtedly the cause of the trouble, and was a matter which,

in the opinion of the Committee, called for immediate remedy. The work in the Nursery generally was very heavy, and although the children were played with by the staff to a certain extent, there was not the opportunity for the staff to entertain the children and take them out for walks that was so necessary to infant life." . . . "Miss Kenyon said she was extremely glad the matter had arisen. She thought there was a necessity for more attendants in the Nursery. She found that the children did not get a sufficient amount of personal attention. It was not that the attendants were neglectful but that they were always busy, and it was seldom that there was much more than one in the Nursery at a time. She had heard that when the children went to school it was found that they were very backward, and this was only the result of not having the necessary personal attention. The children never went outside the Institution, and therefore never saw everyday objects which developed their intelligence.

"Miss Underwood said the children seemed to have nothing to play with and no occupation.

"Mr. Youhill said he had seen some very distressing cases in connection with young children. One child was so frightened when she saw a dog that she was bordering on hysteria.

"Mrs. Boutwood said the children had probably never seen a cow or train."

Where Poor Law children are boarded out or housed in small Scattered Homes they develop in a way that is impossible in barracks and big institutions. They grow up in touch with life. They have a natural human existence in a family and share the home atmosphere. They learn to think and act for themselves. They acquire self-reliance and strength of character and develop personality. They receive the individual care and attention that every little child needs. They go to the ordinary schools, associate with the children of the neighbourhood, and thus escape the stigma of pauperism.

The State Children's Association and those interested in Poor Law children have strenuously advocated their removal from the Workhouse. Article 4 of the Poor Law Institutions Order, 1913, requires the removal of all children over three years of age from the Workhouse, but a number of Boards of Guardians have not complied with this Order. The Ministry of Health has naturally and properly endeavoured to secure obedience to the Order by persuasion and tact, and has kept its powers of compulsion in the background as a last resource. In spite of the efforts of the Inspectors of the Ministry of Health there are still obstinate and backward Guardians.

The recent Report of the Ministry of Health shows how many Boards of Guardians still lag in the march of progress and how much yet remains to be done. The Poor Law District which enjoys an unenviable pre-eminence in non-fulfilment of the law is the South-western District, which comprises the Counties of Dorset, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall. Other Districts have children in the Workhouse who ought not to be there, but none are so bad as the District

mentioned. Out of sixty-two unions in this area only thirty have provided homes for their children apart from the Workhouse. One Board had to be compelled under threat of mandamus to remove thirty children from their undesirable surroundings. There are still some 330 children between three and sixteen years of age in this area being brought up in the Workhouse. 37 per cent. of the children in receipt of institutional relief are being thus treated.

The bad effects of Workhouse life upon children are in evidence in the South-Western District. "During last year," said the inspector, "I myself have found boys sleeping in, or with access to, the dormitories of men whose characters are dubious, and in the girls' wards women of doubtful character freely employed in the household work." The Workhouse taint deprives the children of opportunities for associating in a natural way with other children whose influence would be good. "Only last month," says the same inspector, "I heard of a case in which the workhouse boys could not join the Boy Scouts because the Scoutmaster did not like the other Scouts to mix with them."

The children are not allowed to learn cooking and cleaning and the use and wont of domestic life. The training the girls get is of no use in their after lives. The inspector had to point out to one Board of Guardians that it was quite possible for a girl to leave this Workhouse at the age of fourteen without having learnt from her stay there the difference between a saucepan and a frying pan, or how to cut and butter a slice of bread. So incompetent are the girls sent to service from this Workhouse that they get no more than one-and-sixpence a week during their first year of work. The children also learn, as they grow older, that the Workhouse is a place where adults who are in difficulties are fed, clothed, and housed with little or no trouble to themselves. The inspector for the South-western District says that in one West-country Workhouse he found two girls of about seventeen who had been brought up there and who could give no reason for leaving their situations in service except that they "were more comfortable in the House."

It is said that Boards of Guardians excuse themselves for the neglect of their duty and their acquiescence in an admitted evil by saying that the Poor Law is in the melting-pot and that their responsibilities will shortly be removed from their shoulders by legislation. To anyone who knows the facts this excuse will not carry the slightest weight. If this plea had not been available they would have found another or not bothered to put one forward at all. What is wanted is that these Boards should be shaken out of their apathy and routine and that they should be penetrated by the spirit of progress and humanity that pervades Boards in Districts more advanced. Whatever changes may be effected in the Poor Law, the needs of children will always be of paramount importance. J. A. LOVAT-FRASER.

came into the War. Propaganda took the stage as never before, and in a scientific form corresponding to its use as a war weapon outside the theatre. Both inside and outside the theatre the aims of propaganda were alike, nationally (1) to maintain the " Home front," (2) to obtain necessary supplies of men, money and munitions, (3) to discredit the enemy; internationally (1) to convert to the justice of the cause of the Allies and its ultimate victory, (2) to justify co-operation with friendly powers, (3) to win sympathy for them by exhibiting and praising their characteristics, qualities and achievements, (4) to persuade neutral States and potential Allies to co-operate. Thus national and international policies made their appearance on the stage. Theatrical propaganda followed closely the rapidly changing phases of the War, and the English theatre was used with much success for recruiting, raising war loans, attacking Germany, advertising the worth and claims of the Allies, for economy, public service and health campaigns. But its work in these directions, like the work of the French commercial theatre, was thoroughly debased owing to the fact that the ownership and control of each theatre passed at wartime into the hands of five or six dictators representing vast financial trusts and combines. The exhibitions became, in consequence, absolutely dangerous to public morality and destructive to the spiritual health of the community. At one period the Censor was compelled to license banned plays: Ibsen's " Ghosts," Brieux's " Damaged Goods," etc., to combat the epidemic of venereal disease among soldiers home on leave, said by military leaders and other responsible persons to be largely due to the exciting and filthy character of theatrical exhibitions.

Likewise the story of the German theatre in wartime may be said to be that of its allied countries with an established national theatre system. Propaganda had distinct phases answering to those of Entente countries. But it was supported by superb material in the form of an extensive repertory of plays taken from the pages of living history. The German theatrical authorities quickly realised the great propaganda value of such material and used it from the first as a most powerful and effective weapon of war. Results proved that they derived the utmost advantage from applying it to the military situation. From this source the German people derived dignity, courage, fortitude and consolation that enabled them to survive the terrible reverses of a titanic struggle that has never been equalled. Moreover, it proved beyond doubt that the possession by a powerful nation of great masterpieces interpreting the historical phases of its struggles and development, together with national machinery for giving them full effect at moments of overwhelming national crisis, brings advantages which nations destitute of such means cannot hope to obtain. Such plays serve to lift the curtain

on the meaning of parallel sets of factors, forces and circumstances of war and invasion, like the invasion of Germany by Napoleon and the invasion of the Ruhr by the French. They strengthen the case against the enemy and fortify the power of resistance of the people.

With the end of the War the political and national sides of propaganda were continued and developed with extraordinary energy. In fact, the military war was replaced by a propaganda war of world-wide proportions. Poison literature took the place of poison gas. That war occupied the stage. In the Russian theatre it found fiercest expression in the form of Militant Communism. Such expression actually marked the re-birth of the Russian theatre. By the 1917 October Revolution this theatre was placed under the control of the Bolshevists, by whom it was reorganised to apply the means and serve the end of communism. The end is the realisation of a class-less society (whatever this may mean), and the method is class-war. As a result the aim of the theatre has been and still is, to reflect a new conception of communist life and a new ideal of citizenship. So since 1917 the theatre has passed through distinct phases of development, staging first a world of militant communism (1917-21), the result of which was the establishment of a militant theatre capable of fighting on behalf and with the direct aid of the people for the Bolshevist principles for which the Revolution was fought. The theatre was a roofed-in, and an open-air one in which thousands of persons, workers, peasants and soldiers, were encouraged to fight the Revolution all over again under theatrical conditions. From 1922 to 1927, during a period of comparative stability, another world has been staged, one reflecting Nationalism or Constructive Communism. Thus the Russian theatre has become a functional part of the social organism.

To-day the Russian theatre reveals a greater unity than is to be found in any theatre outside Russia. All the playhouses have come together in the closest socialist organisation, and practically every part of the structure which they form has a relation to practically every other part. The theatre as a whole is an epitome of present-day Soviet life. Though unified it may be said to have a Right and a Left Wing. Three years ago it had three political divisions, Left, Centre and Right. The Centre has now disappeared, and the Right and Left exist only for the purpose of analysis. The Right is the more academic aspect of the aggressive Left. Its function is to express (1) the best and worst of the old social life (Historical); (2) exaggerations of the new social life (Satire); (3) the best side of the new social life (Construction). For the first section, history provides a good many characters and events (of course, mainly revolutionary). History is dealt with in periods beginning with the court and peasant revolts under Stenka Rasin and Pugatchev, and, coming

THE THEATRE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE War had the effect of giving the Theatre a new purpose, and subsequent events have widened and deepened that purpose. What the purpose is I shall show in this article. I have already explained and illustrated it in a book written in 1925.* Since the book was written I have re-visited the countries with which it deals and have collected further and up-to-date evidence in support of my argument that the Theatre has within the past thirteen years recaptured its true form and function as a part of the social organism. Nowhere have I found that the tide of the new purpose has ebbed. In one or two cases (as in Russia) it has, on the contrary, inundated the theatre and thus completely changed its pre-war character. The object of this article is to survey the very latest facts of the important change which the War introduced to the Theatre. By the Theatre I mean the playhouses in the thirteen Western and Eastern European countries directly affected by the War and the Revolution. For the sake of brevity I use the word Theatre to include the drama, as indeed, properly speaking, it does.

Let me first briefly indicate the nature of the change. Towards the close of 1914 a very great change in the constitution of the Theatre and the character of its work began to show itself. The nature of that change can best be shown by a reference to the conditions prevailing in the Theatre in the early part of the year. As an illustration, let me take those in the English theatre. Just before the War began that theatre was of a wholly individualistic character. It was a queer mixture of ancient and modern intelligence, and of up-to-date commercial enterprise complete in every detail with scientific business method. As far back as one could trace it, the theatre's parentage, so to speak, was Greek (literary traditions), mid-Victorian (moral assumptions), Middle Ages (dialectical metaphysics), late nineteenth-century (dialectical materialism, Marx & Co.), early twentieth-century Latin Quarter and Bergsonism (æsthetics), and a strong contemporary blend of Wall Street and Stock Exchange (commercial organisation). This jumble gave it five little worlds, none of them of any particular importance, all trying to take the stage at once. There was the World of Good English over which Mr. William Archer presided, assisted technically by Mr. A. B. Walkley leaning heavily on Aristotle. The World of Moral Reform in which the famous Fabian economist and authority on Long Life, Mr. George Bernard Shaw, was seen supreme, playing with his own opinions and exhibiting an unverifiable view of the social process. It was a view resting on dialectical materialism ("Widowers' Houses" and "Candida") and dialectical metaphysics ("Man and Superman"). There was the World of Space exhibited by Mr. Edward Gordon Craig and Co. as the Universe of the Imagination, in which Mr. Craig was seen playing with a limelight and a box of marionettes. And there was the World of Money-changers in which outstanding Lords of Money and Business (Mr. Horatio Bottomley, Mr. James White, Mr. Solly Joel) financed the purchase of playhouses and of human attractions displayed by Mr. Charles Cochran and other showmen for big profits and quick returns, and thus helped the public to define the word Theatre as markets and deals.

* *The New Spirit in the European Theatre*, 1914-24. By Huntly Carter.

By such tendencies the English theatre was completely separated from the great bulk of the people. Then came the War to bring about a new and closer relation between political, economic, industrial and social needs and drama forms; and then the Revolution and after events to drive the Theatre and the world produced by the War into even closer relation. The Theatre has in consequence followed and reflected current events and rapidly changing public moods in their chronological order, with a veracity that has no parallel in theatrical history. In the aforementioned book I proposed to preface each chapter with a detailed synopsis of current events—military, political, economic, psychological, etc.—affecting the theatre of each warring country and determining its work. But I found I had so much collected material that to carry out my proposal would have necessitated a work running into several imposing volumes. So the utmost I could do was to give brief analyses of the chief events sufficient to explain each of the definite periods into which the work of the War and subsequent period and that of the Theatre fell, and to suggest the method of correlation. Perhaps some day I shall have an opportunity to complete this very important work of sociological interpretation of the contemporary Theatre. Meanwhile I must concern myself with brief summaries of such new material as comes to hand. In the present article I propose to show the growing relation between the Theatre and Foreign Affairs.

The story of how the War drove the Theatre into closer relation with the great bulk of the people is the story of how the Theatre became (1) a Fighting Machine pledged to the cause of (a) Militant Democracy, (b) Militant Communism; and (2) a Constructive Machine designed to promote (a) Nationalism, (b) Internationalism. How, in short, it plunged with the people into a Life and Death struggle and fortified Resistance, assisted Recovery, and is leading to Reconciliation.

Thus the story of the 1914-27 Theatre falls into two divisions, each of which may be subdivided into two parts. The story of the English theatre in wartime is similar to that of the French commercial one and the American commercial theatre after America

to more recent times, the Decembrist 1825-1905 revolts; the 1917 February and October revolts; the Civil War; and so on. The Russian Empress Elizabeth, Catherine II, " 1881," " Gapon," are among the subjects of historical plays. International historical affairs are reflected by such characters as Cromwell, Danton and Joan of Arc adapted to Soviet purpose.

The playhouses, though united by a common purpose, are divided off, as it were, to explain special sides of the new social life. Thus the State academic playhouses led by the celebrated Moscow Art Theatre and its First Studio (now Bolshevist State theatres under the titles of the Moscow Academic Art theatre and the second M.A.A.T.) handle the foregoing three subjects, which admit of the class-war method, in a compromising way. For instance, M. Bulgarkov's " Turbin Family " at the M.A.A.T., and A. M. Faiko's " The Adventurous Barber " at the 2nd M.A.A.T., are studies of the class-war capable of two interpretations. They appeal both to the " Whites " and the " Reds."

More to the Left are the academic playhouses of Moscow Kamerny Theatre type. Till within three or four years ago the Kamerny Theatre stood for the reality of art. Nowadays it is in the main current of materialism and presents plays dealing with the everyday problems uppermost in the public mind. For instance, recently it staged a version of Eugene O'Neill's banned Play, " Desire Under the Elms," to which it gave an up-to-date Romeo and Juliet interpretation in response to the public demand for light on prevailing problems of love and marriage. The Moscow State Jewish theatre has also changed its policy considerably of late. Formerly it was engaged in propaganda on behalf of Jewish nationalism. Today it is concerned with satires on Soviet extravagances and international affairs. Thus, one night it gives you " The 137 Children's Homes," a Soviet version of " The Revizor " (Ostrovsky's extremely popular classic) and the next " The Tenth Commandment," a biting satire on British policy in Palestine.

At the extreme Left are Meierhold's Theatre and the Trade Union and Labour playhouses, and innumerable Labour theatrical club organisations. Meierhold's Theatre is the international Mecca to which labour delegates from all parts of the world go to see the most violent aspects of class-war, both national and international, on the stage. Probably the two most popular productions are H. Erdman's " Mandate," illustrating a post-revolution phase of the war between the new and old social elements, and " China Roar," a powerful play designed to discredit British policy in China.

Of quite recent growth are the Trade Union theatre and the Labour Dramatic theatre, both devoted to the interpretation of questions affecting the revolutionary workers. Also belonging to this

revolutionary group is the Proletcult (proletarian culture) theatre, which was established soon after the Revolution and for the purpose of encouraging the young workers to handle their own problems in drama form. To-day it is staging the Soviet Factory and explaining its conception, nature and value, while calling attention to the enemies within its gates. For instance, one recent crude play told the story of the young worker who was robbed of his invention by a wicked " white " engineer, showed how his factory comrades came to his aid, recovered the invention and punished the wicked " white." The characters were set moving against a realistic background of new factory paraphernalia, the Lenin corner, the babies' crêche, the making of the factory news-sheet by the workers, and other bolshevist marvels.

The chief business of these extreme Left playhouses is to instruct and enlighten the public concerning predominating socialist and economic problems. These include industrialisation and collectivism of agriculture; industrial reconstruction; the questions of the great economy campaign. Workers are told to work, to save and serve each other, and to unite against their enemies, especially the elements of the old social order who are supposed to be plotting against them in their midst.

It will be gathered from this that the new Russian theatre has, in addition to its very strong revolutionary political propaganda side, an exceedingly important sociological side. It reflects in an unusually definite manner the relation between the community (spoken of as the mass) and its economic and cultural environment.

The second of the two periods into which the 1914-27 Theatre falls saw that theatre changed from a Fighting to a Constructive machine. During the first period the Theatre had registered the bankruptcy of social reform in the victorious countries and the bankruptcy of imperialism in the defeated ones, and the disappearance of both from the stage except as subjects for ridicule. It had done much to substitute drama for dogma, to instruct and enlighten public opinion on national and international matters.

From 1919-27 the Theatre reflected two phases of public affairs: (1) Nationalism and Recovery, (2) Internationalism and Reconciliation. Throughout this period the German theatre revealed Germany undergoing a remarkable change from communism to nationalism, thence to internationalism, using throughout the finest dramatic material for the purpose. By 1919 the Russian Revolution had evoked revolutionary outbursts, extensive strikes and exciting political events in most European countries. Theatrically it had the effect of doubling the purpose of political propaganda by adding to the fierce nationalism campaign the equally fierce war on extreme socialism or communism. The latter, of course, served to fix public

attention on international affairs. In Germany socialists, including communists, continued in power after the Revolution of 1918 and in consequence their supporters, propagators of socialist ideals and ideas, were able to invade the theatre and stage the old crumbling social order and the new one such as they conceived it. Disillusioned members of the old social order (not necessarily socialists) sought to dramatise the horrors of the World War. Fritz von Unruh, for instance, whom the War had converted to a view of its own unrighteousness, attempted to convert the public to this view. Other anti-war propagandists endeavoured to stage a microcosm of a world revealing how the bitterness of war had influenced the younger writers' conception of the world, of the structure of society, of the value of kings and dynasties. Communists, on their part, sought to put a world of class-war on the stage. Ernst Toller, for instance, influenced by Hauptmann's " Weavers," showed the masses roused to revolt by the supposed unrighteousness of machinery. With the subsequent decline of extreme socialism came a broadening of democracy and dramatic themes began to reflect public opinion in favour of the downfall of tyrants, the overthrow of the old Prussian tyranny, the regeneration of mankind, and the exaltation of the collective Man as the representative of the people. Strengthening nationalism showed itself in both active and a great spontaneous passive resistance to the continued war on Germany by France. The theatre continued its policy of instructing and enlightening public opinion as to the meaning of catastrophic events with the best available material. Thus, for example, it met the French invasion of the Ruhr with plays written at the time of Napoleon's invasion of Germany. " Napoleon and the Hundred Days " appeared simultaneously in many German playhouses. It also exhibited plays specially written to expose the shameful treatment of the Rhine population by the French, Belgian and coloured troops, in particular, the horrible crimes against women by the latter.

It may be said then that during the period covered by the signing of the Peace Treaty and the acceptance of the Dawes Plan, the German theatre became a social institution in which the German people organised access to their new Republic. Therein through their deputies they endeavoured to reconstruct a new social order, and were only prevented from succeeding by the lack of stable political and economic conditions. Still the popular Will could be traced manifesting itself on matters of great moment—monarchy and communism, revolution and counter-revolution—Spartacus, Kapp and Luttwitz, Hitler, Ruhr 1920, Hollz riot, etc., the attempt of the French to take over industrial, if not the whole of Germany, the Plébiscite on German ex-Royal property, the question of the return

of the Kaiser : such matters were reflected indirectly and directly in drama forms.

During the latter phase of the latter half of the wartime and after period of the European Theatre, the phase of reconstruction, the German theatre gradually changed its world of nationalism for that of internationalism, or more precisely, cosmopolitanism which revealed Germany renewing its friendly relations with hitherto hostile nations. By the autumn of 1926 several big events had succeeded the Dawes Plan to affect public opinion. Locarno, Geneva and the entrance of Germany into the League of Nations, the Commercial Treaty with France, the conversations between Stresemann and Briand at Thoiry promising a Franco-German rapprochement, questions of international finance—all these had come to lull the public into a sense of security and to give international affairs a wider and a new interest. The public no longer read Spengler and Rudolf Steiner; they were losing interest in Keyserling and Vaihinger. Positivism was beginning to take a firm hold of the German mind. As in the days of the Morality play, heaven and the Deity had become mislaid and the public were seen to be turning blindly even against the most sacred things. There was a coarsening of internal politics owing to the introduction of unfair Bolshevist-like methods of fighting. There was a decline of morals. Wedekind and Freud and their many imitators were in the centre of the stage exhibiting a world of sexual degenerates to people craving for excitement. Revolutionary playwrights, like Toller and Kaiser, were almost out of fashion. Nationalism on the stage had taken the form of compromise. In January, 1927, a very popular military hero, Neidhardt von Gneisenau, Blucher's chief of staff, occupied the stage at Max Reinhardt's the *Deutsches* Theatre. Gneisenau was shown winning the war against Napoleon by finally defeating him at Waterloo. But because he did it in his own and not in the German king's way, the latter refused to honour him. The play, in consequence, was received by the public in two ways. By nationalists, as pro-Kaiser and the glorification of a great military hero; by anti-nationalists as anti-Kaiser and the humiliation of a man of the people by a narrow, selfish and vain monarch. An interesting sign of change appeared in the programme of the five playhouses used by the *Volksbühne* (a social democratic organisation) for the 1926-7 season. Included were some plays by great national writers, Schiller (" The Bride of Messina "), Goethe (" Egmont "), Kleist (" The Invincible Herrmann "), but for the most part it was cosmopolitan—England, Shaw (" The Devil's Disciple "), Norway, Ibsen (" Peer Gynt "), Spain, Calderon, and so on. The only labour play was Eugene O'Neill's " Hairy Ape," the conclusion of which hardly brings joy to the heart of the insurgent worker.

To-day then the German theatre is reflecting a cosmopolitan world. Its stage is filled with foreign ambassadors who are instructing the German public in the new pre-war mode of international diplomacy. Of course, the nationalists complain bitterly of the use, or mis-use, as they call it, of the German theatre, which to them is no longer German. They say it has fallen into the hands of foreign Jews. Thirty-three out of a total of forty-two Berlin playhouses are governed by the descendants of Abraham. Still the German theatre as an international one may be trusted to continue to think and do on behalf of the German people. Fundamentally it is rooted in them whatever its present ownership may be.

The after-war wave of nationalism swept over the whole of the European theatre. Immediately after the signing of peace practically every theatre in the victorious and the newly-liberated countries began to take part in the campaign of nation building and rebuilding. In the Baltic States—Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania—in Poland and Czecho-Slovakia the Theatre was used to initiate the new populations into the truth and value of their new possessions and life, and to display to friendly nations, England, France and America, their wealth of national treasures as produced by national playwrights, composers, actors, etc. Also for the purpose of keeping off their enemies. Thus in Poland and Czecho-Slovakia anti-bolshevist plays were numerous for a time. Nationalist movements in India, the Philippines, Turkey, Egypt, Russia, Ireland and America (negro), made themselves felt through the Theatre. In the Russian theatre were Russian, Chinese and Jewish nationalist movements. In the American theatre the Negro nationalist movement was expressed in the plays by Eugene O'Neill, Paul Green and other writers. The discovery in the Black Continent, Africa, of the greatest creative power (as expressed in art forms) in the world, of course, greatly influenced not only the writing of negro plays but their production all over Europe, including England, where Eugene O'Neill's " Emperor Jones " made its appearance and a stir.

Along with nationalism went an extraordinary outburst of dictatorship (in Spain, Italy, Portugal, China, with its Christian chiefs), and an attempt was made to put the Theatre to the service of dictators. Mussolini proposed to follow Lenin's example by nationalising the Italian theatre and using it for State purposes. He even consulted Eleanora Duse on the matter. But Duse had no high opinion of the Theatre and advised him to try an easier task. Fascism, however, had a good deal of influence on the Italian theatre. In the earlier stages of the " revolution " it so infected Italian playwrights that they divided themselves into two political camps, one under Benelli, who founded the distinctly anti-fascist *Lega Italica,* the other under Pirandello, who asked and received

permission to be enrolled as a fascist. Later came the " alliance " of Mussolini and Pirandello, whose foreign tours were heavily subsidised for nationalist propaganda purposes.

The nationalist tendency in the Theatre called forth a number of dictator plays, in particular those by Romain Rolland (communist), " Danton "; Jules Romaine (fascist), " Dictateur "; and M. Lunacharsky (Soviet Minister for Education), a version of " Cromwell." About the same period arose the question of leadership which evoked plays on the subject. Among them were Mr. Lennox Robinson's " The Lost Leader " (Parnell), Mr. John Drinkwater's " Abraham Lincoln," " Oliver Cromwell " and " Robert E. Lee."

Coming to the second phase of the second period we find Internationalism entering the Theatre on the disputed basis of Capitalism and Communism, on the growth of the Labour movement, and on the ground of nations coming together once more with, in consequence, an increased recognition of the importance of the Theatre as a powerful agent of international diplomacy.

The outbreak of war saw the breakdown of internationalism, which was replaced by a form of nationalism called self-determination, to which the war-aims of the Allies gave birth. After the war internationalism reappeared, though in a much different form. That form was partly determined by influences coming from Bolshevist Russia, partly by the growth of Trade Unionism, partly by big business amalgamations. The founding of the Third International in 1919 gave a strong impulse to international socialism. It represented a breakaway from the Second International, and left socialism sharply divided into two big organisations—democratic and communist socialism. These in turn split into smaller organisations. The general movement towards international socialism continued however, and this together with the movement towards international capitalism has called forth plays both for and against capitalism and industrialism. An outstanding feature of these plays is the introduction to the stage of the Machine as a protagonist. Thus in the brothers Capek's plays (" R.U.R.," etc.) the super-capitalist is shown thinking in terms of Robots or mechanical workers.

Theatrical international diplomacy has taken the forms of touring companies provided with the credentials of goodwill, and of the organisation of International Theatrical Festivals in which theatrical companies representing various nations take part. Such organisation is the aim of the Universal Society of the Theatre founded in Paris in 1927 by M. Firmin Gémier, director of the Odéon Theatre.

A widening outlook on international affairs is to be found in the numerous war plays that have been produced of late. They discuss various aspects of war while criticising its worst features. Thus imperialism and war (Riff War) form the theme of Mr. H. M. Har-

wood's " The Transit of Venus " ; ethics and war, of Mr. Harry Wall's " Havoc " ; civil war actuates Mr. Sean O'Casey's plays, "The Shadow of the Gunman," "Juno and the Paycock" ; class-war is a predominating characteristic of plays used by the numerous labour theatrical organisations in England ; war on society, or crime, gives form to the majority of the present-day exhibitions. This representation of the under-world of criminals—murderers, forgers, thieves, etc.—effected in particular by the vivid crook plays of Mr. Edgar Wallace (" The Ringer," " The Terror," etc.), reminds us of the unsatisfactory social state in all countries that produces such a world. An important contribution to our knowledge of crime is made by plays dealing with the American prohibition war, and reflecting in particular the savage world of Bootleggers. " Three Miles Out " and " Broadway " vividly portray the effect on America of State interference with the individual and society, and suggest international complications.

It may reasonably be said that present-day plays reflect a public demand for means to satisfy a mad craving for excitement. Such craving is undoubtedly a symptom of the universal state of mental anarchy produced by the War. To meet this demand current plays deal almost exclusively with two subjects, Sex and War or Love and Crime. War plays, as I have shown, fall into three divisions, political (Imperialism), economic (Class-war), and social (War on Society). Sex plays fall into four classes, religious, moral, economic, social and sex. In the religious class we find Christ plays (eugenics and the craving for the perfect leader) and spiritualistic plays (revolt against materialism and the craving to realise the existence of another world), for example, " Outward Bound," by Sutton Vane. In the moral class are a number of plays portraying social types that since the war have lost all moral sense. They are drifters characterised by lack of control, lack of inhibition, manifesting physical, nervous and mental exhaustion. Such types are handled by Messrs. Maugham, Noel Coward (" The Vortex," " Fallen Angels "), and Frederick Lonsdale (" Spring Cleaning," " The Last of Mrs. Cheney "). Besides the moral breakdown of the adults in society, there is the senseless behaviour of the adolescents who go about declaring that the only subject that interests them is sex expression (meaning free sexual indulgence). They are mostly Freud-obsessed juveniles and are to be seen in plays that express the new conceptions of courtship, marriage and divorce. " The Fanatics," by Mr. Miles Malleson, an actor-playwright socialist, contains samples of sex-expressionists who openly discuss the very complicated and little-known subject, Trial Marriage, and argue ignorantly in favour of it. The chief value of the play is that it provides an illustration of the undoubted fact that the less knowledge a playwright possesses

of sex conduct the more capable he believes he is to discuss the subject and dogmatise on it.

In the foregoing, sufficient evidence has, I think, been produced in support of the argument that since 1914 the Theatre has moved from a stagnant backwater of dialectical metaphysics and materialism into the main dynamic current of public affairs. To-day public affairs play a more important part in the life of the people than they have ever done. This means that the Theatre, by reflecting these affairs, has become a functional part of the community. Everywhere the playhouses are participating in the work of instructing and enlightening public opinion concerning domestic and foreign affairs. They are in particular acting as a powerful weapon of propaganda for and against Bolshevism, Fascism and Democracy. Whether the Theatre continues to develop as an indispensable part of the social organism will depend upon the recognition by those who control it and by dramatic critics of its true nature as a functional part of the people. Probably such recognition would require of England, for instance, a new system of theatrical government, and a new type of dramatic critic, one equipped with a knowledge of natural science and human history instead of pre-war literary and moral standards of criticism.

HUNTLY CARTER.

A BOOKFUL OF DELIGHT.

THAT is the best way to sum up the *Arcturas Adventure*, by William Beebe. It is an immensely happy book, a record of delightful experiences keenly enjoyed.

The *Arcturas* sailed from New York, on February 10th, 1925, on a six months' cruise. She was sent out to do "Oceanographic Research" by the Zoological Society of America, and William Beebe, the chronicler of her "adventure," was the director of the expedition, with a staff of seventeen workers under him.

Their first objective was the Sargasso Sea, but bad weather conditions there made work impossible, so the *Arcturas* went on through the Panama Canal, and the Expedition spent most of its time in the Pacific. They began their work there by looking for the Humboldt Current of cold Antarctic water, which they expected to find off the South American coast. But the Humboldt Current was apparently off duty, and in seeking for it in vain they stumbled on something much more wonderful. They found, in mid-ocean, the meeting place of two great currents, that made "a visible line of foam, zig-zagging across the placid sea for miles." Both were warm, westward flowing streams, and between them they had brought together a seething mass of plant and animal life, that amazed and almost disconcerted the explorers. "A few scoops with a hand net would collect a mass equal to a long haul in average ocean waters."

Birds, fishes, crabs, jelly-fish, worms, sea-snakes—the water was alive with such things, and birds innumerable hovered overhead. It was a veritable zoologist's paradise, that Current Rip, as Mr. Beebe calls it. "We dared not go below for a moment, and begrudged every minute at meals." Amongst things one might miss there was "a bamboo tree-top, about 12 feet long, from some distant jungle . . . which seemed in full flower, as it drifted, tipped and beaded with a myriad of ivory barnacle cups . . . the whole looking for all the world like a gigantic spray from a Japanese cherry tree in April."

At last they tore themselves away and made for the Galápagos Islands, with a special view to diving operations. There we see Mr. Beebe, in his most characteristic mood. "When a very wonderful thing comes into our lives for the first and perhaps the last time, we betray our very birthright if we do not meet it with all the feeling and emotion and intellectual appreciation that is our human prerogative." That sums up his attitude towards all the memorable experiences that the *Arcturas Adventure* brought him. He stands apart from most scientists, inasmuch as he is half artist all the time. His æsthetic appreciation enforces, and almost out-runs, his scientific interest. And he is never satisfied to let things slip past

him, vaguely perceived, and dimly felt. He is always intent to get the full flavour of each happening, as it comes, and to memorise the taste of it vividly for the future. And he loves especially to do and see things that no one else has ever done or seen. As Mallarmé, the poet, was said to seek "the virginity of words," so this most romantic of scientists seems perpetually in quest of the virginity of Nature.

When he dived under the coral sea for the first time he found it difficult to grasp the reality of the whole thing. In diver's helmet and bathing suit he submerged slowly, and when he reached the bottom he felt as if he were in an aquarium, looking through a pane of glass at fish swimming about. He sat down on a convenient rock, shut his eyes, and said to himself: "I am not at home, nor near any city or people, I am far out in the Pacific, on a desert island, sitting on the bottom of the ocean: I am deep under water in a place where no human being has ever been before: it is one of the greatest moments of my whole life, thousands of people would pay large sums, would forego much, for five minutes of this." When he opened his eyes again, his mind was clear and he realised his experience to the full. First of all, a fish, "the strangest little blenny in the world, five inches long and mostly head" swam not three inches from his face. "He was dull scarlet, with splashes of golden brown along his sides . . . his eyes were silver with hieroglyphics of purple in them, and as I looked he puffed a puff of water at my window and was gone." Then, "I reached out and picked a starfish from a rock in front, and, as it slowly crawled over my hand, I realised to the full that this was a wild starfish, not one brought from somewhere else for me to look at."

The thrill of that first dive into the wonderful world of the coral sea went with him all the way, vitalising all his later experiences. He actually managed never to grow stale in his sense of the marvels of the submarine life, and of the still greater marvel, that he himself should be precisely there, to look at them.

It would not be everybody's pastime to dive into those shark-infested waters, though Mr. Beebe declares the shark to be a much maligned animal. It certainly looks like it, when we remember that he and several of his companions spent a good deal of their time under water, thirty or forty fathoms down, wearing only bathing suits and helmets, and came to no harm. They saw sharks continually, often literally rubbing shoulders with them, and never were molested. It sounds incredible, but Mr. Beebe survives to attest the fact. He believes that sharks, like vultures, only prey on wounded or dead creatures. Yet even he admits to feelings of discomfort when monstrous Tiger-sharks came close up to him, and inspected him with their yellow cat-like eyes, as he climbed through

the forests of branching coral, and clung to sea fans and tall weeds.

His range of vision, when in his helmet, was extremely limited, and sometimes the nibbling touches of little curious fishes startled him. When such attentions came from behind he would " leap up, in expectation of seeing some monster of the deep about to attack me." The fish came about him in myriads, and would follow him as if he were a kind of submarine Pied Piper. " It was an amusing sensation to have these hundreds of fish file past, all rolling their eyes at me as they went." Another day, " a big green grouper was bothering me, shoving his big jaws close to my arms and legs, so I struck idly at him." It reads like an incredible blend of *The Water-Babies* and " Clarence's Dream " from *Richard III.*

Fish of every imaginable colour displayed themselves before him. Of one he says, " the head was scarlet and the body and fins and tail mostly bright grass-green." Their very names are a series of pictures. We hear of the gold-lined golden snapper, the silver hatchet, the golden grouper. There was a turtle that swam over him one day. " Until one has looked up and seen eight hundred pounds of sea turtle floating lightly as a thistledown overhead, balanced so exactly between bottom and surface that the slightest half ripple of a flipper-motion was sufficient to turn the great mass partly over and send it a yard ahead, until then, one has never really seen a turtle." Going down day after day at or near the same spot, he even became familiar with the appearance of individual fish. " The little old lady in Paris . . . who used to pass me on her way to market every day, had always the same tear in her veil, and now, the small, fussy demoiselle fishlet which invariably scurried past when I had taken my seat, was known to me among all her neighbours by the frayed spot on the side of her fin."

The marvels and delights were not all of the under-water world. There were moments, amazing, incommunicable moments on the sea surface. In the Current Rip for instance. " That evening will never be forgotten by any of us . . . when all the giant flying fish in the world came alongside. . . ." In the electric light, " their bodies appeared a beautiful pale green and the wings bright pink, but in reality they were steel blue and wine colour." And then the sight of numbers of tunny fish. " Through the ultramarine film I saw a score of these fish, metamorphosed to rainbow colours, rich violet bodies with yellow finlets and black tails." There was the giant squid that shot into the air one day beside the *Arcturas*, eight feet long and two feet wide. " None of us will ever forget the spectacle of that long torpedo body shooting out of the froth of the Rip, the snaky out-stretching arms, beaded with big vacuum cups and, above all, the huge disks of eyes that glowed like silver plates in the tan flesh." Best of all, perhaps, was the furious little " paper "

nautilus : " never have I seen a creature with a more explosive temper." She was caught and deposited in an aquarium, and solicitously fed and cared for, but she rejected all overtures of friendship. When given a small fish " she snatched it ungraciously, bit off the head and ate the body, feeling suspiciously with three or four of her arms in the direction of the giver. . . . Two days later she went into such a paroxysm of rage that she flung herself clean out of her shell."

The grotesque or sinister aspects of this intricate, profuse, tropical sea-life are never overlooked. We are told of the ghastly eyes of a squid—" oval and of an astonishing turquoise blue . . . with scarlet spots . . . and narrow cat-like pupils, and they seemed to express all the horrible mystery of the things that should not be." We get a terrifying impression of the unspeakable ocean depths, where the pressure of water is a ton to each square inch and cold and darkness reign. One day there comes up from it a terrible octopus, " black as night, with ivory-white jaws and blood-red eyes."

There are land experiences too of no less intriguing quality. The visit to the Albatross Rookery on Hood Island was a memorable day. On a rocky stretch of shore hundreds of albatrosses were courting and nesting. Mr. Beebe walked among them, inspecting their nests and eggs (he took one egg, apologetically), and he saw the strange beak-fencing that is the preliminary stage in the drama of their courtship. He realised too how ill adapted these kings of the air are for land travel. " When it lit on the ground the bird sagged sideways, tripped over a pebble, fell half over one of its fellows, and turned over rolling undignifiedly. . . . Then it rose unsteadily . . . chattering its beak, and shaking its head, and doubtless saying to itself that the land was not what it used to be." Holding the albatross egg in his hand, the explorer thought of the first egg he ever blew, when a boy, and was glad, characteristically, " that the first thrill was in no wise lessened." He studied the diet of albatrosses and found that their main food is squids, though once in the stomach of a wandering albatross there was found " an undigested Roman Catholic Tract, with a portrait of Cardinal Vaughan."

Then we have the adventure of the sea-lions at home. Miss Ruth Rose contributes her impressions of that, as she saw it when she spent a day on what she calls " Islet-south-of-Gardener." Imagine the sensation of strolling along the shore to find oneself suddenly amidst a population of walrusses (with never a carpenter for company). Miss Rose feels herself justified " in generalising to the extent of stating that sea-lions are nice people." " Some of the most delightful hours in the archipelago I have spent in their society." She walked among them, bidding one " good morning," exchanging

salutations with another, and finally finding her way to what was obviously a crêche, where the sea-lion babies floundered all round her and " unmercifully tickled " her bare feet and ankles. The description of the palace of the King of all the Sea-Lions reads like the wildest romance. " Rider Haggard," she says herself, " could have done no better " than that dark sandy cave with " the silken sound of the wavelets slipping over stones," where on a white coral throne sat the biggest sea-lion she ever saw. He did not relish this intrusion on his privacy by American women scientists, for, " with a terrific snuffling bellow," he hurled himself at his visitors and fled over their prostrate bodies, followed by all his assembled court.

A series of delights, yet it was far from being an easy life. The delights came *with* the laborious days, not as an alternative to them. One has only to glance through the log of the *Arcturas,* to see what hard times the members of the Expedition went through. Here are some typical entries. " Heavy seas, ship rolling deeply . . . wan faces . . . ship rolling all day . . . sounding machine in difficulties . . . . wallowed for hours in the trough of waves while it was repaired. Shaft of circulation-pump broke, so engines stopped and wallowing began . . . no one slept last night, we drifted rolling to the bulwarks . . . everyone tired with the strain of constantly holding on." They met a hurricane later on and the cabins became almost unbearable. " Everyone alternating between shutting the doors and gasping for air, and opening them and drowning." The *Arcturas* was splendidly fitted up, we are told, for purposes of oceanography, but there were evidently drawbacks to her as a passenger boat. At the very best, when neither machinery nor weather was amiss, the engines always had to be stopped when soundings were taken or deep-sea dredging carried on, and terrific rolling ensued.

Then there were the drawbacks inevitably connected with the dissection of big fishes on the deck. Anyone who has seen the quays of a Cornish fishing village when a big catch has come in can faintly imagine the state of the *Arcturas* at those times. On June 11th an 18-foot ray was harpooned, and Mr. Beebe casually remarks, " the deck now looks like a slaughterhouse." Later he notes, " the last piece of ray went overboard to-day." The " pulpit," where long hours were spent in observation and trawling, must have been a place of little ease. It was a small platform, or rather cage, hung from the ship's bows, and liable, as she pitched in the waves, to be more or less submerged at intervals. Landing on the islands meant a thorough soaking, at any rate, and, after an enchanting day on Cocos, we find it recorded that there were " bruises and cuts and sprains " to be cured, in considerable numbers. " The rather highly-flavoured water which was the best the condenser could

distil " is mentioned in passing. That, with bread and butter, was considered a suitable picnic lunch when they went ashore.

All these minor discomforts sink into insignificance when compared to Mr. Beebe's supreme and crowning treat, namely a day spent on a volcanic island in irruption. He and one companion were landed from a small boat, through raging surf, and proceeded to try and climb the crater of a remarkably active volcano. That proved before long to be out of the question, so they reluctantly transferred their affections to a smaller but still lively vent which was spouting steam and gases from a nearer ridge. On the way thither they walked sometimes on loose volcanic scoria, brittle as glass and sharp as knife points, sometimes on the lava stream itself, which was smoother but not without drawbacks. " The unclouded sunshine shone steadily down on the sea of metal, and soon there arose a reflected heat " (this was in the tropics, remember), " like the blast of a furnace." To stop and rest was out of the question; " the heat from the lava when we stood still was unbearable, pouring up in our faces, and scorching through the soles of our shoes." When the nearer crater was reached at last, " the heat from below made the sun's influence seem almost benign," and some awful invisible gas nearly poisoned them and produced intolerable nausea. " Down one hole I could see a deep rosy glow, but I could not bear the torture a moment longer." They staggered back to the shore; " we were too much exhausted to do more than choose whichever way seemed least terrible." Their drinking water was done, agonising cramps attacked them.

That the two men escaped with their lives must rather surprise the reader, but that was not their own first thought. " The dominant thing was that we had been brought close to the beginning of things," and Mr. Beebe adds with rapture, " this archipelago when it had once opened its heart to us who loved it so, gave lavishly, with measure overflowing." In fact, in the language of the immortal Slipper: " Divil so pleasant an afternoon iver you seen as what was in it."

Nine weeks later, passing the same island, they saw, in the distance, what looked like steam rising from the sea. They made for the scene of events, and putting the *Arcturas* in as close as possible to the shore (much closer evidently than the captain liked), they perceived that the lava from the main crater had just got as far as the coast, and begun to pour into the sea. Six great streams there were, and as they looked, the six became nine. " In the full light of the sun I watched an open artery of Mother Earth, pouring into the sea, rock liquid as blood. The Galápagos was being born again." " Once I saw a great lava river split into five separate streams which crawled down the 100-foot cliffs like the tentacles

of some huge scarlet octopus. These dripped into the boiling green water while sulphurous fumes bubbled up in yellow froth."

At last the *Arcturas* steamed away, and a few hours later her steering gear broke down without a second's warning. If that had happened whilst she was standing close in to the coast, where molten lava dripped like blood, and wind and current were both carrying her on shore, then, in Mr. Beebe's words, " The good old wooden *Arcturas* would have contributed a new odour and a few flying sparks " to the scene. Incidentally the world of science would have been the poorer for some eighteen enthusiastic devotees, not to mention the captain and crew.

It is all a memory now to the members of the *Arcturas Adventure,* all those wonderful experiences of theirs; but it is a memory that, thanks to Mr. Beebe's vivid perceptions, and equally vivid power of narration, he has managed to share, not only with his brother scientists, but with the outer world, which would have been bewildered by the terms of a scientific treatise, but can share the joy of an enthusiast, and be heartily grateful for the privilege of doing so.

HELEN GRIERSON.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE CHAMBERLAIN-LITVINOV COMEDY.

ON December 5th Sir Austen Chamberlain and Mr. Litvinov spoke to each other. The meeting had been preceded by tactics such as private schoolboys would have regarded as too silly. Austen was not on speaking terms with Litvinov. Their two countries had fallen out. Litvinov made it known in a roundabout way that he would like to have a talk with Austen to see if they could make it up. The roundabout hint was conveyed to Austen. No, Litvinov must make a direct, open, formal request to be received by Austen. Thereupon Litvinov propagated the view that as Great Britain, in the first place, had kicked out the Russians, it was for Austen to take the first step. As it became clear that Austen's pride was adamant, Litvinov pocketed his own pride, and being anxious for the meeting, made the direct request. The two met. They talked frankly (as they later announced in a sulky official communication) about their relationship, but failed to discover any basis of agreement. In effect they agreed to continue the quarrel. They had the further, if unconscious effect of reducing the situation to absurdity. Of course, the farce will kill itself. Even before Mr. Litvinov left Geneva he said he would meet Sir Austen again in March. Diplomatic faces are hard to save, but it will be easier the second time.

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DISARMAMENT AND SECURITY.

Disarmament is the ultimate object of diplomacy. How far that object is from achievement was revealed on November 30th, when Mr. Litvinov proposed at Geneva that in order to disarm the nations should simply disarm. The world outside of Russia was either shocked or amused. The middle-aged people who will never understand the mystic nature of Russian thought, detected in Mr. Litvinov's proposal a subtle device for precipitating world revolution. It is true that both Mr. Litvinov and his Moscow co-propagandists interwove their common form about capitalism into their argument about disarmament; but the interesting thing for the political philosopher is that a sudden proposal for complete disarmament found the world indignantly unwilling to entertain it. The moral is the more melancholy because the rest of the world was right, and Russia was wrong.

It was on November 30th that the fourth session of the Preparatory Commission for the League's Disarmament Conference was opened in Geneva. The gathering was remarkable because for the first time since the war the Powers whose collaboration is essential before any progress can be made towards a solution of the problem of disarmament were all represented. Germany was now a member

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of the League. Russia and the United States completed the circle. No sooner had the Conference begun its work than Mr. Litvinov's normally small amount of patience ran out, and he launched his plan. He argued that the League of Nations had made no progress towards achieving general disarmament and proposed that the intervening stages be jumped: that all nations should immediately abolish their armies, their navies and their air forces, demolish all factories which manufacture arms or which can be turned to the manufacture of arms, sink all existing battleships, scrap all war material and munitions, pay off the general staffs, and behold! the world would be disarmed. If, however, his colleagues should fight shy of the full immediate plunge, Mr. Litvinov offered Russia's collaboration in a plan for a gradual process towards that same complete disarmament, to be consummated within four years.

Mr. Litvinov was unpractical. He swept aside the consideration that armaments are a result, or a symptom, of diplomatic disease, as well as being a disease in themselves. In Great Britain men of nearly every shade of political thought regard the problem of disarmament as one aspect of a general problem, their view being that effective disarmament will become a reality only when the problem as a whole has been solved. When Herr Stresemann expounds the principle that disarmament should be regarded as a separate problem to be dealt with before the problem of security, British opinion is as little impressed as by the converse argument whereby M. Briand advocates that the problem of security should be solved before that of disarmament. The alternative arrangement which has led the League of Nations to consider the problem of security and disarmament in parallel committees seems best to correspond with the ideas of the majority of Englishmen. It may be argued both that security would lead to disarmament, and that disarmament would lead to security. There are, however, many people, including prominent members of the present British Government, who incline to the view that armaments are largely a symptom of insecurity, and that if the nations felt secure, disarmament would follow as a natural and inevitable consequence. On the other hand those same people are equally inclined to distrust those French tendencies which aim at a complicated system of military alliances as a means of security. The obvious danger is that military alliances might stultify their object.

Those continental students who have carefully read the reports of the recent debates on this subject held in the British House of Commons will have noticed a distrust, which is commonly shared by all the parties, of any too precise commitments either for disarmament or for arbitration or for "sanctions." Sir Austen Chamberlain has repeatedly expressed it, and has quoted an almost forgotten

memorandum of Lord Haldane's to the same effect. Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. MacDonald have shown that they share the same general philosophy, although disagreeing on some points about the methods that should be adopted.

To take one or two specific examples. In the matter of land armament recent history has shown that armies can be improvised and the chemical means of war adapted from existing industrial factories in a short space of time. Probably in the future the progress of scientific knowledge will make the process of adaptation easier and quicker. It is therefore arguable that an elaborate structure of technical disarmament might rapidly crumble, if at any time the seeds of war were to bear fruit. In the days when there was no poison gas, no tanks, no aeroplanes men fought with spears or catapults: when there were no catapults, men fought with sticks and stones. The real problem of disarmament is a spiritual problem. It is precisely the object of the League of Nations, if rightly understood, to create the spiritual atmosphere of peace in which armaments become not only unnecessary, but intolerable. Armaments cannot be limited or abolished except in proportion as they become less necessary or wholly unnecessary.

A somewhat similar point has been made by Sir Austen Chamberlain in discussing the problem of defining an "aggressor" State for the purposes of the Covenant of the League. The point is this. No matter how admirable a definition might be evolved of what constitutes an act of aggression, whether it be defined as a refusal to arbitrate or a refusal to accept a League decision, it would be easy in practice for an aggressor State, knowing the precise formula, so to arrange its diplomacy as to make out that the aggressed State is the aggressor. Any man of the world will readily understand that such an exercise of diplomacy is possible, and might even succeed. The point however is this. The mere fact of there being a precise definition of what constitutes an aggression might enable two belligerent States to appear before a League tribunal, each of them fortified with a detailed argument designed to prove that the other was the aggressor. In such a case every honest man on the League Tribunal might know perfectly well which of the two was in fact the aggressor, but would be prevented from acting on his opinion precisely because the League decision would have to be based on the letter of the criterion specifically laid down. There may be some convincing argument against this contention, but it is clear that Sir Austen Chamberlain and the British Government make the contention.

It is for reasons such as this that the weight of the British Government is thrown into the scale of leaving the Covenant as it is and not attempting any too precise filling in of the gaps. The means to

the end, according to the British view, is for the several nations to use arbitration to the maximum. The British Government arbitrated about the Alabama case, about the destruction of the fishing fleet on the Dogger Bank by the Russian fleet, about the Alaskan boundary, about the frontiers of Mosul. It is by the building up of precedents that the principle of arbitration can be most effectively turned into practice. That is a safer method than that of the famous optional clause. It is by the building up of precedents that the whole legal, constitutional and parliamentary system of Great Britain has been evolved.

Mr. Litvinov's proposal of November 30th aroused no enthusiasm. M. Paul Boncour pointed out that the proposal was first made thousands of years ago, Mr. Politis recalled that no organised society had ever been able to dispense wholly with force as a sanction, Dr. Benesh quoted the experience of 1921 and 1922, when similar proposals were made, and based on it his usual plea for scientific method: but no one took Mr. Litvinov at his face value. His appeal was regarded at best as an interruption of the business in hand. The Commission quickly passed to that business, ordained by the Eighth Assembly, which was the appointment of a parallel Commission on Security and Arbitration. No one outside of Moscow ever imagined that the December meeting of the Disarmament Commission would do anything beyond appoint the sister Commission and fix the date of its next meeting. Russia paradoxically refused to participate in the work of the Security Commission, and thereby showed that her vague aspiration for total and immediate disarmament had not been produced by, and had not led to, any profound or practical thought on the subject. Whether in the order of evolution disarmament should precede security, or security precede disarmament, it is common ground among those who think about it that the two, when they are realised, must become two aspects of the same thing. In national life highway robbery, which is the counterpart to war in international life, ceases to be tolerated, and ceases to be practised, when a common conception of law and order is accepted and made operative. Similarly war will become an anachronism when the nations accept an international system of law, or an equivalent instrument which gives the necessary confidence that disputes will be settled by other means than by war. The British Empire is a partial example. Australia does not build a fleet for potential use against Great Britain, because no one even thinks of war as a possibility between the two. Scotland and England used to train armies for use against each other. The difference now is that peace is assumed. Lord Carson once said, soon after the war, that the essential business of the League of Nations would be to make peace fashionable. It is probably true that the League can never do any

such thing until it is a League of all the Nations, but the League is the only existing organisation which is qualified for the attempt. The first implication of Mr. Litvinov's proposal of November 30th would therefore be that Russia should join the League. Instead, Russia neglects no opportunity of belittling the League and sowing suspicion, which is the very cause of armaments. Russian propaganda spoke of the " hypocrisy " of the League, and of the need of defeating the " capitalist enemy." The alternative to armaments is security, based on confidence. Why did Mr. Litvinov refuse to take part in the work of the Commission on Security? The United States, which, as many Americans simply confess, wants a big navy in the spirit in which some rich men want big motor-cars, could, on her own hypothesis, be excused for refusing even to attend the work of the Security Commission, but Mr. Litvinov, who wanted all navies to be sunk, stultified himself by merely looking on at the work of the Security Commission as an outside " Observer."

None the less, the actual membership of the Security Commission shows that the League of Nations is making progress. In addition to the fourteen countries represented on the League Council—the British Empire, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Finland, Holland, Poland, and Rumania—ten other countries provide members of the Commission. They are the Argentine, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Spain, Greece, Jugoslavia, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, and Uruguay. It is still possible that the United States may appoint an Observer on the Russian model, but at the time of writing the decision was in the opposite sense. No representative of the United States "observed" the proceedings of the first meeting of the Commission, which was held on December 1st.

At that meeting Dr. Benesh was appointed Chairman, a good choice, for no man in Europe has worked as hard or as effectively as he for peace and security. It was perhaps inevitable that the moment any discussion was begun at Geneva about " security " the shades of the 1924 Protocol should stalk across the table. M. Boncour and Mr. Politis, those two hardy protagonists of the Protocol idea, showed that they appreciated the three stock arguments against the Protocol—namely, the difficulty about universal compulsory arbitration, about defining an aggressor and about automatic penalties—but attempted bravely to plead that the Protocol provisions in those respects should be made more flexible. The British objection to the Protocol was that it made the Covenant less flexible. If the Protocol were made flexible enough to satisfy the British objection, it would merely revert to type and again become the Covenant. M. Boncour and Mr. Politis suggested that the Commission should begin the softening process by collecting documents about arbitration and security ranging far enough afield to include

the documents of the South American States, and far enough back in time to include the Hague proceedings since 1907. Lord Cushendun, who took to Geneva a mind not accustomed to the method of vast documentation such as the Geneva mind almost takes for granted, became frankly alarmed, and pleaded for short, simple, practical propositions. He confessed to shyness about the use of the word "Protocol," and said that in his view a practical contribution would be to give to the Commission a list of all the arbitration treaties Great Britain has concluded, together with a list of the cases in which Great Britain has used arbitration even when not bound by treaty to use it. The British idea, in short, is that one case of arbitration used in practice is worth more than all the historical documentation about the juridical feasibility of arbitration as a principle.

At the second meeting of the Commission, held on December 2nd, Lord Cushendun urged that some attempt be made to define what is meant by "security." If international action is to be taken to cultivate security, it seems necessary that a common meaning of the word be first arrived at. Lord Cushendun's plea was illustrated on the following day, December 3rd, when the Disarmament Commission brought its session to an end. M. Boncour plunged into the profitless controversy whether security or disarmament should come "first," and submitted that further disarmament in Europe is impossible until more "security" has been achieved. Now the French view of security by means of military alliances is, as we have seen, regarded by many serious British students as nearly the opposite of security. These are deep problems, which go to the root of human difficulties on the international scale. They cannot be approached unless a common approach be agreed on first. The sort of dialectical war which on that same occasion was waged by Mr. Litvinov when M. Boncour finished speaking, seems all wrong as a method of procedure. The next meeting of the Security Commission had been fixed for February 20th. Mr. Litvinov therefore, in pursuance of his contention that disarmament must precede security—and confusion to M. Boncour!—submitted that the Disarmament Commission should meet on January 10th, merely to establish an order of merit. The decision was that the dates be February 20th for Security, March 15th for Disarmament.

Vilna as Skeleton in the League's Cupboard.

The skeleton in the League's Cupboard has been causing uneasiness. One always knew that it would. The problem of Vilna constitutes by itself a whole education in League of Nations philosophy. When the Vilna blunder was committed, the League was a kicking infant. The escapade of General Zeligowski in October, 1920, was a wicked trial for a League that had started its life only that year.

There was no "League opinion" in 1920 except as an incipient cult. The French Government for its own wayward purposes was concentrated on bolstering up an aggrandised Poland as a barrier against Bolshevism and as a wedge between Germany and Russia. If M. Briand winked when General Zeligowski entered Vilna, what hope was there that the League of Nations could effectively interfere? What was the League of Nations at that time? It was an enterprise entirely dependent on the united support of certain "Allied" Governments, of which the French and the British were the chief. If the French Government gave its support to an act which diametrically conflicted with the whole purpose of the League, the League was impotent. Great Britain could have joined issue, but a first-rate quarrel between the two chief partners in an enterprise which aimed at general peace and harmony would have been a comic expedient. The wrong therefore went unchallenged.

Whether Vilna, on any ground of history or reason, should be the capital of Lithuania is a question of only academic interest by contrast with the overwhelming practical importance of what happened to Vilna during and after the war. When Lithuania was occupied by the Germans during the war, and her leading citizens obtained permission to hold a national convention, the convention was held at Vilna because Vilna was accepted as the natural capital town of Lithuania. A State Council (Taryba) was set up in Vilna. The Taryba proclaimed Lithuania's independence on February 16th, 1918, which day is yearly celebrated as Independence Day in Lithuania. Immediately after the war and after the German revolution Vilna became involved in the seismic disturbances. The Russian Bolsheviks took the occasion of Germany's collapse to overrun the Baltic States. The Lithuanian Government was forced to withdraw from Vilna to Kovno, but gradually drove back the Bolshevik invaders. As the Lithuanians were on the point of recapturing Vilna, the Poles advanced from the south-east and snatched it for themselves. They occupied it till July, 1920, when the Lithuanians again established their government there. To end the war, the Polish and Lithuanian Governments drew up a provisional demarcation line, which left Vilna to Lithuania. The instrument was the Suvalki Agreement of October 7th, 1920, which was signed in the presence of the Military Control Commission of the League of Nations.

Two days after that agreement was signed by the representative of the Polish Government, General Zeligowski and his troops advanced on the city, captured it, and again forced the Lithuanian Government to withdraw to Kovno. The Polish Government showed at once its tactical sense of the situation by disclaiming both General Zeligowski and his deed. He was represented as a "rebel," for

whose exploits Warsaw could not be held responsible. It is all the more remarkable therefore that Poland has stuck to Vilna ever since.

Poland was an original member of the League. Her acquisition of Vilna by force of arms was a direct violation of her basic undertaking as a member of the League. The fact that she disowned Zeligowski was meaningless by contrast with the fact that she kept what Zeligowski took. The first reaction of the news on certain prominent exponents of League principles at Geneva was what one might expect. On October 14th, 1920, M. Léon Bourgeois wrote to Mr. Paderewski on behalf of the Council that " the occupation of Vilna is a violation of the engagements accepted *vis-à-vis* the Council of the League of Nations, and it is impossible for the latter not to demand of the Polish Government what immediate measures it proposes to take in order to assure respect for those engagements." M. Hymans, Acting President of the Council of the League, later wrote a report in which he observed : " In a Note addressed to Mr. Paderewski, to be forwarded to his Government, and in a communication to the Press, M. Léon Bourgeois in the name of our Council has already protested strongly against an act which constitutes a violation of agreements entered into with the League of Nations. We feel bound to renew here this protest against the employment of force." Poland was a member of the League, Lithuania was not.

The first blush produced on the face of Geneva soon wore off. France was not blushing anyhow. It would be tiresome and unprofitable to recount the substance of what happened in this unfortunate dispute between the end of 1920 and the summer of 1927. The atrophy to which the League was reduced in 1920, partly by its own infancy, partly by the Quai d'Orsay, left the field clear for the Ambassadors' Conference, equally under the influence of the Quai d'Orsay, to propound a cynical edict, dated March 15th, 1923, which recognised the *de facto* as the *de jure* situation, and gave the Polish Government a sort of legal title to the permanent possession of Vilna. Warsaw has ever since pointed to March 15th, 1923 as the final argument about Vilna. Even legally it is doubtful if the Ambassadors' Conference was competent to dispose of pre-war Russian territory. The Lithuanian Government has never accepted that award, and has persisted in maintaining that so long as Poland remains in possession of Lithuania's capital, the relation between the two countries is a state of war, even though it be dormant.

Now that central fact of the complete antagonism between Lithuania and Poland is the fountainhead of all the troubles between those two countries. When the Council of the League met in Geneva on December 5th, 1927, one of the items on its agenda was a Lithuanian-Polish controversy. It was not, so far as the paper agenda

had it, the Vilna problem, but a question of schools and frontier tension. . So far as the League was concerned, there was no Vilna problem, because the Ambassadors' Conference had disposed of it. The Polish Government adopted the like attitude. Lithuania, whose faith in the League had been sick for seven years, and who, on her experience, did not expect redress from Geneva, grimly agreed that Vilna was not for the League to deliberate about. We therefore witnessed the supreme farce of Poland and Lithuania appearing at Geneva for League treatment of something that was merely a result of the real trouble, while everybody agreed in refusing to take any notice of the real trouble.

None the less the circumstances which brought Lithuania and Poland to the bar of the League, essentially irrelevant as they were, must be chronicled. It was the Lithuanian Government which appealed to the League against the Polish action in closing Lithuanian schools in the Vilna and Grodno district in October. The first Lithuanian Note, dated October 15th, 1927, and signed by A. Valdemaras, President of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs—the Lithuanian " Dictator "—was a long document of some 3,000 words. It began by recalling that in the summer the Polish Minister of Public Instruction warned Kovno that unless certain measures were taken about Polish teachers in the Polish schools situated in Lithuania, the Polish Government would retaliate by taking certain measures against the Lithuanian schools in Poland. It went on to explain in ever widening detail the ramifications of the puerile but desperately earnest quarrel that thereupon developed. At the beginning of October Poland closed forty-eight Lithuanian schools and a training college in the Vilna district, and arrested twenty teachers, ten of whom were priests. That action was represented in the Polish Press as a reprisal against the action of the Lithuanian Government described in an appeal to the Polish Government published in the Polish Press at the beginning of October. The appeal was " signed " by twenty-eight Polish teachers, who stated that they had been arrested and imprisoned in an internment camp at Varniai, and that they had been ill-treated in their imprisonment. Those teachers further complained that the whole body of Polish teachers in Lithuania, of whom there are eighty-four, had been refused permission to sit for the Lithuanian qualifying examinations, that the number of Polish children requisite for the formation of a Polish school had been raised to a level which made the formation of such schools impossible, and that in other ways the Lithuanian Government had taken elaborate measures to propagate the theory that there are no Poles worth speaking of in Lithuania. The mathematics of this outrageous controversy eloquently portray the minute precision

with which the war of the schools was waged. The Lithuanian Government at once denied *en bloc* the truth of the allegations which agitated the Polish Press. The Varniai story was roundly dismissed as a complete fabrication, the "appeal" published in the Polish Press being represented as a forgery. It was stated that no Polish schools had been closed, and if any Polish teachers had been arrested, it was for offences against the law that had nothing to do with their work as teachers. Those teachers who had been dismissed were dismissed in common with other teachers, Lithuanian, Jewish, Russian and German, because they had failed to qualify in the Lithuanian language within the period allowed. Figures again were mobilised. In 1926 two hundred and fifty Lithuanian teachers were removed, in 1927 two hundred and eighty; and only eighty-six Poles. The rule was that teaching licences were issued at the beginning of each year, and were withdrawn unless the qualifying examination in Lithuanian were passed in the following August: a practice which *mutatis mutandis* was followed by the Poles themselves in the Vilna district.

Professor Valdemaras seized on an excellent debating point in that part of his Note to the League in which he examined the nature of reprisals in general. "Seeing (he wrote) that constitutional law and administrative law do not permit of measures of reprisal against one's own nationals, the Polish Government, through its measures of persecution, has given the international community a striking proof that it does not consider the Vilna and Grodno regions as administered by Polish law, and consequently not belonging to the Republic of Poland, but as enemy provinces held by military forces, against which it deems itself authorised to use measures known to international law." Many more charges were formulated against the Polish Government, such as the violation of existing treaties for the protection of minorities. On June 28th, 1919, for instance, Poland signed the additional treaty appended to the Treaty of Versailles whereby (Article 8) she agreed to grant to linguistic and religious minorities equal rights and (Article 9) a share of the public funds. The point was made that whereas Polish schools in Lithuania were helped from public funds, Lithuanian schools in Poland were almost wholly dependent on private enterprise and charity. It was alleged that Poland, by arresting 120 Lithuanian priests, had violated Article 5 of her Concordat with the Holy See, which promised "a special juridical protection" to minority clergy.

Professor Valdemaras thereby paved the way to his appeal under Article 11 of the Covenant. "In bringing these facts (so ended his Note) to the knowledge of the Council of the League of Nations, the Lithuanian Government has the honour to ask that its complaint, by virtue of Article 11 of the Covenant, may be inserted in the Agenda

of the next sitting of the Council in order to re-establish the legal situation and to fix the responsibility incurred by the Polish Government."

A long supplementary Note was sent to Geneva by Professor Valdemaras on November 21st. The answer of the Polish Government refrained from further mention of the Varniai story, from which it may be inferred that the story was recognised as fiction. The Pochodnia, the Polish educational organisation in Kovno, had never heard of the teachers who made their "appeal," and knew nothing of the alleged sufferings of Polish teachers until they obtained a copy of the Warsaw newspaper. For the rest the Polish Government made counter-allegations against Lithuania, maintained that Polish educational activity in Lithuania had been suppressed, no matter for what technical reasons, and made the interesting point that when the Pochodnia held a summer school for ninety well-chosen and well-educated Poles in preparation for the August qualifying examination in Lithuanian, not one of them passed the examination. It needs little imagination to appreciate the state of mind in which a Lithuanian examiner takes up the examination script of a Polish candidate trying to qualify in the Lithuanian language.

The long documents emanating from Warsaw and from Kovno on the subject of educational atrocities on either side are hardly worth the paper they are printed on. Marshal Pilsudski in one public statement hardly disguised his view that Professor Valdemaras was a lunatic. The pathetic tension of emotion that can produce dialectics of such a kind is the serious thing. It is the result of seven years of ill-feeling produced by the Zeligowski coup of 1920. Even if the public memory were not notoriously short, the habit of daily quarrelling, such as characterises the relations of Lithuania and Poland, enables the past quickly to recede. Marshal Pilsudski, who thinks Professor Valdemaras a lunatic and says so in public, has effectively shown us that historical continuity has no place in his diplomacy. In October, 1920, the Polish Government adopted as a diplomatic device the theory that General Zeligowski was a rebel. In October, 1927, Marshal Pilsudski and General Zeligowski appeared side by side in Vilna to celebrate the seventh anniversary of the seizure of Vilna. The anniversary fell on October 9th. It was four days earlier that the Lithuanian teachers were arrested. Two days later was the date ordained for the electorate of Lithuania to vote on the amendment to the Constitution of Lithuania whereby Vilna was to be defiantly named as the capital of Lithuania. The vote was not taken, which forbearance argues more self-control in Kovno than apparently is exercised in Warsaw. It is true that Marshal Pilsudski obtained a sort of oath of allegiance to Poland

from the President of the Lithuanian Committee in Vilna, and in his elation, or as part of his bargain, released the twenty Lithuanian teachers who had been imprisoned: but such things are of little moment, and even Marshal Pilsudski spoilt his own gesture by singling out the ten priests among the released teachers and expelling them from Vilna. Politics and diplomacy are often singularly lacking in elementary decency of feeling. The anarchist argument that human nature loses its good instincts when it becomes an organised political force has its case presented to it by the annals of diplomacy. It is sometimes unsound to generalise, but Christianity and politics seldom mix.

At the end of November the Polish Government sent a " round robin " to every Government with which it was in diplomatic relationship, with the object of coaching them against the time when the League of Nations would have to consider the Lithuanian-Polish controversy. In its Note the Polish Government never even mentioned the schools controversy, thereby showing that it knew where the shoe really pinched. The main point which Polish official opinion decided to emphasise was that it was absurd for Kovno to invoke Article 11 of the Covenant when Kovno itself insisted on maintaining that the relationship between Poland and Lithuania was " a state of war." The point was purely academic, and begged the question, for it gave no hint that Warsaw entertained any ambition to give satisfaction for the flagrant wrong committed in 1920.

France and Great Britain had attempted without success to dissuade the Lithuanian Government from her invocation of Article 11. Informal feelers were put out in Kovno, but were met with so impatient and so contemptuous a refusal that the attempt was abandoned. The Council of the League of Nations was therefore forced to open its cupboard and look at its skeleton. Marshal Pilsudski, President of the Polish Republic, went to Geneva in person. The announcement of his intention to do so did good at a time when feeling ran so high that rumours of war filled the air, and newspaper correspondents in Riga—that nest of irresponsible mischievous scaremongers—began to send messages about mobilisations and impending action on the Lithuanian-Polish frontier. Professor Valdemaras went to Geneva on behalf of Lithuania. There was some dramatic interest in the meeting of those two men. Professor Valdemaras was the man who, on September 20th, 1920, during a session of the League Council, publicly and ceremonially shook hands with Mr. Paderewski in earnest of his pacific spirit. It was not he who broke that solemn pledge, but the pledge was broken within a month.

Mr. Valdemaras and Marshal Pilsudski met face to face in Geneva on December 10th. The occasion was a secret meeting of the Council at which an attempt was made to draw up a resolution which might

dispose of the technical " state of war " that obtained between the two countries. The rapporteur, Jonkheer Beerlaerts van Blokland, was reading a proposed draft, when Marshal Pilsudski, whose chief concern was to obtain a Lithuanian declaration of formal peace with Poland, and who felt that the formula used was not downright enough, decided to drive the issue home. According to press reports that came from Geneva, Marshal Pilsudski exclaimed something to this effect: " I want to know whether we are going to have peace or war. If it is peace I shall wire to Warsaw for a *Te Deum* to be sung in all the churches and for the ringing of all the bells." Mr. Valdemaras promptly answered that he wanted peace.

That incident seemed to relieve the minds of everybody concerned, and at a public meeting held at 10.30 that same evening a resolution was passed in which " The Council of the League of Nations . . . takes note of the solemn declaration by the Lithuanian representative that Lithuania does not consider herself in a state of war with Poland. . . ."

The sum total of the achievement was to put an end to the theoretic state of war, as Poland had demanded. That state of war had been merely a diplomatic device designed to make clear that Lithuania regarded Vilna as her capital. A few days before the Council reached its decision the military attachés of Great Britain, France and Italy in Warsaw and in Kovno visited the frontier and reported that all was quiet. War between Lithuania and Poland was never, and could not be, a serious probability, for Lithuania is a country of 3,000,000 and Poland of 30,000,000. By giving up the " state of war " Lithuania let go of Vilna, for the formal reservations made on that subject will mean little in practice. Sir Austen Chamberlain, after the Geneva meeting, explained its " success " as being due to unanimity among the Great Powers. The spectacle of Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Russia—for Sir Austen said Russia was included—unanimously agreeing that the weak must go to the wall may be good politics, but it is bad humanity. Lithuania was beaten. Poland achieved peace with plunder. It is the way of the world that the weak and small must accept injustice and be given no redress; but it would have been a fine thing if the League of Nations, instead of bullying the injured weak, had redressed her wrong. Still, peace at any price, even at the usual price, is something gained. If telephonic, telegraphic and railway communication is now restored between Lithuania and Poland, both will benefit.

The European Commission of the Danube.

The Permanent Court of International Justice has given its verdict in the case of the European Commission of the Danube. The points at issue were fully explained in this section of The Contemporary Review last month. On December 8th the Court held a public

sitting and announced its opinion on the specific questions put to it. The opinion was " (1) That the European Commission has the same powers on the sector of the Danube from Galatz to Braila (inclusive) as below Galatz, and (2) that these powers extend over the whole of the maritime Danube and are not excluded from any zones whatever, the criteria for the dividing line between the respective competence of the European Commission and of Rumania being, firstly, navigation in the sense of the movement of ships as part of their voyage and, secondly, the obligation of the European Commission to ensure freedom of navigation and equal treatment of all flags: even in ports the European Commission is competent as regards everything relating to navigation in the sense above mentioned and to the fulfilment of this obligation."

The result, perhaps, was the result expected; but in the long run no doubt Rumanian opinion will admit that the admirable work done by the European Commission may as well be recognised as the best thing for the sector of the Danube above Galatz as below Galatz. The Danube is difficult for shipping. As was explained in these pages last month those difficulties call for expert treatment such as the European Commission is eminently qualified to give. Although on the general merits of the problem submitted to the International Court (as distinct from the natural susceptibilities of Rumanian official feeling in a matter affecting Rumanian territory) there could be no serious division of opinion about the findings of the Court, yet the case illustrates the impartial and thorough procedure which the Court adopts. Documents were submitted by the Council of the League giving the full record of the League's deliberations about this matter between 1924 and the beginning of 1927. The Court received written memoranda from the British, French, Italian and Rumanian Governments. The last memorandum was filed on September 15th. Between October 6th and 13th a series of thirteen sittings was held at which statements and arguments were made by one representative each of the British, French and Italian Governments and by four Counsel representing the Rumanian Government.

The Court had before it an enormous mass of evidence. Its Opinion, which it took nearly two months to produce, was an interesting piece of historical and judicial work. The first part of it traced the historical origin and progress of the dispute, and emphasised on the one hand that Rumania never recognised the Court's competence to settle the dispute, and agreed to the Council's submission of the dispute to the Court only for a non-binding Advisory Opinion; and on the other hand that the other Powers represented on the European Commission reserved the right at a later stage to bring an action before the Court to make the Opinion enforceable against Rumania, should Rumania persist in not applying it.

The remaining part of the Opinion examined in detail the points submitted. The first point was about the " law in force." The Court concluded that the main source of that law was the Definitive Statute of the Danube drawn up in 1921 by the conference which met in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. That Statute was signed by all the Governments interested in the question submitted to the Court and was therefore valid for them. Its object, according to the view taken by the Court after a full analysis of its provisions, was to secure the uninterrupted internationalisation of the whole course of the Danube, from Ulm to the Black Sea, and to do so by means of two commissions, the European Commission, and the International Commission. The authority of the International Commission extends from Ulm to Braila, that of the European Commission from the mouths of the Danube to Braila. In the sector below Braila the powers of the European Commission according to the Statute are to be exercised " under the same conditions as before." In the Court's view that provision makes possible a distinction between the Commission's powers below Galatz and above Galatz. Do the Commission's powers, as undeniably exercised between Galatz and sea, in fact extend to Braila? If the Statute stabilises the Commission's competence in the disputed sector, as it was effective before the war, what were the conditions before the war? By thus narrowing the issue the Court obviated the controversy about the London Treaty of 1883 by which the Powers, excluding Rumania, extended the Commission's powers from Galatz to Braila. The issue became one of fact.

The Court then considered the difference of view between France, Great Britain and Italy, who maintain that the competence of the Commission between Galatz and Braila is the same as its competence below Galatz, and Rumania who distinguishes between the Commission's " technical " and its " jurisdictional " powers, maintaining that it is entitled to both below Galatz, but only to technical powers between Galatz and Braila. The Court's view coincided with that of Great Britain, France and Italy. According to that view the words " under the same condition as before " as contained in the Statute, clearly refer to the conditions previously existing, whatever they may have been, and not to a single and specific condition, as maintained by Rumania. The further contention made by Rumania that the extension of the Commission's powers above Galatz violates Rumanian sovereignty elicits the comment from the Court that Rumania has accepted the Statute of the Danube, that the Statute confirms the pre-war condition, and that if before the war the Commission did exercise the like powers between Galatz and Braila and below Galatz, then in fact Rumania has accepted that condition. A

restriction upon the exercise of sovereign rights, when accepted by treaty, is not an infringement of sovereignty.

The main question therefore was: did the Commission before the war exercise the same powers in the two sectors? The Court held that the law applicable to international rivers, as developed since 1815, and as applied to the Danube by the Treaty of Paris of 1856, definitely implied the exercise of "juridical" powers as an essential constituent of "technical" powers, and that such an interpretation of the law was indispensable if the internationalised Danube was to be kept in a fit state for navigation. Moreover the Court was bound to accept the statement of the Special Committee of the League that "in actual practice the European Commission exercised powers of jurisdiction in the Galatz-Braila sector before the war."

The Court therefore reached the view that the Commission's competence was the same in the two sectors. The next question was whether the upstream limit of that competence should end actually at Braila, in other words does the Maritime Danube extend to Braila? The Court's answer was yes, because sea-going commercial vessels do call at Braila. The limit of jurisdiction of the European Commission must therefore be drawn just above the port of Braila so as to include the port within the Commission's sphere. A port, however, is a big organisation. A ship's voyage is complete when it is moored in port, but its purpose involves access to the country lying inland. Who therefore should be responsible for policing the port and ensuring equal treatment for the flags of all nations? At this point a difficulty arose because the Special Committee which reported on the existing facts stated that the Rumanian authorities had, in fact, policed the port, whereas the Court's conception of the conditions necessary for enabling the European Commission to fulfil its purpose was that the Commission should undertake the police duties. The Court therefore advised that the Commission must have the power of intervening in cases where the principle of equal treatment for all flags has been violated either at Braila or at Galatz. Such was the Court's opinion. It was shared by Mr. Huber (President, Switzerland), Mr. Loder (former President, Netherlands), Lord Finlay (Great Britain), Messrs. Nyholm (Denmark), Moore (United States), Altamira (Spain), Oda (Japan), Anzilotti (Italy), and Beichmann (Norway), but the Rumanian member of the bench, Mr. Negulesco, dissented.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

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LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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THE OGHAM STONE.

CANON SNATCHETT of Wiltchester owed his university successes, his Firsts, his Fellowship, his Tutorship, his original and all his other successive livings, his place in the Chapter of Wiltchester Cathedral, his house in the Precincts and even his wife, to his extraordinary gift for tongues. As a Tutor, a Canon, even as a husband and a father, these gifts were apparently of not the least value. They did not seem to have moulded his mind or affected for good, or indeed for evil, his personality, which was kindly, grave, obstinate, irresolute, superstitious, and at times, excitable.

In due course, no doubt, he will attain, on the demise, so long delayed by a constitution fortified by the classics and the classic vintages, of Dr. Black, the Mastership of his college. Meantime Canon Snatchett mainly occupies himself with linguistic problems. He can read anything in any tongue and in any script, on stone, vellum, paper or papyrus, without any apparent effort whatever, in much the same way that an expert billiard player can mould the unhappy balls to his purpose. It is true that Canon Snatchett sometimes fails as, indeed, the expert billiard player fails, but in Canon Snatchett's case the rare failure is due to a wilful intellectual interposition. His gift is not intellectual at all. He is best after dinner and when half asleep or when he is supposed to be listening to the

Dean's efforts at Biblical exegesis. It was on one of these occasions that he detected a hiatus in St. Mark's Gospel. The Dean was talking about St. Mark. Canon Snatchett caught the word and instantly visualised from his portentous memory a certain codex, a certain membrane of that codex, a certain line, a certain word, and saw that the copyist's eye had strayed two lines down to the same word, saw that two lines were missing, and reconstructed them in such a miraculous way that Professor Harnack is reputed to have added a *von* to the Canon's name out of sheer respect.

Transcription and translation were a sort of game at which Canon Snatchett continually played. For the most part he had to go to Oxford, Cambridge, or London for his material and sometimes farther afield. From the binding of an incunabulum (to use that horrible Dutch seventeenth-century word) in the ancient parish library of Graypool he secured (*per incuriam*) a scrap of manuscript that provided not only a various reading for an obscure and apparently obscene passage in Catullus. He detected on this substantial scrap, which was a three-deep palimpsest, writing which purported to provide a translation from an inscription in Ogham characters from a stone on the moor, said to be haunted by a dog-headed demon, near Wiltchester. On the top of this writing, partially obscured by the use of pumice-stone, was the cursive passage from Catullus (fortunately also blurred) and upon these two texts was written, in neat uncials, a passage which cleared up all difficulties in the obscure *Jus altius tollendi* of the Digest (8.3.2.). "This parchment once belonged to a British sheep. I could tell that by the feel of it and the fact is confirmed by the Ogham reference. It proves," and the Canon cast his sheepish eyes upwards in sightless amazement, " that Catullus, that Justinianus, as well as stone inscriptions, were read here in this region by my ancestors. But when?"

Canon Snatchett had no doubts whatever. Ausonius, the Gallic scholar and educationist, was Præfectus Galliarum in A.D. 378 and inspired the educational edict of A.D. 376, which extended to Britain. The work of Catullus was known to Ausonius, and the Canon at once came to the conclusion that one of the teachers appointed for Britain by Ausonius secured for the transcription of Catullus a skin which had been previously used for the transcribed inscription and had been subsequently used for a copy of the Digest of Justinian. This last writing, he decided, belonged to the twelfth century and was due to a disciple of Vacarius. He took very little interest in Catullus (who had been rude to his hero Caius Cæsar) and less in the Digest, he disliked the Byzantine taint, and forthwith he determined to elucidate the mystery of the Ogham inscription.

Canon Snatchett had his own views about Ogham inscriptions. He considered that the script, consisting of lines and cross lines at various angles, was Mesopotamian and was probably introduced into Britain by the agents of King Midas, or his successors, coming hither for the Cornish tin essential in the manufacture of bronze. In various moors the Canon had detected ruined stone structures that seemed to him to show Semitic or Sumerian or Egyptian affinities, and curiously enough the inscribed stone with which he identified the stone referred to in the parchment was quite close to a ruined Cairn which he had long determined to survey in detail. The moor lay high above the city of Wiltchester. In winter it was a desolate place, boggy, full of holes, a sahara of leagues of decayed bracken and heather. It was very black and bleak; there was no grass, no birds though an occasional buzzard slowly flapped over it and barked, and on the extreme east was a great cliff where ravens nested and muttered. A gloomy place was Varr Moor at the best of times, and the occasional bare tree, or group of trees, had in the winter, against the skyline, a grotesque but somewhat horrifying effect. The place was, indeed, sometimes called Gallows Moor and it was a fact that a man, some years since, was found hanging on one of the trees near the Cairn and the inscribed stone. That it was not a case of suicide was generally held in Wiltchester, and Mrs. Snatchett was greatly opposed to her husband's archæological and antiquarian excursions on the moor. Canon Snatchett, however, was quite indifferent to physical risks though he was superstitious to the core. His absorbing curiosity was quite consistent with belief in the most amazing non-Christian things.

Canon Snatchett carefully copied out the inscription as it appeared on the parchment and translated it first into Latin (such was his type of mind), then into Cornish, next into Anglo-Saxon and lastly into English. It apparently contained the whole inscription and indeed something more, for there was, in Ogham characters, an introduction to the inscription. It was quite brief : *Beware of the Long Dog on the Short Day.* The inscription itself was brief : *Here fell King Hlot amid a thousand; the Dog lapped only of him and Hlotha the Mother of him. Praised be the Lord.* Canon Snatchett turned the sentences into half a dozen tongues in order to read more meaning into them, but the fact remained that he could neither date the inscription nor the names. It was difficult to get much out of the mysterious words but the reference to the Mother of the King looked like the witch cult, while the cult of the Lord was certainly introduced into Britain by the Roman soldiery. Moreover, the legend of the demon with the dog's head was current in the district. No one in Wiltchester, and certainly not Canon Snatchett, would laugh at the dog-headed demon. But would a Roman soldier write

in Ogham characters? No, certainly not, but on the other hand the Roman commander would have commanded one of his captives to write the inscription as a perpetual warning to the Tribe of Hlotha.

The Canon's mind ran on. If that were so it would mean that the captive was a priest of the tribe, nay, a priestess of the tribe. Does not St. Samson of Dol mention priestesses only a little north-west of the area and at a considerably later date? The captive was a priestess. The Canon consulted the parchment again and detected a look of feminine weakness in the endings of the Oghams. He concluded that the manuscript was contemporary with the event and with the inscription. He arrived at this conclusion on December 9th at teatime, and with a powerful electric torch in his pocket, and accompanied by Mr. Merriman, the gloomy head verger, a mysterious man who shared the Canon's superstitions and encouraged his researches, set off at a few minutes' notice for the moor. Mrs. Snatchett was having tea that day at the Deanery with Miss Clerestor, or this would not have happened. Deaneries, said the Canon to himself, as he buttoned up his overcoat and selected a heavy walking stick, deaneries have their uses.

The preliminary quest was to read the inscription on the stone. It was easier to read at night with the aid of an electric torch, he argued, than with diffuse and doubtful daylight. The Head Verger listened to the tale as they strode along and was able to supplement the Canon's knowledge of local folk-lore. He spoke deliberately, as his fashion was in speaking to any member of the Chapter. "This dog-headed demon appears, sir, to be losing power," said Mr. Merriman. "In the old days it had its toll, its dismal toll of noble lives. It would never touch a female. Perhaps," added the Head Verger, "it was wise." "In our time it is content to snatch a choirboy or two or a brace of babies and I *have* known an under verger die under its attentions on this very moor that we are now approaching. That was poor Clark, a good Christian man to all appearances but a secret drinker on a great scale. He was found under that black bush, some fifty yards to the left of us, sir—" Canon Snatchett peered into the wilderness of bracken and dead heather and said that he saw the bush—"in a dried pool of blood. At the inquest 'natural causes' were found but the cathedral staff knew better. In the eighteenth century one Dean and five Canons were sucked dry in the same way, and it is said that in the reign of King James I the entire Chapter was stalked in one season." The Canon bowed his head and then said "what do you mean by the term 'stalked,' Merriman?" "He stalks his prey, sir, as we stalk a stag—when I say *we* I mean the discreditable poaching section of our Wiltchester community, sir. He may—pray heaven he is not—be

stalking us now." The Head Verger shivered. He was a believing superstitious gloomy man with a large family.

"Come, come," said Canon Snatchett briskly, "these are idle fancies and one can but die once. I do not quite know why you say that he never touches women. He appears, if my documents are correct, to have lapped the blood of Queen Hlotha. But, at any rate, it may have been a misquotation. The stone itself is the text and here we are."

A quarter moon was slyly looking down and the planet Venus was coldly smiling as they arrived at the clump of trees and the stone, while the great Cairn showed dimly afar off amid the black heather. It was a gloomy scene worthy of the dead men down below who fell in the battle recorded on the stone. The Canon was instantly on his knees with the powerful lamp while the Head Verger gloomily mounted guard. Grunts and groans recorded the progress of the work and at last Canon Snatchett leapt up with a shriek: "You are right, right, Merriman, the stone does not say that he lapt the blood of the Queen. It reads: *Here fell King Hlot amid a thousand* [*myriad*]: *the Dog lapped only of him. Hlotha* [*was*] *the Mother of him. Praised be the Lord* [*the sign of the Lord* not *in Oghams*]. This is important, very important, Merriman. He did not touch the woman. She herself was the captive. She must have been a beautiful woman to have escaped slaughter. She dictated the inscription. She *must* have been a Christian. Why did the Demon not slay her?"

The two men mused and the Canon flashed his lamp round and round and it settled from time to time on the face of Mr. Merriman. "They *do* say, sir," said the Head Verger, gloomily and awkwardly as a night bird croaked above him, "they *do* say that the demon only tears the throat out o' those who are Christian 'umbugs, men whose conduct does not square with their professions. We are fortunate, sir; at least I hope so." A rabbit, disturbed by the circling flash-lamp, at that moment dashed between the two men, and the Head Verger fell on his knees to confess any impossible or improbable sin, including the sin of poaching, that sped through his troubled mind. "I decline to listen to you, Merriman," said Canon Snatchett harshly and quickly. "It is, as you know, *not* the use of the Cathedral. Let us go home. All I think is now clear. I propose on December 21st to return here at midnight and I expect you to accompany me. We may see developments. The Queen's words are clear, *Beware of the Long Dog on the Short Day*. We shall see the creature at any rate." "Must we come, sir? It is taking a great risk. You and I both, sir, have issue. If it is necessary can we not be accompanied by the Dean?" "The Dean," said Canon Snatchett sourly, "the Dean! We dare not risk the almost certain destruction of a

first-rate administrator. We are, I trust, reasonably safe." "Well, sir, would it be dishonest to take out short period policies for our lives?" "It would be most dishonest, dishonest to ourselves, Merriman. Let us hope to see not only the Dog but the Queen."

Miss Agneta Clerestor, the only daughter of the Dean, was reputed to be the most beautiful young woman in Wiltchester. She was stately yet witty, mischievous and devastating yet serious and soul-inspiring, romantic, eager, with wonderful blue eyes and raven hair, a combination as unusual as herself. Even choirboys and canons' wives loved her, while every minor canon worshipped her from afar. She knew all the local lore and had not only read (for she was as learned as she was wilful) the inscription on the moor but had determined to be there at midnight on December 21st. Having no information as to Canon Snatchett's movements she enlisted for the purpose two slaves: Mrs. Snatchett's Great Dane (purchased after that other horrible affair of the Black Dog in the Precincts) and a minor canon, Mr. Abel Trefur, a man of forty with the voice of an archangel. She swore him to secrecy but at once let Mrs. Snatchett into the secret and commandeered that timorous woman as a chaperone. The only difficulty was the deception of the Dean and the Canon. They determined to start at 10.45 p.m. from the great West Door. "Providence," said Mrs. Snatchett, "will provide." It proved the case. At 10.30 p.m. Canon Snatchett kissed his wife and said that he was going to have a very long talk with a man in the city about Oghams and would be late, and without more ado sallied forth heavily clad as snow had been falling and the clear full moon betokened a bitter night. The Dean had a providential attack of sciatica and was bed-bound studying Fox's Book of Martyrs, the only palliative for that painful affliction. Mr. Merriman and Canon Snatchett met at the little North Door of the Cathedral. The former carried a gun. The Canon inquired as to the origin and purpose of this weapon and Mr. Merriman briefly replied that he liked it and could use it. The two parties, totally unconscious of each other, took different ways to the moor and any observer could have seen in a moment that Mr. Merriman had been out at night with a gun before. The Great Dane was happy, too. He smelt an adventure and rambled along like an elephant in love.

It is curious how the facts of a true story all fit in together. Anyone who had tried to invent this story would have had great difficulty but here the *personæ* present themselves without a hitch. There is not an element lacking to a dramatic finish. The ingenious reader will have seen at once—for the present generation is not wanting in intelligence—what was about to happen. He will visualise that desperately desolate moor, with gibbet-like trees rising here and there in

protest to the cold face of the great moon, white as the drifted patches of snow that lie dispersedly and noticeably on the Cairn of the Dead Men. He will see two slinking figures approach the Ogham Stone and stand there waiting—waiting for what event? He will see later three figures and a great black sleek creature approach the Cairn and climb it. They are on the other side but the figure with the gun hears some rattling of stones and keeps a keen eye on what was doubtless a moon-struck rabbit. The smiling reader will hear from far away the chimes of the cathedral and the voice of Great David striking—how far, how dreadfully far away—the midnight hour, and then—this was Agneta's great effect—and then two superb voices cleave the night with a mystic chant especially composed by Mr. Trefur.

All this is perfectly obvious to a logical mind and not perhaps less obvious was the recognition of Queen Hlotha by Canon Snatchett. She was outlined against the moon while her companions cowered in the background out of the bitter wind. Canon Snatchett was not amazed. He saw what he had expected to see, the spirit of the wondrous Queen dominating the landscape. But he saw more than this. He beheld a vast canine shape—the Great Dane had been moved by the singing—leap upon the Queen and put his fore-legs round her neck with a chirruping sound. It was too much—the stolen manuscript was right, the Ogham Stone was wrong—and the over-wrought Canon let forth a shriek that must have been heard in Wiltchester. The Great Dane recognised the familiar voice and with a fierce howl of delight sped forth baying to seek his beloved master. Merriman levelled his gun. He saw that the crisis was at hand which he had feared from the first in this mad midnight adventure, and was intent to save himself and the representative of the Chapter. Then something happened. It is here and here only that the intelligent reader does not dominate and foresee the position. This was no logical outcome of a curious concatenation of facts.

* * * *

The dog stopped; the singing ceased; the gun was lowered; the bitter wind abated its whistling; the gallow-trees creaked no more and the far-off ravens were still. Between the Cairn of the Dead Men and the Ogham Stone was a little valley, perhaps seventy yards wide, and there the snow had drifted making a white carpet. Up the valley were marching a great army of folk and the moor looked down on their wondrous upcast faces. The figures were clothed in strange shining garments, as it were of the East. There was a rapture on their faces as they marched. And within the army there was a beast, a long lean creature with a vast head, and on it rode a Woman bearing a Child and beside the beast there strode a bearded man with a staff. Canon Snatchett declared afterwards that this endless army

was singing and that he knew the ancient carol tune, the tune to which the children sing :

Into Egypt they have gone,
Mary and her little Son :
Joseph with them and the host
Who their innocents have lost :
Into Egypt they have gone.
We shall see them all anon.

Be that as it may, when the vision at last vanished the two parties swiftly sped on their separate ways to their homes. As it happened the womenfolk were home first, and when Canon Snatchett breathlessly arrived he cried : " Mary, I have seen a vision." Then each confessed all and told each other their story and explained it how best they might.

J. E. G. DE MONTMORENCY.

REVIEWS.

THE CHURCH IN THE WORLD.*

In this volume the Dean of St. Paul's has brought together eight Articles and Addresses which have appeared in various publications at intervals during the past few years. The first three may be termed Ecclesiastical, their subjects being " The Condition of the Church of England," " The Crisis of Roman Catholicism," and " The Quakers." The fourth, " Hellenism in Christianity," may be termed a History of Ideas. There follow three Essays of a more strictly philosophical character, "Science and Theology," "Science and Ultimate Truth," and " Faith and Reason." The eighth is a paper entitled " The Training of the Reason," which originally appeared in *Cambridge Essays on Education* published in 1918.

The volume should have a wide circulation, for it represents Dr. Inge at his best. It is a characteristic contribution on the highest plane of thought to the discussion of some of the most serious problems—theological, philosophical, and scientific—of our times. Lucid exposition and grave reasoning are lit up by extraordinary brilliance of style. The pages are be-sprinkled plentifully with striking and caustic aphorisms, as, for example, the declaration that " a successful revival is always an attempt to restore something that never existed." (p. 13.) Whether one agrees or disagrees with the particular statements made or conclusions reached by Dr. Inge, it is a sheer pleasure to read him. His summings-up show a marvellous aptitude for combining accuracy with pungent criticism,

* *The Church in the World.* Collected Essays. By Dr. Inge, Dean of St. Paul's. Longmans. 6s. net.

the shafts of which are chiefly directed at Institutionalism in Religion, exorbitant claims in Science, Fanaticism in Social Reform and Philistinism in general outlook. The Dean surveys the Church of England with reverential regard for the Cambridge Platonists, criticises Modernism in the Church of Rome from the standpoint of an intellectualist who abhors pragmatism in Philosophy, and finds the Quakers " the truest Christians in the modern world."

In our judgment Dr. Inge's treatment of the Relations of Faith and Reason, his emphasis upon the imponderables of Spiritual values against materialistic Science and agnostic Philosophy, his insistence upon the rational and intellectual element in truly Spiritual Religion are most timely. Yet sometimes the Dean's Platonism seems rather to run away with him, as when he calls the Christian Church " the last great creative achievement of the classical culture " (p. 109), and declares " Outwardly, the continuity with Judaism seems to be unbroken, that with Paganism to be broken. In reality the opposite is the fact " (p. 111). It is true, of course, that original Christianity adopted Greek moulds of thought for the elaboration of its Theology and Christology, that Greek and Roman models greatly influenced the development of its ecclesiastical organisation, and that the Greek spirit and culture did much both to modify and to enrich its spiritual temper. Yet the Christian emphasis on the Personality of God, upon creation, and upon the created order of things as both the scene and the instrument of an active Divine purpose working throughout History for a final consummation, are profoundly Hebrew. So, also, the Christian emphasis on Sin and Redemption, on Grace and Holiness, and on the new dispensation as the fulfilment of prophecy. Moreover, it was the Jewish Synagogue that supplied the original model of the Christian Churches, although the organisation of Greek societies and Roman Government played a growing influential part in the subsequent stages of Ecclesiastical development.

The Dean more than once reiterates his accustomed protest that " Science and Religion, philosophy and politics have all alike suffered from the nineteenth-century passion for throwing ideals into the future " (p. 239). This protest is bound up with Dr. Inge's scornful denunciation of the idea of Progress, which is " King Charles' head " to him. His whole attitude on this subject seems to be determined by his insistence upon Faith to the neglect and disparagement of Hope. It is at this point that he seems to come short of a full recognition of what is involved in the Faith and Philosophy of the Incarnation. We come to know the supreme values of Truth, Beauty, and Goodness because of their growing manifestation in the present order of things. In so far as men come into communion with God, who is the eternal realisation and source of these values,

we are constrained to become one with Him in His purpose of revealing these values, in and through the present order of things. The Christian temper transcends the world, but is not detached from it. The Mysticism of St. Paul is practical and demands expression in the conduct that creates and fosters a new order of life here on earth. That the full meaning of the Divine can never be expressed in the earthly, that the striving after progress can never reach its final goal under terrestrial conditions, is not the essence of the matter. If, as the Epistle to the Hebrews says, Faith " puts unseen things to the proof," it also gives " substance to things hoped for."

These criticisms have been made before now in the pages of THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, and there is, therefore, no need further to insist upon them. The volume is a spiritual and intellectual tonic, and should be read by all who have a real concern for the highest interests of Faith and Life.

J. S. L.

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BISMARCK AGAIN*

Emil Ludwig's *Bismarck* is a longer and more important book than the study of the Kaiser to which he owed his fame in England. His portrait of William II was a ruthless exposure of a small soul born to high place, and some readers found the flagellation a little overdone. The portrait of Bismarck, though painted with the same sureness of touch, the same brilliant colouring, is more entirely convincing. Though there are many excellent books on Bismarck in many languages, there was still room for a new attempt to utilise the vast and growing mass of documentary material for a psychological study of the greatest statesman in history. Unlike most of the biographers, our author is more concerned with the man than with his work, and by this concentration of light on a unique personality he produces a portrait of Rembrandtesque power and intensity. If the first duty of the biographer of a great man is to make us feel his greatness, Herr Ludwig deserves our hearty congratulations. It is scarcely necessary to add that the vivid style of the original loses nothing of its life and colour in the translation by Eden and Cedar Paul.

In a brief Foreword the author introduces Bismarck as " a character filled with pride, courage and hatred, the basic elements from which his actions resulted." These notes are struck again and again throughout the story. Bismarck appears as a superman, not

* *Bismarck*. By Emil Ludwig. Allen & Unwin. 21s.

a hero, and Herr Ludwig is wholly free from the temptation to hero-worship. We are shown a giant, physically and mentally, whose first and last thought throughout life was himself. Napoleon himself was not a more complete and colossal egotist. Apart from a certain fondness for his wife, and a friendly feeling for one or two old friends like Motley and Roon, and a real love for dogs and trees, Bismarck had no warmth in his heart. He had a bad start, with an unloving mother, a feeble father, and Junker squires for his companions, and he lived a rather idle and dissipated life till he entered the United Landtag summoned by King Frederick William IV in 1847.

Lord Rosebery once compared the younger Pitt's appearance in the House of Commons to an heir entering on his inheritance. It was the same with Bismarck, in whom the consciousness and the love of power suddenly awoke and henceforward dominated his life. His first diplomatic post, that of Prussian envoy to the Diet at Frankfurt, was the most difficult in the Federation, but he joyfully entered on the duel with Austria which was to lead to Sadowa. When King William needed a strong man in 1862 to carry through Roon's army reforms in the face of Parliamentary opposition, Bismarck was already impatient for power, and had thought out the policy which in a brief decade immortalised his name. Herr Ludwig rightly regards his foreign policy as his supreme achievement, though it is interesting to note that the alliance with Austria is condemned as a mistake and as preparing the way for a Franco-Russian alliance. In home affairs he made blunder after blunder, partly because he never took the trouble to understand the forces with which he was in conflict, and partly because it was his instinct to crush by force movements and individuals which attempted to thwart his work. He lived to recognise his mistake in his fight with Rome, but to the end of his dictatorship he argued that Socialism must be suppressed by the bayonet. The ageing Chancellor despised his fellows too deeply to understand what the younger generation was thinking.

In addition to his superb portrait of the master-builder, Herr Ludwig paints vivid pictures of his friends and foes, his masters and his servants. The three Emperors, the Empress Augusta and the Empress Frederick, the old comrades, Moltke and Roon, the Reichstag leaders, Windthorst, Bennigsen, Lasker, Richter, Liebknecht, Bebel; the secretaries and agents, Bucher and Busch; the sinister Holstein and the intriguing Waldersee; Johanna and Herbert, the wife and the son : it is a gallery in which we may linger long without exhausting its interest. Herr Ludwig has written a great book on one of the most wonderful of historic men.

G.P.G.

UNIVERSITIES IN THE UNITED STATES.*

Dr. Deller, the Academic Registrar of the University of London, went with an instructed mind on the subject of great universities when he became, in the spring of 1926, the guest in the United States of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial. The object of his visit was to see some of the principal universities in America " and to meet, for quiet informal discussion, men concerned with university education." We, in this country, have much to gain from a full, sound knowledge of American experiments, successes and failures in the region of university education. Our own university system is expanding at a great rate and we are now once more—for it was the practice in the Middle Ages and in Elizabethan and Jacobean times—drawing into that system persons of ability regardless of their financial means.

The problem with us, as in America, is to find out what the university can best give to those students with average ability who desire to find their place in life through the medium of higher education. For young men and women of outstanding intellectual powers Oxford and Cambridge will always have a special lure and the old schools of classical culture, humanism, philosophy and pure mathematics will always find students enough and to spare. The problem is the new class of average students who hope to obtain from the studies and amenities of university life something more than mere vocational training can give them. America is striving to face the problem in the case of a vast concourse of students, and university institutions very good, bad, and very indifferent are at work.

Dr. Deller gives his impressions of the university system, and for the most part he writes of the system at its best. In the greater Endowed Universities the trustees " show an increasing reluctance to interfere, even under pressure, with the freedom of the teacher." The phrase shows that there are difficulties in university education in America that practically do not exist in England. Our system is built on the freedom of the teacher. Another hopeful sign is that the danger of financial control is pretty plainly seen. " Who pays the piper calls the tune " should not be an educational motto, and the Endowed Universities are looking askance at the possibility that the receipt of money may dominate the development of the university. In the case of the State Universities the legislators need educating. Very often they only look at possible material results and they may be cold to the theory or the beauty of things. Academic freedom is a thing worth fighting for, and the American Universities are fighting for it.

* *Universities in the United States: Some Impressions.* By Edwin Deller. University of London Press. 2s. net.

But assuming that this is assured, and the time will come when the assumption can be made, there are the two problems of the teachers and the taught. Dr. Deller writes :

> The tens of thousands of students who resort to the universities have created a situation of which it is not easy to see the outcome. In the Endowed Universities the difficulty is less acute and they can and do control their admissions with great care : in some cases a most ingenious technique has been elaborated to secure that as far as possible only those students shall be admitted who show that they possess a suitable intellectual and physical equipment and show promise of obtaining real benefit from the courses they propose to follow. In the State Universities it is not possible to establish such a vigorous form of selection or differentiation, and in consequence all students who have obtained a certain number of credits in the high school course have a quasi-right to present themselves for admission to the university. Hence the huge classes with which the university teachers attempt to grapple, the complaint of the teachers of the dissipation of energy in elementary teaching to ill-prepared students, and the large wastage of students during the freshman year or at its conclusion.

This very problem had to be faced in the Mediæval University and it was solved by discrimination. The schoolboy was treated as a schoolboy and taught as a schoolboy. In more recent times in the Scottish Universities very large classes were dealt with effectively by a system of lectures though no doubt many of the students fell by the way. But the Scottish University student was, and perhaps still is, a miracle for intensive work and private study.

But the American problem is on a much vaster scale. We are told that " the growth of the student population has been out of all proportion to the growth of the teacher population " and that the intellectual quality of the undergraduate who, intellectually, is at least two years behind the English undergraduate of the same age, is in itself a problem. The American authorities admit this almost inexplicable " lag," as it is called, which in the State Universities may be due to almost indiscriminate admissions. The American juvenile is hungry for university life, and though that is a delightful fact it has these notable disadvantages. But the " lag " is not confined to the State Universities and in the case of the Endowed Universities it is said that the schools are in fault. It would seem, though Dr. Deller does not dwell on this point, that America needs a fuller conception of secondary education. All educational systems turn on this central phase. If it is liberal and thorough it inspires the primary grade and feeds the university grade. If it is scrappy it ruins both. Definite and stern standards are required and the best American educationists see this and are struggling in a wonderful way to secure these standards, but while myriads of parents are content to send their children for one year to

a secondary school as a sort of introduction to the university, progress must be slow and " lag " must be common. The poorer type of secondary school in this country is full of pupils that are as subject to " lag " as the American pupils. But here they do not aspire to university life. Yet this question has its lessons for us. Our secondary school courses almost everywhere need to become more liberal, less scattered and more thorough.

Dr. Deller tells us that " the strongest feature in the American University is its provision for the graduate student." It is extraordinarily well done and we have much to learn from the American thoroughness in this matter. With the English Universities post-graduate teaching is yet in its infancy except with respect to specially brilliant men and women. In America the post-graduate teaching in the universities has created a flow or circulation of graduates that can only be compared to a similar movement in Europe in the thirteenth century, and this flow is not only between the various great American Universities. English graduates are drawn thither to attend the courses of this or that great teacher. In some subjects of science, for instance some phases of zoological learning, the American teachers have almost a monopoly. In this region the English Universities will be quick to take administrative lessons though possibly the American methods will not flourish here. The seminar has never taken root in this country except under individual teachers who have insisted on this German method of dealing with research students. Teaching by correspondence " offers possibilities which have not yet been properly explored." In fact it is used with some effect here, but as a university method it is unknown. In the case of Columbia University it is a recognised method, and Dr. Deller says of the departure : " it is a courageous thing in a great university to say boldly, ' if you cannot come to us, let us come to you '." This method may come to be recognised in England and it would, in fact, be very useful in that development of adult education in this country which is now taking place. We need to make the adult education movement essentially a university movement even in the remotest villages.

J. E. G. DE M.

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INDIA BY AIR.*

Sir Samuel Hoare has written a delightful account of his visit to India by air. Both he and Lady Maud Hoare who accompanied him appear to have thoroughly enjoyed their flight. The book is full of interest, and the reader is made to realise the great possibilities

* *India by Air.* By Sir Samuel Hoare. Longmans. 6s. 6d.

of the airship in eliminating the distances that make it so difficult to unite our great Empire.

It is not possible to do more than point out some of the outstanding events in the trip. Leaving Croydon they stopped first at Dijon, then successively at Marseilles, Pisa and Naples, where they circled Vesuvius, and so on to Malta, arriving there in a heavy gale. After entertainment and a night's rest the party flew over to Tripoli and visited the interesting ruins of the buried city of Leptis Magna. Attractive accounts are given of the deserts of Libyia, Sinai and Mesopotamia; of Cyrene and Sollum, the frontier post between Egypt and Cyrenaica. Flying over the desert between Ziza and the Euphrates Sir Samuel remarks that what was " once one of the world's greatest barriers is now crossed with ease and comfort. . . . and Arab sheiks who have never lived in a house, or seen a railway, accept the passing of aeroplanes as one of the ordinary features of their daily life." The party were entertained at Bagdad by Sir Henry Dobbs at a dinner attended by King Feisul. From Bagdad they went on to Basra, passing the great circle of Ctesiphon, ' now a gaunt landmark on the plain,' gliding round Ur of the Chaldees, seeing the excavators at work and landing at Shaibah, where they received a warm welcome from the Air Force Squadron.

Leaving Shaibah and Abadan the party flew over the deserted expanses of marsh to Bushire and Lingeh, waved greetings to the employees of the Indo-European Telegraph Service on the lonely island of Hanjam, and landed at Jask. The next day they were driven back by a severe sandstorm, and had to return for the night. The following day they were able to leave Jask, rising to a height of 9,000 feet to keep above the cloud of sand, and crossing the white plain of Pasni to Karachi and on to Jodhpur (where they received a telegram of congratulation from King George); and so to Delhi, where they had a great reception.

The regularity of the journey and the punctuality greatly impressed the Indians, and many people asked Sir Samuel whether a regular line of civil aviation for commercial purposes could not be started in India. It was pointed out that " the efficiency of the Air Force Squadrons had already established the importance of air-power upon the North-West Frontier . . . The Indian Air Board had recently issued a Report in which emphasis had been laid upon the suitability of the conditions for the development of civil aviation, and the significant fact that hitherto India, almost alone of the great countries of the world, was without a civil aviation programme." During his stay in India Sir Samuel Hoare visited the North-West Frontier and, with the Viceroy, made a State visit to the Maharajah of Bikaner, and had many important talks with vari-

ous bodies on the subject of civil aviation. Lady Maude Hoare in the introduction describes the flight and preparations from a woman's point of view. Many interesting accounts are given of the varied wild life of the desert, the magnificence of the Eastern potentates, and the valuable work of the Air Force on the North-West Frontier.

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THE BIRD LOVER*

Canon Raven's delightful book about birds, for the most part British birds observed in Britain, is an ideal New Year present for the naturalist, young or old, and its records of observation, set down with tense vigour in excellent prose, should make many young people naturalists, bird-lovers at any rate. Every one that has a soul has a passion for research, for the recording of new knowledge, and the watching of birds is singularly fruitful in this direction. There is so much to know that is not known. The psychology of the bird still escapes human understanding. Canon Raven writes with truth :

> It is not the least part of the charm of birding that even the amateur soon finds himself confronted with questions on which the experts cannot pronounce a clear verdict. If he is patient and honest in his watching he may always hope that some slight hint in the behaviour of his bird-friends will start a train of thought that may lead to the possibility of an answer. At least he gains an insight into the mystery of life, a humility and a reverence which are as precious to the soul as the hours spent in the open air can be to the body. Thank God for His birds.

The essence of birding is the sense of friendship for birds, the sort of friendship that Swinburne had, that Browning had. It is a poetic friendship. We cannot measure the bird by human or even mammalian standards of intelligence. They live on a different plane, so to speak, with instincts, if that is the term, developed in a fashion with which no mammal can vie. But that there is intelligence apart altogether from instinct it would be difficult to deny, at any rate, by any bird-observer who has the experience of Canon Raven's. It is delightful to see through the eyes and the camera of this expert observer some of the more famous English birds. He saw his first English Raven in the lake district, and also he located a Raven and a Buzzard nesting within two hundred yards of each other, though in fact the Raven bullies the Buzzard. He secured, in the most nerve-racking surroundings, " a printable Raven, a picture the more interesting as showing the characteristic unfolding of the wings, and a Buzzard at the top of her first stroke, just clear of the ledge, the

* *The Ramblings of a Bird Lover.* By Charles E. Raven. Illustrated with sixty-seven photographs by the Author. Martin Hopkinson & Company Ltd., 14 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London. 10s. 6d. net.

mighty pinion curving to its descent." The description of the Raven is one to record :

> To watch him was sheer joy, though now he was unusually silent. He would beat leisurely up with slow strokes of his great ragged-edged wings; then sail majestically with every primary spread wide; and then with a triple bark he would flex his quills back till they were parallel to the body and held out a few inches from it, and nose-dive steeply, rolling over first to the right and then to the left on a drop of over a hundred feet. The plunge of the Raven is not unlike the dive of a Gannet: the wings are folded back in the same fashion, and there is the same spin first to one side and then to the other. It is not a corkscrew turn : the bird reverses the direction of its twist midway in the descent. And whereas the Gannet drops like a plummet into the sea, the Raven when he has reached the level of his desire spreads his wings and flattens out his course.

This is an extremely accurate description. The present writer has seen the same floating, dropping motion in North Wales. Canon Raven found by the North Stack off Bangor some excellent birds. The " royal Cormorant " was at his best and Ravens were flying.

> Hardly were they out of sight when shooting from the cliff and racing seaward with swift and flashing wings came the steel-blue shape and clear outline of a Peregrine. Up he rises high above the island, circling round with pinions " strained to a bow," sailing towards us, stooping to a rock on the cliff, alighting to gaze at the intruders, and incidentally giving us a wonderful view of yellow legs and tawny dark-barred breast. And more was to follow. For on his next appearance when he came sailing above us the Falcon joined him, her size very noticeably superior and her outline, seen from below, differing slightly in shape and proportion of parts. For a few moments the Herring Gulls gave up their quarrellings for eligible building sites to mob her as she passed: how slow and clumsy she made them look as she dashed through and above, banked and climbed and circled, with the whole pack of them toiling heavily below her. It was long since I had seen the true overlord of British birds.

Probably Canon Raven knows that they can be seen at Dover—a most suitable spot—where, strictly preserved, they make havoc of the carrier-pigeons.

The achievement most gloated over by the bird-lover was a photograph of that rare and elusive hawk, Montagu's Harrier. This bird occurs somewhat frequently in Norfolk and also among other places in Hampshire, but this snapshot was taken at Texel in Holland. Canon Raven was in a position to photograph the nest, in which there were five little ones. The mother bird was hovering about, and at last " a thrill shook the brood with excitement : her wings were beating just overhead, and in a breathless moment of wonder and tension the great bird dropped before me. So huge she looked as she stood with pinions outstretched, a statuette in golden

bronze inlaid with silver when the bars of her tail and the whole of the coverts took the sunshine." The blue cock also appeared carrying twigs to the nest, and the next day Canon Raven secured a picture of that rarely recorded sight, the male Montagu Harrier at the nest. It is a remarkable photograph, but not so notable as a picture as the picture of the hen, with her vast wings outstretched alighting at the nest. The photograph of the Golden Oriole—also taken in Holland—is excellent. A bird that was apparently a Golden Oriole was seen at Charlton in Kent quite close to London recently. Canon Raven was unfortunate in his quest of the Golden Eagle in Reay Forest. He was in sight of the nest when he slipped on a wet rock and not only lost his bird but suffered injury. The nest " was in a great ledge or pocket framed in stone, a smooth crag overhanging it, and a tumble of broken granite falling sheer below. The nest itself was well set back behind a birch : it was a great pile of sticks well flattened and hollowed, some six feet across, between the tree and an angle of the rock." Canon Raven is hungry for a return match between the Golden Eagle and himself.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

In *France and America** André Tardieu discusses a problem which he has known at first hand and has personally attempted to solve. The common view that France and the United States have been close and trustful friends since the days of Lafayette and Washington is completely false, as our author shows in the historical chapters of this striking book, which owes its existence to his experiences of co-operation as French High Commissioner on the world war. The two countries, he points out, differ in almost every conceivable respect, and nothing but hard work and patient study will enable each to understand the other. During the emotional excitement following the entry of the United States into the conflict France regained something of her old popularity, and M. Tardieu, unlike many of his less-informed countrymen, declares President Wilson at the Peace Conference to have proved himself, " except on one or two occasions, a staunch supporter and honest friend of France." But the bonds quickly slackened, and the debt controversy, followed by the conduct of France at the Washington Conference on Naval Armaments and the occupation of the Ruhr, turned sympathy into indifference or disgust. " This is where we stand in 1926. Those great nations which I have seen so splendidly able to work together are parted further asunder than at any time in their history." Happily the author has had time to add a footnote at the end of the book recording the improvement of the situation under the vigorous rule of M. Poincaré. Tardieu is one of the ablest journalists and publicists alive, and English readers will be grateful to him for an outspoken analysis of an important and difficult problem.

* Allen & Unwin. 12s.

Dr. Abraham Flexner in his *Inglis Lecture* 1927, here reprinted under the title *Do Americans Really Value Education?** while giving full credit to his country in the way of the provision of money and buildings for educational purposes, declares that out of 769 institutions for higher learning in the United States—privately controlled institutions—possessing a total endowment of $815,000,000 only nineteen are properly financed. The figures show that the Americans " attach more importance to the mere diffusion of some kind of educational opportunity than does any other country . . . at least we do want every fellow to have a chance." It means, too, a prolongation of youth. " We realise, as the English realise and the Continentals do not, that there are many elements of first-rate importance beyond the merely intellectual." But what about " scholarship and the capacity for severe intellectual effort. . . . Do we Americans value scholarship in the sense that scholarship is valued and honoured in certain other countries? Do we attach distinction to the capacity for severe intellectual application as such, quite apart from the material rewards and applications? In my opinion, both questions must at this moment be answered in the negative, rather than the affirmative, in so far as generalisation is possible at all." Dr. Flexner does not find that the scholar as such is esteemed in America and he finds that pains are not taken, except in highly exceptional cases, to surround the scholar with the conditions necessary to scholarly and intellectual activity. The American academic teacher is not yet relatively as well off as he was before the war. The result is that most college and university teachers are, in fact, " half timers." They must supplement their incomes. There is a sad note in all this but, like many minor passages in music, the frank speaking is, in fact, a sign of transition to better things. The great American educationists of late have spoken very frankly and this is evidence that the tide has turned and that a great educational future is assured. The educational difficulties of America are very great, but to-day common standards in secondary and university education are coming everywhere and progress must follow the new organisation.

* * *

Mrs. Edwin Gray in *Papers and Diaries of a York Family*† writes lovingly of the house to which her husband brought her in 1882 as a girl of twenty, the house in which the Gray family had lived since 1788 and which has been known as Gray's Court after its owners. Much historic interest is attached to the house. Jacque Sterne, the uncle of Laurence Sterne, bought " the Great House " for £1,200 from Samuel, Earl of Winchester and Nottingham. The papers and diaries now published will appeal more to the locality where the Gray family lived than to the general reader. The family had a large circle of friends, and their immediate descendants were numerous, and fully interested in the doings and welfare of their clan. The diary is a long record of births, marriages, and deaths, and the comings and goings of a family deeply attached to each other. Journeyings were troublesome in those early days of the nineteenth century, and from the present-day point of view difficult and wearisome, but intercourse with those we

* Oxford University Press. 4s. 6d. net.

† The Sheldon Press. 12s. 6d. net.

love and care for is a necessity if family relations are to be maintained. The Gray family did much for missions and their endeavours bore fruit. William Gray and his wife Faith, in the latter days of the eighteenth century, came strongly under the influence of the Evangelical school of thought, and much fear was entertained of their becoming Methodists, as the influence of John Wesley at that time was great. But they remained in the Church of England; their simple and beautiful lives setting an example to all who came within their sphere. The closing sentence of this book exactly expresses its purport. "The story unfolded by these papers is only one of rather homely, simple lives, though full of interest and movement. Save for some local notoriety there is no glory to record. No share in national happenings in the limelight: but as the expression of personal and family life in the early days of the evangelical revival of religious thought and activities, by people whose energies, material and spiritual, were entirely devoted to acting up to their fervent religious beliefs and sentiments, I believe the papers to be not only of human interest, but that they remind us that the world needs to-day some such revival of true evangelism and personal religion to heal its wounds, and soften its rough edges, and bring to bear upon modern life and problems, whether national, international, economic, or industrial, that sympathetic understanding which alone can bring light and peace." This volume closes (Appendix II) with extracts from *The History of the York Lunatic Asylum* by Jonathan Gray, and exposes the terrible and awful conditions under which insane "Parish Paupers" were housed and confined. The Committee of Inquiry into these abuses (of which Mr. Gray was a member) did good service in helping to cleanse the Augean stable of this charitable Institution for "Poor Lunatics."

* * *

This volume* is a collection of a number of sermons preached and addresses given by the late Dean of Carlisle. They have been selected by Dr. H. D. A. Major and the Rev. F. L. Cross, of Ripon Hall, Oxford. A great variety of subjects is treated. All these discourses are of interest and form a characteristic memorial of their lamented author. Most of them are theological, some of them are ethical, and several of them deal in an interesting though slight way with such outstanding personalities in recent religious life as Frederick Denison Maurice and Bishop Westcott. The selection made is judicious and the volume can be commended, not merely to the friends of Dr. Rashdall, but to all those who are concerned to understand his point of view.

* *Principles and Precepts.* By the late Dean Hastings Rashdall. Basil Blackwell, Oxford. 6s.

THE ECONOMIC POSITION OF AGRICULTURE.

THAT British farmers are going through a period of depression has been made patent by debates in Parliament and discussions in the Press. How serious the farmers' difficulties are is always difficult to estimate, and the public is sometimes inclined to discount such tales as the professional patter of a class that has to pay rent; yet those who have means of judging do not doubt that the situation to-day is fully as bad as it was in the late eighties and the early nineties of the last century. It is not a question of greater or less profits; the ordinary farmer dealing with the land as he has been accustomed to do cannot make his produce pay for his expenditure.

This state of things is not confined to Britain, it is almost world-wide. The United States farmers are as hard hit as our own, from Germany and most of the Dominions come the same complaints, even in France, where the farmers have been specially favoured by legislation, complaints are beginning to arise. The World Economic Conference which met last May in Geneva fully recognised the world-wide character of the depression in agriculture. The representatives of the agriculture of the various countries who there met somewhat remarkably came to an agreement, not only on the existence of the depression, but on its causes. Of course, the immediate cause is low prices, or as the Conference put it, "the disequilibrium which has arisen between the prices of agricultural products and those of manufactured products." The low prices are obvious enough, the index numbers for grain and meat demonstrate them in relation to other commodities; but the members of the Conference were also in agreement that these low prices resulted not from an excess of production since the war, but from the reduced purchasing power of much of the industrial population, itself suffering from economic distress. With 10,000,000 unemployed in Europe unable to exercise their normal demand for food and other raw materials produced by the farmer, it is inevitable that there should be relative over-production of agricultural wares and that competition should force down prices to an unremunerative level. The conclusion of the Conference was that the agricultural situation was bound up with and must wait upon the general industrial and commercial situation, and that prices would remain low until trade and manufactures were encouraged to start up again by the growth of public confidence and the removal of the new tariffs, which since the war had done so much to strangle the international exchange of commodities. It is necessary to examine the basis for these conclusions carefully, for

they bear upon many of the proposals for the relief of farmers in this and other countries.

First of all comes the question of over-production. Is the excess of agricultural produce that forces down the world prices a real excess above what we may call the normal demand, or is it an excess generated only by an impaired demand, which might at once disappear if the industrial population began to exert its usual consuming capacity? It is not a very easy question to answer. Clearly we have no measure of the normal consuming capacity of the population; the best we can do is to take as a datum line the years just before the war and compare the subsequent growth of population with the increase of production. Even that question admits only of approximate answers, so imperfect are the statistical data and so much have changes of frontier and area rendered impossible the checks one can generally apply to recurring estimates. Anyone who has had to work upon the world's agricultural statistics available can only feel distrustful about his conclusions, and yet it is of the first importance that the figures should be sound if the world's affairs are to be run on lines of reason and not left to take their chance.

Between the years 1913 and 1926 the world population is estimated to have increased by 6 per cent., from 1,786,000,000 to 1,895,000,000. But the largest items in this figure are massed in Asia, in India and China, countries which, agriculturally speaking, are so nearly self-sufficing that they may be left out of account. A better picture is obtained of the factors influencing the international market if Asia and tropical Africa are omitted, as contributing little in the way of supplies and exerting no great demand upon the international reservoir of food upon which Europe draws. Of course, Java exports sugar in quantity and India sometimes exports wheat; *per contra,* the demand for wheat from Japan and China has been a new feature since the war, but none the less the general proposition is true that Asia barely grows enough to feed her own vast population and is yet too poor to buy from outside. If we confine our consideration to Europe, the Americas, Mediterranean and South Africa and Australasia, we find an estimated increase of population between 1913 and 1926 of about 50,000,000, or 7½ per cent.

Now it has been calculated that, amongst white peoples with a western standard of living, present day farming uses about one hectare of land in providing the food and other agricultural produce required by one unit of the population. There is nothing necessary about this figure, which is obviously dependent upon the standard of farming and the standard of living; it happens to be the current average of figures which may vary from about three-quarters of a hectare for Denmark to nearly two hectares for Spain.

It fits, moreover, very well with the increase of population during the latter part of the nineteenth century that was made possible by the settlement of the Americas, Australia, etc. The increase in area of cultivated land in the countries under consideration between 1913 and 1926 is estimated at 36,000,000 hectares. This figure, imperfect as it may be, would go to show that the growth of cultivated land has not kept pace with the needs of the white population, and that such over-production of foodstuffs as there may be is not of the character of the over-production of fifty years ago, when settlement in the Americas was proceeding with such rapid strides.

Turning to the statistics of production, the documents submitted to the Conference show an actual decline in the output of wheat when the five years 1921-25 are compared with the pre-war years 1909-13. Possibly these figures present too unfavourable a picture, because they do not take account of the rapid recovery of wheat-growing in Soviet Russia since 1921. If 1926 figures are compared with those for 1913 the wheat acreage appears to have increased from 109,000,000 to 119,000,000 hectares and the output from 1,029,000,000 to 1,139,000,000 quintals, by more than 10 per cent. Even if these estimates could be accepted, still the increase in wheat acreage has been purchased to some extent at the expense of rye and other bread corn. Taking the sum of the four chief bread corns—wheat, rye, barley and maize—from all countries except Asia and tropical Africa, the increase of area is only about 4 per cent., of the production about 5 per cent. There has also been some increase in cattle; from all sources one may estimate very approximately an increase in meat and milk products of about 8 per cent.

The net result of these and other inquiries is the conclusion that within the period since the outbreak of war the increased production of food has not kept pace with the increase of population, but has, indeed, fallen definitely behind it, if pre-war consumption is taken as the standard. If, then, the world market is overstocked as the low and falling prices would indicate, this must result not from positive over-production but from a weakened demand, from the fact that large sections of the peoples are not able to exercise their pre-war demand for food but by reason of poverty are living at a lower level of consumption.

In this question of low prices one factor must however be mentioned, though it is not reported upon by the Conference, probably because no general agreement could be reached. The break in agricultural prices began in 1921: it followed immediately upon the deflation measures which were initiated by Japan in 1920 and adopted by this country and the United States in 1921. Since that time State after State has followed a similar policy of checking the infla-

tion that had prevailed and returning to a currency based upon a gold standard. It is maintained that agricultural distress has in every case followed deflation, that it has been deferred in those countries which were late to return to the gold standard, that it has been relieved where a subsequent mild inflation has succeeded to the initial check. Whether deflation is the cause of low prices, or only a detonator which lets loose economic forces that are causal, cannot be here considered, but the dominating effect of currency upon prices cannot be ignored and is ominous for the future of the farmer, if, as predicted, we are entering upon a period of declining production of gold.

The conclusion, however, that the low prices are due to a weakened demand and not to great surpluses of production still does not explain what the Conference called the " disequilibrium " between the prices of agricultural and manufactured produce. That arises from the nature of agricultural production. Farming in all countries and at all times is something of a gamble against the seasons. The farmer takes a course which experience has proved to be justified on the average, and he pursues that course with little regard to temporary fluctuations of yield and price. The manufacturer determines his production by the orders and inquiries he receives : he can rapidly reduce output to meet a decline in demand. Temporary overproduction there may be through competition to secure a share in a shrinking market, but in every way the output of the industries is more quickly controlled than that of agriculture can be. Indeed, to a large extent the output of agriculture cannot be controlled at all. The greater part of the farming of the world is done by peasants or family farmers, who have only one routine for the farm and no alternative occupation. They may vary the cropping a little in accordance with prices but in the main they must continue on the accustomed paths whatever the prices, because for them the farm is primarily a living rather than a business. They sell only their surplus, and if it sells badly there is but so much the less to spend upon clothes and the other necessaries they must buy. Bad times affect the production of a peasant community but slowly ; eventually the younger generation declines to carry on so unremunerative a calling, and this sort of decline in the agricultural population becomes dangerous unless it is accompanied by some increase of efficiency on the land that remains in cultivation.

The inflexibility of farming is, then, the main cause why prices do not recover; another contributing factor is the weakness of farmers all over the world as economic units for sale. To some extent this is mitigated by union into co-operative societies, the only possible protection of the peasant against exploitation, but even co-

operative societies cannot maintain prices in the clash of the open international market. The price of bacon pigs was (December, 1927) below the cost of the grain required to produce them on the most exact scientific basis with no margin for waste. Pig-feeding must, therefore, be a loss both to the co-operative Danish farmer and the individualist Englishman, as, again, it is to the United States farmer, whose home price has to come down to a parity with the price he can get for the surplus he has to export. The trade in manufactured articles is in fewer and bigger hands and it is therefore easier to form cartels and arrangements whereby competition, national and international, is not allowed to depress prices below the cost of production.

With this general view of the position of world agriculture in mind we may proceed to consider the special British case. The feature which distinguishes British farming is that it has long ceased to consist of peasant holdings or one-man businesses. Excluding the land held in parcels of less than 5 acres, two-thirds of the cultivated land in England and Wales is held in farms of 100 acres and upwards. Typical British farming is a small capitalist enterprise worked by paid labour. There are roughly four times as many labourers as farmers. The density of employment in England and Wales is approximately two and a half permanent and half a casual labourer per 100 acres, and one might say that the representative English farmer is employing 5 or 6 men. Farms again are mostly rented, though the high prices of the war and post-war years did induce such sales that some 25 per cent. of the land is now owned by the occupiers. Still, the rental system is general and it has always given the British farmer an advantage in that the major portion of the very high capital required in agriculture has been carried by the landowner at a low rate of interest. It is estimated that the average value of the farmed land (sale price, not initial cost nor cost of reinstatement) amounts to £31 per acre, the landowners' capital; while tenants have invested from £12 to £15 an acre of their own capital. Gross rents are estimated at 5 per cent. on the capital; the average net return to the landowner may be in the order of 3 per cent. on the sale value of his land.

Since the British farmer is engaged upon a business in which he is endeavouring to obtain returns for capital that may in part be borrowed, and has payments to make for rent and labour as well as the normal expenditure on seeds, fertilisers and the like, he is in a far worse position to meet falling prices than is the peasant. Labour, rent and interest do not shrink in bad times but have still to be met out of the greatly narrowed margin between receipts and raw materials.

A study of the index numbers defines more exactly this general statement. Taking average prices in 1911-13 as the basis (100), in October, 1927, agricultural produce stood at 140. At the same time general commodities were 160, but wages were 176 as compared with pre-war rates. Even that figure does not set out the full rise in labour costs, for if the hour rate is compared, labour is just twice as dear as it was before the war. Labour is the biggest item in the farmer's expenditure, from one-quarter to one-third of the total outgoings on an average mixed farm. This then in brief is the source of the British farmer's troubles; compared with 1913, labour costs have been doubled, other commodities have increased in cost 60 per cent., while his produce is only realising 40 per cent. above the old returns.

Of course, 140 is only a weighted average index number for all kinds of agricultural produce; grain and pigs are below that figure, milk and wool above, fruit and vegetables have remained nearly 100 per cent. above pre-war figures. Hence it follows that nearly everywhere there are some farmers doing well because, owing to accidents of land or market or personal skill, they have been able to base a large part of their business upon articles commanding a more or less sheltered market. These markets are, however, limited and the main fact stands that the British farmer is hard put to it to carry on his ordinary business because of the disproportion that has arisen between costs of labour and prices of produce.

What remedies are open to the agricultural community? It is significant that the agricultural representatives at the Geneva Conference (collectively at any rate) did not recommend either tariffs or subsidies. They could hardly demand tariffs when the Conference at large was denouncing tariffs as the chief cause of the stagnation in international trade, from which arises the industrial poverty that reacts on the farmer as a lessened demand. The Conference could only advise the farmer to improve his co-operative organisation for marketing and obtaining credit, and also to improve his technical skill; for better prices he must await the industrial revival. As far as co-operation for marketing is concerned the advice cannot be pressed too strongly upon the British farmer; such action is necessary if he is to secure his continuance as a free agent, so powerful are becoming the commercial organisations that handle imported produce. But co-operation on any big scale involves a tedious and difficult struggle with the existing well-established trading organisations, and for a long time the motive power keeping farmers within the organisation will have to be faith and loyalty to the idea of co-operation, not immediate profit. Nor, indeed, is there a big profit to be diverted into the farmers' pockets. One is amazed at

the discrepancies between the price the farmer receives for milk or meat and the price the urban consumer pays, but the stretch between the producers' and the wholesale market price is only a small portion of the total difference, and yet is the only part which the farmer could cut at by combination. The stretch between wholesaler and consumer may be excessive or may be only a reasonable return to the retailer in existing social conditions, but it is not the farmer's affair, and he could only secure a share of it by becoming a retailer himself. Whatever the prospects of co-operation in Great Britain, it cannot be expected to convert the current low prices into remunerative ones or to make up for the increased costs of labour.

Nor can the case be met by simply aiming at higher production on existing lines. Without entering into the controversy about the applicability of the law of diminishing returns to farming, and admitting that the " high " farmer is often successful where his neighbours are just dragging along, it may be recalled that the farming community as a whole met the similar crisis of low prices forty years ago by cheapening farming, producing less, and laying away land to grass. It is in fact falling back upon the same remedy to-day. The intensive farming that is to pay involves a degree of skill and economic intelligence that is not at the command of every farmer. If things go on as they are, with prices continuing at their low level or even falling, and no new stimulus takes effect, the greater part of English farming land will go to some form of ranching, either grazing or the cheap wide-scale corn-growing which characterises our competitors in the new countries. Denmark and Holland grow more bushels of wheat per acre than we do, yet they are not the competitors who make wheat cheap, but Canada, Argentina and Australia, where the average yield per acre is less than half the English yield.

Side by side with low-grade cheap production from English land there will be on the good land highly skilled intensive farming for special articles commanding a more or less luxury market. There need be no doubt about the ability of British farmers wherever the returns are such as keep the good men in the business. The potato growing of the Lothians or Lincolnshire, the fruit growing of Kent, the milk production of some of our best dairy farmers, are examples of enlightened scientific management such as can nowhere be excelled. It is the common run of stock and corn farming that has fallen into the hands of men who follow a narrow routine, sufficient in its day, but which can only survive under present conditions by the exercise of the utmost parsimony and at the cost of a steady deterioration of the land. There are still men who can make good ordinary farming answer—witness the farmers of the Lothians out-

side the potato area and of the Border counties of Scotland—but, speaking generally, ordinary land does not attract management of that quality for the sort of price it is able to promise in return.

Is there any policy which affords hope for British farming other than those measures of direct assistance by protection or subsidy which seem to be denied by all political parties? Farmers themselves chiefly direct attention to wages. They are seized of the change that has so rapidly occurred in the relation of wages to prices and they maintain that this disproportion has been brought about by the Wages Board. The usual argument in the Eastern counties is that a sack of wheat (2¼ cwt.) should pay a week's wage, whereas to-day the sack of wheat is worth only 23s. while the week's wage is 30s. But there is no causal or even traditional parity between the sack of wheat and the weekly wage; the two did approximate in the early years of the century up to the outbreak of war, but, if we go back to the palmy days of farming in the sixties of the last century, the sack of wheat was the equivalent of two weeks' wage, and in the latter years of the eighteenth century, when so much of our farming system took shape, the sack of wheat would pay three or four weeks' wage. British farming for over a century has constantly been readjusting itself to a rise in the cost of labour as compared with the price of its products.

To turn to the actual situation, the average rate of wage of agricultural labourers in England and Wales is returned at 31s. 8d. per week. The rate is better than before the war to judge by the cost of living index, but it is a lower rate of pay for full time than prevails in any other large-scale industry. The action of the Wages Boards in fixing rates of 30s. a week for purely agricultural counties like Norfolk may have for the time being created an artificial wage level, but it has saved the industry from the certain loss of its men. Farmers might have forced wages down to 25s. or even to 21s., in parity with prices, and for a time the majority of the labourers would have had to accept. But the active men would at once have exhausted every contrivance to get away from the land. Even as it is, no new employment comes into a country district, whether road-making or any other construction work, mining or building, without immediately drawing away the agricultural labourers who are not tied by the necessity of keeping their cottages. The new beet sugar factories have to advertise that they will not engage men from the land, otherwise they would bring to a standstill their supply of beet. If there came a revival of industry and a call for men the land would soon be swept clear of its able-bodied workers.

Thus the farmers' contention that the Government has ruined agriculture by setting up Wages Boards to fix rates beyond the

capacity of the industry ignores the graver issue that even the Wages Board rates are below the general level of wages. No industry can expect to live on a basis of paying its men substantially worse wages than can be obtained elsewhere. As it is, inertia—the difficulty of making a fresh start—is keeping the labourer on the land as it keeps the farmer, though neither are getting out of it the living their fellows enjoy. Little by little the able ones carry their labour and their capital elsewhere, and those who fall out are not replaced. An industry does not die suddenly or sensationally and there is something particularly tenacious about the men of the land that keeps them hanging on.

But without any speculation about the future it must be accepted as a fact that the agricultural problems cannot be solved by lower wages; if farming is to remain a permanent feature of the national economy it will have to provide as good a return as any other industry for both labour and capital. This means that current systems of farming have got to be reorganised on a basis of dear wages instead of cheap wages on which they were originally founded. This is the working problem before farmers, a personal actual problem for each man that is independent of all questions of State policy or State assistance for agriculture. It may be agreed that farming as generally practised does not pay to-day, but, without condemning that farming as "bad," it is yet susceptible of change and of adaptation to the relationship now prevailing between wages and prices.

There are two lines of reform to be followed. The one concerns the farmer as manager of his business and particularly as the organiser of labour. He needs to review all the operations of the farm, asking himself at each stage how labour can be economised. The greater introduction of machinery is fundamental, which means more than anything else a study of how the given machine may be made to work. Most agricultural machines have begun by being tried and discarded, because the poor tool could not sit up and tell its user how it was being maltreated. Tractors upon the farm are perhaps in this position to-day; the farmer has tried them, but has gone back to horses, except on the larger farms for emergency work. Yet one man with a tractor will do six times as much ploughing as a man with a pair of horses, not so fine work perhaps, but still adequate, and there must be something more to be made of this saving of labour than is yet being realised in general practice. Of course, the mere use of a machine is not necessarily an economy; there must be a certain magnitude about the operation before the saving in labour pays for the machine, and here the professors of agriculture in the country might help the progressive farmers by working out experimentally

the economic data for the use of the newer implements. But, without going into details, the economical employment of labour is a problem of the first importance to the British farmer, which he will mainly have to solve himself, aided by the instructors and investigators who are now available for the development of agriculture. It has three aspects: the elimination of crops and operations which have become too costly however good in themselves, the substitution of machine for hand work, and, lastly, the hunting down of sources of waste of labour on each particular farm.

The second step in this same process of reducing labour costs depends upon a widespread and considered attempt to make the labour employed more effective. It may be agreed that the agricultural labourer is often a very skilled operative, who exercises far more technical skill and personal responsibility than the industrial workers earning twice or thrice his wages. But it is generally deplored that these skilled craftsmen are dying out and that the standard of workmanship has deteriorated greatly within the last generation, especially in southern England. It is sometimes said that farmers have relaxed their personal interest in the land of late years and have not given enough attention to the details of work. Anyone who has watched the effect that entering into a milk recording competition or a clean milk competition has upon the cowmen in charge of a dairy herd, the keenness and care that is generated by the posting up at regular intervals of the results obtained by each man with his cows, especially if there is a little bonus attached to performance, will soon be convinced of the value of the master's "interest" in the work of his men. Particularly too it has been nobody's business to see that the boys as they come on the farm are really taught their job.

Without blaming anybody, it may be agreed that the standard of work upon the farm is lower than it need be. Recently investigations have been made upon farms of the kind that have for long been worked out in factories; *i.e.*, measurements of the comparative efficiency of different workers engaged upon the same task, followed by trials of the effect of teaching the right stroke to the non-efficient or of supplying some trifling means of easing or quickening the operation. The results are very promising; it is clear that the effectiveness of the agricultural labourer can be considerably increased, and at the same time his fatigue diminished, by some sympathetic study of the actual mechanical operations he is called upon to perform. It is within sight that the agricultural labourer can be taught to "earn," economically speaking, his present or even a higher rate of wages. There is a special need in farming that master and labourer should come together. Farming is unlike most industries in that it allows of little gang supervision or checking of the output upon a standardised job. Masters are very dependent upon the honesty and good will with which their labourers work. There is an opportunity at the present time for both an individual and an organised movement among farmers to ensure better work upon the farms. After all, the function of a farmer is leadership, and without being critical of farmers, it may be fairly said that they are not giving their men enough of a lead at present.

Of course, reforms of the kind indicated will at first be accompanied by the employment of fewer men upon the land. Later, the improved methods may make intensification profitable, and with it an increased employment of men upon a given acreage. But density of employment upon the land is not of itself to be desired. The more backward the community the greater is the proportion of its workers engaged in growing the food it consumes, as in India, where it is estimated that some 70 per cent. of the population is engaged upon the land, or in some parts of China, where over 90 per cent. are so employed. The food so produced is not for export but is being wholly consumed within the community, which is the poorer in that but a small portion of the labour is available for the production of other forms of wealth like clothing, housing, etc.

In considering the technical methods by which farming may be improved I have put in the forefront this question of the efficiency of labour. It is true that there is scope for the greater utilisation of scientific discovery, but great as are the advances that may thus be promised, they are all secondary to and even dependent upon the economic necessity of the more efficient utilisation of labour. One sees all too many farms where well-meaning and well-read people are trying out the results obtained by the experimental stations and making them of no avail, because three men are being employed where two should be enough. In farming management must come first, yet it seems easier to acquire a knowledge of the scientific side of farming than of the art of management. There are, indeed, elements of large promise on the scientific side of farming. It has already been mentioned that the index number for agricultural produce generally to-day as compared with 1913 stands at 140, while labour is 200. There is, however, one item in the farmers' raw materials which is actually cheaper to-day than in 1913; the two chief elements of fertilisers, ammonia and phosphoric acid, are little more than three-quarters of their pre-war cost. It therefore follows that increases of crop purchased by the use of fertilisers are likely to be profitable, since these increases involve little or no addition to the labour costs. With the introduction on a vast working scale here and elsewhere of the processes for bringing atmospheric

nitrogen into combination as ammonia, nitrates and urea, and the enormous cheapening that has already been effected in this all-important element of plant nutrition, we can certainly count on production at a higher level of yield still remaining profitable. On arable land a judicious use of the cheapened fertilisers may just determine the possibility of keeping them under cultivation; on grass land the generous use of nitrogen promises sensibly to reduce the cake bill which is the chief item in the cost of milk. As with all advances due to science, the appropriate technique has to be worked out on the economic side before the advantages can be realised. But, remembering how between 1840 and 1860 the productivity of British land was raised from 20 to 30 bushels of wheat per acre by the introduction of artificial fertilisers, we cannot but see the possibility of a similar advance in this new development of the fertiliser supply.

Such are the opportunities of righting itself from within, without either legislative assistance or social change (the value or possibility of which it is not my purpose to discuss), which are before British agriculture to-day. It is at least arguable that they alone would be sufficient to provide reasonable returns to the farmers, with the maintenance or even some increase of the agricultural output. But to seize these opportunities and utilise them throughout the industry involves a confidence in the future that is lacking.

Prices are still falling, and though falling prices may weed out the weak they do not encourage enterprise and development. The agricultural statistics show that in fact farmers are shortening sail —laying land to grass, reducing expenditure and letting labour drift away—in order to meet the situation. (The Census returns show a reduction in the number of agricultural workers in England and Wales from 678,000 in 1911 to 615,000 in 1921. Since that date the figures collected by the Ministry of Agriculture on a different basis are 685, 625, 644, 639, 654, 650, for the years 1921-27.) A revival of the industry, induced by a vigorous search for new methods such as have been discussed above, will only happen under the stimulus of better prices, when farming again becomes attractive to men of enterprise and capital. According to the Geneva Conference agriculture must wait for a revival of industry before these better prices occur. Meantime, however, it is clear that agriculture is losing ground in the western world, that even in the peasant farming countries men are being attracted away from the land by the higher returns to be obtained in industries. Population is still increasing, the failure of food production to keep pace tends to be cumulative, and many observers see signs in sudden minor scarcities among agricultural products that the equilibrium between supply and actual demand may be easily disturbed and the present apparent surplus as quickly converted into an apparent dearth. Prices are at

the mercy of very small margins, plus or minus, and once an upward movement starts all the material facts favour a rapid speculative rise.

However, prophecy in such matters has been too often falsified; all one can note with certainty is that food production is not keeping pace with population, and that agriculture is becoming a less and less attractive occupation as industrialism advances. It is vain to hope that in future, even in the more backward countries, a peasant population can be maintained which will be content to work at less than ordinary rates in order to feed the world. Indeed, it is further questionable whether peasant farming methods can produce food for a much greater population than at present exists. But the alternative method of large-scale organised production upon which British farming tentatively entered two centuries ago, under which agriculture has to compete with other industries for both men and capital, is at present being undersold by peasant production to the undoing of both systems of farming. Our capitalist farming will only resume its progress, progress upon which depends the intensification of production necessary to the support of the world's growing population, when food scarcity gives rise to a stimulus of better prices.

A. DANIEL HALL.

THE INDIAN COMMISSION: A CRITICISM.

WE have received the long-expected statement by Lord Birkenhead about the Royal Commission. He was not speaking from any direct knowledge but only from the brief supplied to him, which accounts for the fact that he has, in our opinion, entirely misunderstood the questions at issue. His speech is that of an advocate who confines himself to the vulnerable points, but it is not that of a statesman who has to deal with one of the great problems of the Empire.

The claim of India that she, without any Englishmen, should be allowed to formulate a scheme of self-government, rests, among others, on the two following important grounds. India is in almost every respect so different from England that it is scarcely possible for Englishmen to put forward any real scheme of self-government that would be beneficial and would attain its purpose. We are satisfied from what we have witnessed that many if not all the experiments made have resulted in disaster to the people of India. The classes, the communities, and the castes vary so much that it is practically impossible for Englishmen to deal with social and political problems with any fair degree of success.

With Indians the case is entirely different. There is an underlying unity in religion and there is undoubtedly a horizontal contact between them all established by the caste system. A Brahmin at Cape-Comorin finds himself at home in any part of India with any other Brahmin. So, too, a Kshatyra or a Vysya. He is in a better position to understand the evils inflicted by himself. The same is true of a non-caste Hindu, or one belonging to the depressed classes, who knows where the shoe pinches. One religion and one code of morals regulate their lives. They know, therefore, what is needed in their interests. Such is also the case with Mohammedans. If the representatives of the various Indian communities meet together to exchange their views they will be able to submit a scheme for Home Rule which all the communities in India will be prepared to accept. There may be differences of opinion in details. But the differences will not be of such a character as will stand in the way of creating a real representative Parliament which may be entrusted with the control over the executive, and dispense with the necessity of a Secretary-of-State for India, who might be reduced to the position of the Secretary for the Colonies.

Opponents will always be found to urge that this is impracticable. To them the answer is, try, let such a conference produce the scheme. That scheme will be published, will receive public criticism, will be closely examined by the bureaucracy, by hostile critics,

and by the Government of India. Parliament may then either themselves or by a committee examine the proposals after taking evidence if necessary. I venture with confidence to state that the scheme so put forward, if placed before the English electorate, would be accepted by an overwhelming majority.

Lord Birkenhead argues:

> "It is sometimes said by our critics in India that it is for India to decide upon the form of the constitution suitable for themselves, and then for the British Parliament formally to pass it. . . . But let it be plainly said, and it cannot be too plainly said, that Parliament cannot and will not repudiate its own duties, its own responsibility in this matter. If anybody seriously supposes, either here or in India, that we are mechanically to accept a constitution without our own primary and ultimate responsibility for judging upon it, they have no contact with the realities of the actual situation."

I do not deny that there is a section of Indian public opinion called into existence by the Punjab atrocity and the treaty with Turkey who, having lost all faith in Englishmen, make such a claim. But the bulk of Indian public opinion does not demand that Parliament should repudiate its own duties and responsibility in the matter and mechanically accept a constitution without examination or approval.

Indian politicians are only praying England to carry out the policy of the Liberal Party under Mr. Gladstone. His view was that it is the duty of England to educate India both by means of her literature and by her Liberal institutions; and when English educated statesmen with a knowledge of the benefits of the English connection regard the severance of such connection as a necessity in Indian interests, England, on being satisfied of the genuine character of the demand, ought to withdraw from India.

There is also another reason for the necessity of a purely Indian Commission. The questions between the Hindus and Mahommedans can be settled by them alone in mutual consultation. The interference of Englishmen will prove a bar to an amicable settlement. The tension between them has been due to the fact that a third party is the arbiter. Both Lord Morley and Mr. Montagu have been compelled to accentuate those differences in the past, and the probability is that they will be accentuated still further by the present Commission.

Lord Birkenhead did not deal with these reasons for a Commission composed solely of Indians. He took up as a skilful advocate the extreme demand of a section of Indian politicians; but this was not fair on the part of a Secretary-of-State for India. Apparently the responsibility lay on those who supplied him with his brief.

Failing a Commission composed solely of Indians, we asked for a

country well and maintain law and order between all classes including Europeans and Indians, but is opposed to self-government and therefore would not impart higher education or encourage any political aspirations. The other class, in addition to this, would treat India as a field for exploitation and for careers for English boys. Lord Burnham was the proprietor of the *Daily Telegraph,* which, with the *Morning Post,* has stoutly opposed the Reforms of 1919; and they both have consistently opposed Indian political aspirations. India has to thank Lord Birkenhead that he is satisfied with the *Telegraph* on the Commission and has dispensed with the *Post*. From these four members, if they are true to their principles, we may expect a report proving, at least to the satisfaction of the Conservative Party now in power, that no greater mistake was made than the Reforms introduced in 1919; that they have proved not only a failure but also mischievous; and that this imposition of Western ideas or constitutions must be stopped in Indian interests once and for all. Whether they would go further and increase the hold of English capitalism in India, by making it a field for exploitation and not for development by British capital, remains to be seen. Among the other members, Sir John Simon is a prominent Liberal statesman; but he is the only Liberal on the Commission, and it is doubtful whether he inherits the traditions of Gladstone. His letter to his constituency tends in the opposite direction. On a question like this he is, however, not likely to submit a dissenting report. Both Lord Birkenhead and Earl Winterton practically say so. The other two members belong to the Labour Party; but they are the nominees of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, between whom and the rank and file of the Labour Party there is a great split so far as India is concerned.

We may be morally certain that the report of the Commissioners will therefore be strongly adverse to India. Dr. Besant goes further and is of opinion, as the result of conversations with her friends in England, that they are coming out with instructions as to the nature of the report to be submitted by them. A word may be said in this connection about Miss Mayo's book, as Lord Birkenhead has referred to her. Indian politicians have been contrasting the Philippines under America with India under Britain much to the disadvantage of the latter. In fact, Lord Chelmsford is credibly reported to have told Mr. Harrison, the Governor of the Philippines, when the latter visited India, that the Philippines are giving the Indian Government no end of trouble. With President Wilson, Mr. Harrison also went out of office. Miss Mayo wrote a book about the Philippines condemning Mr. Harrison and his reforms. A Commission was sent out consisting of General Wood and another. What they would report was known in advance. They duly condemned the reforms, and the Philippines have been deprived of the reforms granted under President Wilson and Governor Harrison. General Wood visited Lord Irwin. What he said we can easily imagine. So it would not be surprising if Dr. Besant is right.

In these circumstances all we can hope for is an adequate presentation of our case, for the enlightenment of England and the civilised world. Lord Birkenhead and the Prime Minister tell us that an opportunity for it has been given to us, such as has not been given to any other nation in a similar condition. The words of Lord Birkenhead are these:

> "We invite them (the Central Legislature) to appoint a Committee to come and sit with our Joint Committee, i.e., Parliamentary Committee. They can examine the Commissioners' Report. They have been even given a function more important than that of the Commission itself. In my opinion, this stage is of vital importance as the other stages are merely preliminary. The Indian Committee can present their own proposals."

This Committee of the Central Legislature sitting with the Joint Committee in London cannot do much useful work by the examination of the Commission's report unless they are able to prove their case by evidence taken in India. If they are denied any opportunities of eliciting the necessary evidence in India they might as well stay away. For this purpose Lord Birkenhead proposes to invite the Legislative Councils in India to appoint Committees to assist the Royal Commission. It is important, therefore, to consider the nature of the Indian Committees in India and the procedure to be followed in India. According to Lord Birkenhead, the Committee of the Central Legislature in India may

> "prepare their own proposals and come before the Commission and say: 'These are our suggestions. They (i.e., the Royal Commissioners) are to retain contact with the Committee of the Central Legislature, as long as their deliberations extend to matters with which the Central Legislature is principally concerned. After that they will temporarily lose contact,' (i.e., when they are journeying to the provinces); 'but even here they will not be deprived of the constant refreshment of Indian opinion, for it is proposed (I see no recognition of this fact in any of the Indian papers) that, in every province in which they journey, there will be created Committees of the Provincial Legislature which will discharge some such consultative functions with the Commissioners as are discharged at the centre of Government by the Committee of Central Legislature.'"

Lord Birkenhead is not perhaps aware of the fact that no proposals can be made about the machinery and powers of the Central Government without corresponding proposals about the Provincial Governments; yet he asks the Central Legislature Committee and the seven or eight Provincial Committees to put forward proposals

mixed Commission. This was refused on the ground that it would be impossible to get a fairly representative Commission. It was said that it would be necessary to appoint a Hindu, a Mahommedan, a Sikh, a non-Brahmin Hindu, a Christian, a representative of the depressed classes, special representatives of the aborigines and inhabitants of the backward tracts, and of the cotton trade, and so forth. Indians did not demand a representative mixed Commission. They did not want on the mixed Commission representatives to urge the claims of their special interests. A mixed Commission consisting of Englishmen and representatives of class and communal interests will not arrive at conclusions which the country will accept. They would not be the proper persons to frame a constitution in the interests of the country. Indian public opinion wants on a mixed Commission Indian statesmen above class interests, with knowledge and ability to frame that constitution. Lord Birkenhead had no doubt his tongue in his cheek when he said that on a mixed Commission he might have to put a representative of the aborigines who did not know how to read and write, who did not know, according to Lord Birkenhead himself, that there was a Montagu-Chelmsford Report, or any reform scheme framed thereunder; who had never seen a school or court, or listened to any political speech or address, and who might be one coming straight from the woods, and practically naked, to take part in the deliberations and to instruct Sir John Simon. The whole thing is ludicrous and comic but for the tragedy involved in it. To frame a constitution it is requisite that one must be a student of politics, must be above class interests, able from one's knowledge, experience, and capacity to form a correct diagnosis of the evils of the existing system, and to forecast so far as is possible the result of any scheme that might be suggested. A representative Hindu, Mahommedan, Sikh, Brahmin, non-Brahmin, or member of the " depressed " class, bent upon pushing the interests of his class and converting the English colleagues to his views (assuming the latter are impartial), would be a very bad Commissioner to submit a report which will be impartial as between them all.

This gets rid of the difficulty or impossibility advanced by Lord Birkenhead as a reason for not inviting Indians to serve on the mixed Commission. All speakers in Parliament implore India not to think that there was any insult to India. The tacit assumption that a sufficient number of competent impartial Indians cannot be found to serve on the mixed Commission is sufficient to justify the statement. We want Indians on the Commission to put forward our claims, to defend them, to demolish antagonistic views by argument and cross-examination. This can never be done by written statement. Mr. F. E. Smith, when an advocate, would have been the first to repudiate the suggestion that a written statement might

be filed before the judge by him and no argument be necessary. Lord Birkenhead, now, would be the first to repudiate any suggestion that mutual consultation between himself and his colleagues on the Bench might be dispensed with and written statements substituted. Yet this is the method to be pursued by the Commission. Questions will be cropping up in the course of the investigation by the Commission which have to be dealt with by argument and examination. Claims put forward have to be defended against hostile attacks. Counter-claims have also to be met. It is for these reasons that a mixed Commission is demanded. Without these opportunities neither the Commission nor Parliament will be able adequately to deal with the problem.

The other objection advanced is that, with a mixed Commission, there is bound to be a multiplicity of contradictory reports. This statement is put forward on the assumption that the Indian members are bound to be representative of class interests. It is no doubt possible that, even otherwise, there might be an Indian dissenting report. In the absence of representation of special interests the great probability is that there will be only one Indian report if the Indians are carefully selected, as their object is the creation of representative Councils with greater powers over the executive, and the diminution of the powers of the Secretary of State. There is bound to be more agreement among Indians carefully selected than amongst the present Commission. Here we come to the real reason. Experience has no doubt satisfied Lord Birkenhead that Indian representation will carry greater weight with Parliament and a fair Parliamentary committee than the report of an English Commission. The first report of the Chelmsford Government of India contained a minute of dissent by the Indian member which was accepted by a Conservative Secretary of State for India, whose opinion formed the basis of the Declaration of 1917, to which no reference is made in the speech of the Secretary of State and which he now desires practically to discard. The subsequent report of the Government of India also was accompanied by a minute of dissent from the Indian member, and the joint committee accepted all the material recommendations of the Indian member, discarding the views of the Government of India. It is this contingency that Lord Birkenhead wishes to avoid, and he wants the report of his reactionary Commission to be accepted.

The personnel of the Commission lends support to this view. The majority of the members—Viscount Burnham, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, Mr. Cadogan, Colonel Lane-Fox—are Conservatives. So far as India is concerned, Conservative opinion may be divided into two classes. One class, consisting mainly of the old English landed aristocracy, would govern the

independently of one another. All these proposals would be mutually interdependent. They dovetail into one another. It is simply impossible to carry out the proposals of the Secretary of State, as those of us who took part in the investigation of 1919 know only too well. Further, what is the use of the Central Committee putting forward their proposals if they are not allowed to support it by evidence oral and documentary? The Commission will be flooded with evidence tendered by opponents of these proposals. If the Committee be not allowed cross-examination it is idle to ask them to submit proposals. The same argument would apply to the Provincial Committees.

To meet these objections the Labour Party put the following proposals before Lord Birkenhead; namely, that the Indian Central Legislature Committee, and I presume other Committees, should (1) sit jointly with the Commission; (2) take part in the examination of witnesses and make suggestions to the Chairman on the questions to be put to the witnesses; and should have the right (3) to suggest further examination of the witnesses or call for other evidence in rebuttal; (4) to have access to all papers even of a confidential nature; (5) to be consulted before the Commission makes its recommendations; (6) to join in the recommendations if in agreement with the Commission, or, if in disagreement, to record minutes which shall be placed before Parliament; and that (7), when legislation based on the recommendations of the Commission is before the Parliamentary Select Committee, the Indian Committee be placed on an equal footing with the members of the Commission.

These proposals, if accepted, will satisfy Indian opinion, except that extreme section who would not accept any Commission in any circumstances. Lord Birkenhead is said to have agreed that the Indian Committee shall sit with the Parliamentary Commission and examine witnesses, and, by implication, have the right of suggesting the examination of further witnesses, and, after the investigations have been completed, of being consulted before the Commission formulates a recommendation; in the event of differences of opinion, the Committee is to have the right of presenting its own minute which shall be placed before Parliament. This goes a good way. In the Provinces the Committee of the Provincial Legislatures will sit with the Commission. If Lord Birkenhead agreed to this it is inconsistent with what he said in his speech. There he was quite clear that he would not tolerate two reports proceeding from two Commissions. He also said that the Central Legislature Committee is not to accompany the Royal Commission in its tour throughout India. In this he is not borne out by the Prime Minister or by Lord Winterton. This might perhaps be due to the intervention of the Leader of the Opposition, who generally supported

his Party, except in one respect. Mr. Macdonald was of opinion that the Indian Committee might make its report to its own Parliament: Lord Winterton contented himself by saying that the Indian Committee will have every opportunity of presenting and emphasising its case. The Prime Minister said that the whole matter is entirely in the hands of the Commission, who will have as free a hand as possible until they arrive in India. He added: "They can pursue as many of the lines of procedure which have been suggested to-day as seem to them on consideration wise and practical, only providing that such procedure is within the framework, and does not prejudice the ultimate responsibility of this Parliament." Among the lines of procedure so suggested are the proposals of the Labour Party elaborated by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald in the House of Commons, supported by Lord Olivier in the House of Lords, and agreed to in substance by Lord Reading.

Everything, therefore, depends on the Royal Commission. If they do not allow the Central Indian Committee to work with them on a footing of equality, tour with them in India, examine and cross-examine witnesses (perhaps with exceptions), it will be futile for the Central Legislature to appoint any Committee to co-operate with them. What should never be forgotten is this. If the Secretary of State, Sir John Simon, and the Prime Minister are speaking in good faith when they say that without co-operation the Royal Commission cannot be a success, then they must remember that as long as the Commission rouses a feeling of injustice or resentment there cannot be any real co-operation. The industrial situation in England, the relations between employer and employed, must have taught them that lesson.

It does not appear that Mr. Lloyd George took part in the discussion. He cannot have forgotten, and India will not forget, what took place during the war. It was possible that England with her allies might have won the war without India's help. But none can deny that it was with India's assistance that the war was actually won. Most of those who materially contributed to England's success were influenced by Mr. Lloyd George's promise of self-determination. India, a poor country, not only spent millions of pounds to assist England, but also made a gift of millions. Her loss in men in the field and by disease due to the war has been officially estimated in millions. It exceeded the loss of all the Allies put together. All this was in response to Mr. Lloyd George's call for assistance. He then spoke in the name of England. It may be convenient for the Conservative Party to forget all this now, and to repudiate his work as they have repudiated him. Alone amongst the statesmen of the Empire he has the vision, the fire, and the capacity

to give India Home Rule—a fitting consummation to a career worthy of the successor of Gladstone.

If this Ministry is allowed to wreck the reforms or fails to effect any substantial progress, India has no cause to despair. The next world-war, already looming on the horizon, will make her master of the situation. She will get back not only what she may have lost during the interval but more—in fact, practically Home Rule. The commonsense of the British people will then assert itself. India will then also remember that after the Armistice the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy tried to go back upon the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, and were only foiled by the extraordinary dexterity of Mr. Montagu. She will take care that another reactionary Parliament shall not tamper with what will then be won by her. If for any reason these hopes are disappointed, India would sever her connection with England and the latter would, in the words of Mrs. Besant, sink into a second Holland.

SANKARAN NAIR.

Madras, December, 1927.

THE ADEQUACY OF PARLIAMENTS.

I.*

WHEN John Stuart Mill wrote his famous treatise on representative government, the reputation of the Parliamentary system stood at its zenith. "The institutions of Great Britain," he writes, "and those of the United States have had the distinction of suggesting most of the theories of government which through good and evil are now in the course of generations reawakening political life in the nations of Europe." Everywhere the Parliamentary idea was making rapid progress. It had conquered South America. Its most recent triumph was the establishment of a Constitutional Monarchy in Italy governed by the principles which Cavour had derived from the study of representative institutions in Britain. Quite apart, then, from any arguments which might be grounded upon an analysis of the working of Parliamentary institutions, it was reasonable to assume that their rapid diffusion through the world was evidence of their congruity with the needs of democratic civilisation.

Mill, however, did not base the claim of representative government to be "the ideally best form of government" upon its popularity. That might be a presumption in its favour, but it was no more than a presumption. The case in his mind rested upon two propositions—first, that representative government was more favourable to good administration than any other form, and, secondly, that it was more educative. It was more favourable to good government because under it "every person is able and habitually disposed to stand up for his rights," and because "it increases the amount and variety of personal energy enlisted in promoting the general prosperity." And it was more educational because any participation, even in the smallest public functions, exercised an important effect upon character.

More than sixty years have passed since Mill's treatise was written, and no one will contend that the reputation of Parliamentary governments stands as high now as it did in the mid-Victorian age. In a chapter of his *Modern Democracies* significantly entitled "The Decline of Legislatives," Lord Bryce observes: "There is evidence to indicate in nearly every country some decline from that admiration of and confidence in the system of representative government which in England possessed the generation who took their constitutional history from Hallam and Macaulay and their political philosophy from J. S. Mill and Walter Bagehot."

Before the war there was a large political literature in Germany denouncing Parliamentarianism as a dissolving poison inconsistent

* The second part of this article will appear in the March number.—Ed. *C.R.*

with the greatness of States. In France the system of Parliamentary government established in 1875 has had many critics whose minds have been disquieted, now by the extreme instability of governments under the Parliamentary régime, now by the large amount of Parliamentary time consumed in trivial and factious debates. The United States of America does not enjoy a Parliamentary system as we understand it in Britain, seeing that both in the Federal and in the State Governments the executive and legislative powers are severed; but the existence of democratic legislatures is a common feature of all American constitutions, and the increasing distrust of these bodies is evidenced by the restrictions which have been everywhere imposed by constitutional amendments upon their powers, and by the growing resort to the direct intervention of the electorate, through the Referendum, the Initiative, or the Recall.

Moreover, there are now many instances of relapse from that form of Government which J. S. Mill described as ideally best. It has been renounced in Greece, where for some time past political power has fallen into the hands of some forty army officers: in Italy, where Signor Mussolini rules with the support of his armed militia of Fascisti: and in Spain, where the politicians of the Congreso, never at any time very representative of the nation, have been compelled to yield to a military dictator. In Russia the system of Parliamentary government has hardly survived the Tsardom. It has been destroyed in practice and repudiated in theory by the creators of the Soviet system.

Being a product of Anglo-Saxon civilisation, the Parliamentary system is clearly more likely to flourish in its original home than in the countries which accept it as a foreign import. Most Englishmen, for instance, would admit at once that the breakdown of Parliamentary institutions in Italy during the difficult years succeeding the world war affords no valid ground for the presumption that they will equally fail in England. The Italians are impulsive and passionate, new practitioners in the Parliamentary field, and impoverished by the absence of a strong and stable Conservative party, seeing that, during the early and most critical years of the new monarchy, the Vatican prohibited political activities to the faithful. Such a country may easily fall a prey to a violent political epidemic like Bolshevism, and call for a medicine which the doctors of Liberalism are unable to supply. So the very considerations which explain the sudden success of Fascism in Italy may be adduced as reasons why it is unlikely to succeed in England. Equally, with Russia, Greece and Spain. These countries differ so widely from Britain, in social composition and temperament, in the level of popular education and in their preparation for democracy, in their

political history, and social and economic structure, that it would be rash to draw any inferences from their experience as to the probable course of political development in Britain.

But what is remarkable is the widespread disposition in Britain itself to find fault with Parliamentary government, to regard it as having passed its zenith, and as being no longer, at any rate in its present form, equal to the tasks which modern civilisation imposes upon those who claim to administer the affairs of a nation.

"The House of Commons," observes Lord Bryce, "seems to hold a slightly lower place in the esteem of the people than it did in the days of Melbourne and Peel. Its intellectual equality has not risen. Its proceedings are less fully reported. The frequency of obstruction and the use of the closure to overcome obstructions have lowered the value of the debates and affected the quality of legislation." That is a temperate criticism. A louder note of disparagement is heard elsewhere and not in one quarter only of the field of politics. The Parliamentary system of the present day is assailed by Socialists disappointed with its achievements in the field of industry, or by high Tories like Dean Inge, who writes that the democratising of Parliament has become "fatal to its power and prestige," and that it is "increasingly doubtful whether its days are not numbered." If intelligent men advance such criticisms against the modern Parliamentary system in the country of its origin, where it is best understood and best practised, it may be inferred that in countries less favourably situated the criticism is more voluminous and vocal.

It does not, therefore, seem to be an idle task to ask ourselves what real grounds exist for this very general disparagement of a form of government which to our ancestors appeared to be the last word in political prudence. Has anything happened since the days of John Stuart Mill to lower the efficiency and educational value of Parliamentary institutions, and if so, what? In what ways, if at all, are modern Parliaments proving themselves unequal to their task? And how, if at all, can their defects be repaired?

Before we enter into this examination two preliminary observations may be made.

(1) It is by no means clear that Parliamentary methods have not actually been gaining ground since 1914. If the shock of war and revolution has been too much for the frail and uncertain Parliamentary life of Italy, Greece and Spain, the new German constitution offers substantial amends. It is no doubt premature to dogmatise. The predominance of the civil over the military power, which is essential to the preservation of Parliamentary institutions, is not yet securely established in Germany, and were international affairs to take an unfavourable turn in the next few years, German militar-

ism might once again recover its fatal ascendancy. But there are gleams in the sky. The Treaty of Locarno, followed (1926) by the enforced resignation of a powerful General for disobedience to his Parliamentary superior, comes as a welcome assertion of the supremacy of sound constitutional principle and peaceful intent. There seems no reason why the Germans should not successfully work a Parliamentary government of the democratic type, weakened though the Reichstag must necessarily be by the unwise inclusion of the Referendum and the Initiative among constitutional expedients.

Less promising, though not without promise, is the new Parliament in Czecho-Slovakia. Here, the principal danger is not the countervailing force of the military spirit, but an atmosphere of corruption and the pressure of the party caucus, which settles all the business behind the scenes and reduces the Parliamentary debates to a mere formality. Nevertheless, there is now more Parliamentary government in the area covered by this new Republic than ever before, and in the remarkable spread of education among the Czech people there is to be discovered a sound intellectual basis for representative government in the future.

The cases of Germany and Czecho-Slovakia do not stand alone. There are two Parliaments in Ireland where there was none before. There is a simulacrum of a Parliament in Warsaw where there was none before. In every province of India native ministers responsible to native legislatures are now called on to administer the social services upon which the welfare of the community principally depends. Even in Russia, under a Communist tyranny, there is now probably more political discussion than at any period before the Japanese war.

We do not lay great stress upon experiments which may betray expectation. It is possible that neither India nor Poland will adapt themselves to the conditions of representative government as we understand it in Britain. The gain in Germany is, however, incontrovertible. If the friend of free discussion is depressed by the dictatorships of the Mediterranean countries, let him remember the great constitutional block—now consisting of Germany, France, Britain, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, and the three Scandinavian countries. In all this wide region the Parliamentary spirit is now predominant.

(2) There is no higher test of an institution than its capacity to stand an unusual strain, and there is no strain upon a government more unusual and more searching than war. Judged by this broad criterion the Parliamentary system does not compare unfavourably with alternative forms of government. In the late war, the free democracies displayed a capacity for organising equal to that of Germany, and superior to that of Russia and Austria. The public

men thrown up by the Parliamentary system, the successive Prime Ministers of Britain, France, Italy, and their principal colleagues, were certainly not inferior in political capacity to the leaders in the three military empires.

There is no more common human failing than the self-surrender to the pleasure of finding that everything is going downhill. It is very easy to declare that Parliaments are not what they used to be, that the oratory is inferior, the debating power degenerated, the general level of character and intelligence lowered, and that the business of the country is not being conducted with the skill and accuracy of former times. We ought, however, to be on our guard against these comparisons, never very precise, and exhibiting one of the most insidious forms of epicureanism to which middle-aged people are liable. Such generalisations are all very controversial. We are told that oratory has declined in the present generation, and we think of Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, M. Viviani, and M. Briand. We are told that manners have declined, and we recall the drunkenness of the eighteenth century, the disorder under William IV, and the organised obstruction of the Irish Parliamentary party. We are told that legislative competence has declined, and, turning over any volume of the Statutes at large in the reign of George III, we find that Parliamentary time was almost entirely consumed by unimportant local acts, and that legislation on the grand, complicated, difficult scale with which we are now familiar had not yet come into vogue. We must not, then, be too hasty in disparaging the present. There is much to be said for the contention that the British Parliament has never been so industrious or efficient as it is at the present moment.

Nevertheless, it is easy to account for the growth of a feeling of uncertainty as to the assured success of Parliamentary government even in minds not habitually affected by the human weakness to which we have referred. At the time when the estimate of representative institutions stood at its highest, and when more, perhaps, was expected of democracy than human nature is able to furnish, Parliaments were doing work which was welcome, spectacular and comparatively easy. They were clearing the detritus of the Middle Ages which had been too long allowed to accumulate. The Franchise was extended : slavery was abolished : elementary education was introduced. The clogs and fetters which protection had placed upon industry were swept away. An expanding Empire, a growing trade, a revenue increasing as duties were reduced, provided a cheerful economic background to this Parliamentary activity, and suggested the thought that Parliaments and prosperity would go hand in hand to the end of time. The tasks of Parliament in Britain are more difficult now, and the economic circumstances are less

encouraging. Moreover, that part of the community which concerns itself with politics is no longer exclusively or even principally interested in what is said or done by the legislators at Westminster. The press, the platform, the county councils and town councils, the growth of extra-Parliamentary societies such as Trade Unions, with their conferences and congresses, disperse the political interest of the country, and deprive the House of Commons of the unique claim to the respectful attention of the politically-minded citizens of the nation which formerly belonged to it. The diminished space accorded to the reporting of Parliamentary debates in the daily Press is an indication perhaps not of any actual displacement of public interest—for the newspapers, whose reports were so full in former days might have been well advised from a financial point of view to curtail them—but certainly of the modest place which Parliament now occupies in the varied interests of the population.

It is not, then, surprising that political philosophers now busy themselves with " the pathology of legislatures." Lord Bryce, for instance, in his classical treatise, enumerates the diseases to which legislatures are prone, such as organised obstruction and the multiplication of parties and the control of a caucus, and touches upon some of the remedies which statesmen have discovered for these ailments of the Parliamentary body. What, however, we are principally concerned to know is whether the forces which tend to lower the quality of Parliamentary government are likely, under the conditions which now prevail, to overpower the agencies which tend to sustain it. Are representative governments of the Parliamentary type bound to deteriorate, and if so, what is to happen?

We need not delay over such features as Parliamentary obstruction. This evil can clearly be reduced to comparatively small dimensions by improvements in procedure—and though it is true that the frequent use of the closure deprives Bills of the full consideration they ought to receive, the damage may to a large extent be repaired either by compensating improvements in the mechanics of government draftsmanship,* or else by an attentive revision in the Second Chamber.

Nor is it in the least likely that the Parliamentary system will perish of bad manners. Good manners are better than bad, but what is better than either is a sense of reality. " Does Parliament," asks Mill, " or almost any of the members composing it even for an instant look at any question with the eyes of a working man?" That interrogation would not be made now, in Britain, seeing that the second largest Parliamentary party in the House of Commons is now entirely composed of members who look at questions with the eyes of

* One such improvement suggests itself : the submission of Bills, as amended in Committee, to a small body of experts, whose observations *on points of drafting only* should be available to the House at the Report stage.

a working man. This is a profound change which has affected alike the form and substance of Parliamentary debate. If there has been some loss in superficial refinement, there has been a gain in substantial good behaviour and in the earnestness and sense of reality with which all questions touching the welfare of the people are now debated. The statesmen who controlled affairs in the years succeeding the great war have been sharply criticised, but nobody could say of them what Disraeli not untruly said of the Tory leaders after the Napoleonic war, that " they knew as little of the real state of their own country as savages of an approaching eclipse."

So far it will be admitted that the system has worked well in Britain, and tolerably well in France. Why, however, has it worked well in Britain? The ultimate answer must be that, so far, public life has been found attractive by the best class of Englishman. For many generations it has been the ambition of able young men from the Universities to qualify themselves for one form or other of the public service, and to the most ambitious and the most fortunate that branch of the public service has appeared most seductive which offers the highest prizes. It used to be said that the House of Commons was the best club in London. Whether that be true or not now, it is still an avenue to great destinies along which patriotic and capable men have been content for many generations to tread.

Will these conditions endure? Will the Parliamentary career maintain its attractions for the best kind of citizen? The constituencies have become more exacting, the sessions longer, the questions to be dealt with demand more labour for their comprehension. With the spread of the franchise and the advent of class politics the attractiveness of Parliamentary work for the quiet and highly cultivated type of citizen has undoubtedly diminished. Moreover, it is possible that industrial constituencies will develop class consciousness to such an extent as to decline to return members to Parliament who are not, or have not been themselves, handworkers.

There are, however, counterbalancing forces which should preserve for the Parliamentary career its fascination for energetic and generous minds. The first is the strong sense of public duty fostered by centuries of self-government which is specially characteristic of our race. The second is the aristocratic tradition attaching to Parliamentary service, which has given to it a certain dignity and prestige wanting in countries in which representative assemblies are recent importations from abroad. The third is the British Empire. So long as the great Commonwealth of English-speaking nations continues to spread, and so long as Great Britain retains its responsibility for the good government of India and of vast tracts of Africa, the House of Commons will continue to remain one of the most interesting and instructive places in the world. Here, year after year,

the whole procedure of Imperial business is unfolded; here the earliest information on critical occurrences in every quarter of the globe is received and commented on; here great announcements of policy are divulged and criticised. Here every day during the Parliamentary session a government charged with the responsibility of ruling a great Empire fights for its life on an arena where every stroke tells for good or ill.

Men who have tasted of the joys of Parliamentary combats are seldom anxious to retire. The life grips them, and they miss the excitement, the camaraderie, and the close contact with important men and events when an adverse vote of their constituents is recorded against them, or for some private reason they are compelled to seek the stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds. To this rule there are, of course, exceptions—men who cannot stand the strain, or to whom the life for one reason or another is distasteful. But in general, the Parliamentary career agrees well with the taste of the robust, intelligent person who adopts it. Though a hundred reasons may be given why men should not wish to serve their country in the House of Commons, the fact remains that they do: moreover, that once bitten they acquire the habit, and that the habit not seldom becomes a passion. A study of our election returns proves that the same men present themselves again and again before the constituencies. Whether the same class of men would enter political life were the Empire dissolved is a matter of speculation. There can, however, be no doubt that in such an event the interest of Parliamentary life would be greatly reduced, and that it would lose many of the attractions which it now possesses for imaginative minds and adventurous temperaments. The politics of a great Empire are necessarily more varied and more exciting than those of a small kingdom. And it is difficult to imagine that the elimination from the field of Parliamentary discussion of all the issues which now arise either directly or indirectly from Great Britain's Imperial connections and wide-flung responsibilities in every part of the globe, would not react unfavourably upon the quality of the men who stand for Parliament.

Assuming, then, that the Empire survives, we see no reason why the attractiveness of the Parliamentary career should be diminished. Good men are not frightened by hard work, provided that it is interesting and that it furnishes openings for useful service. What would effectually deter them from standing for Parliament would be a great decline of electoral morality unchecked by law. Sporadic illustrations of such a decline have been afforded in recent elections, but there is no reason to think either that corruption or the breaking up of meetings by violence is on the increase, or that it is beyond the resources of the law or police to deal with.

It is not, however, sufficient that a number of capable and honest

men should be found on the benches of the legislature. Something more is wanted. Conditions should exist which enable the services of good and capable men to be utilised in effective Cabinets. In France we are told that an increasing difficulty is experienced in forming Cabinets. The sub-division of parties, the excessive development of the critical habit of mind, the growing importance of economic questions—which by reason of their complexity and from the fact that they are apt to cut across established party lines, introduce new principles of cleavage—are enumerated as helping to account for the kaleidoscopic changes of government which are characteristic features of modern French political life. It is certain that the efficiency of French Government suffers greatly from this instability, which, but for the effective work of the permanent civil service, would be a chronic source of danger and disorganisation. As it is, there have been moments when it appeared as if the French Parliamentary system was entirely incapable of rising to the height of a great national emergency, and that through its incapacity the country would be plunged into serious disorders. Then, after a number of brief ineffectual Cabinets have been successively overthrown, a new combination is formed which somehow finds a way out.

A similar Parliamentary malady produced in Italy the revolution which has led to the triumph of Fascism. The country was not being governed. No Cabinets, however excellent, could obtain a stable majority from a Chamber divided into small groups honeycombed with intrigue, and shrinking, out of the fear of being called reactionary, from taking the most elementary precautions for the preservation of order. It seemed for the moment as if Parliament was bankrupt and the politicians incapable of the large perspective and vigorous action which the situation of the country required. "No real reform," writes Signor Villari, "could be carried out so long as each successive Cabinet could not count on more than a few months' lease of life and even that insecure tenure could only be obtained by devoting half its activities to Parliamentary intrigues and compromises, and whittling down every useful measure to nothing at all. Things were bad enough before under the old electoral law, but proportional representation had made things infinitely worse."

There are some political philosophers who argue that we are here in presence of one of the inescapable consequences of democratic civilisation. As democracy proceeds, education develops. The tendency of education is, upon the whole, to make men and women exercise their minds. In proportion as they are encouraged to do this, they discover intellectual differences. Moreover, they acquire a certain pride in their own intelligence and a confidence in the results which their intelligence enables them to reach. So great a miscellany of opinions is not easily regimented. The more intelligent the community, the more impatient will it become of a system which only

to discuss the current business and to settle upon the line of action which shall be taken with regard to it. If parties are to retain their cohesion and to conduct the work of Opposition effectively, then such consultation is necessary.

Assuming, however, that one of the great political parties in the country is filled with suspicion of its Parliamentary representatives and does not trust its Parliamentary leaders to carry out the party programme with the requisite degree of ruthlessness, then a situation arises comparable to that which we now find in Australia, Czecho-Slovakia and Fascist Italy. The Parliamentary party is controlled by a party executive, in which the Parliamentary leaders may be in a minority; and the party executive, being composed as to the majority of its members by men and women who have not experienced the sobering effects of a discussion in which argument is met by argument and question by counter-question, are determined at all costs to impose their outside programme upon a legislature to which they do not belong. The more highly organised a party becomes, the greater the temptation to dictate to its representatives in Parliament. And when a political party mainly rests upon the support of bodies chiefly formed for industrial ends like the British Trades Unions, the temptation becomes very great indeed. The big industrial leaders may not be the big political leaders. They may be very jealous of the political leaders; and, having no traditional or inherited respect for Parliament, may derive some satisfaction from the thought that they are in a position to make the political leaders dance to their tune. In the British Labour Party these tendencies, only partially developed it is true, are clearly visible: and it is possible that they may be carried further. Nevertheless, we doubt whether they will finally succeed in overpowering the inherited respect for Parliamentary institutions which is so marked a feature of British political psychology. Experience will show that parties, so controlled, will cut a poor figure in Parliament. The knowledge on the part of their Parliamentary opponents that the professed leaders of a party are not in reality the leaders, is a serious source of weakness. It is exploited in the House and in the country. An organisation, therefore, of the type described is not likely to influence for very long the political future of the party which adopts it.

Summarising this part of the argument, we do not see why in Britain the Parliamentary system should not continue to provide executive committees of the requisite worth and ability, and to provide for them conditions under which they can carry on their work adequately. It is true that there are some tendencies visible which, if uncorrected, would tend to lower the quality of government in this country. There are, however, countervailing forces in the traditions and political character of the nation which should be strong enough to sustain and perhaps improve it.

H. A. L. FISHER.

THE GLOZEL MYSTERY.

HOW it would have attracted and amused my late friend Andrew Lang! Just the thing for that great scholar and unraveller of intricacies! But, by the time I write, it also puzzles the man in the street, the lady in her boudoir.

Whom does it not puzzle?

A cartoonist recently figured two Parisian tramps having taken refuge from a shower under the arch of a bridge: "Why, old fellow, you look worried, what is the matter?" "Oh! that problem of Glozel," comes the answer.

Nobody knew of that little place before. A tiny hamlet of four houses, eighteen miles from Vichy, half a mile from a rivulet rich in trout, which soon runs into the Sichon, which flows into the Allier, a tributary of the Loire. It is a steep descent to the rivulet called Vareille. Dominating the stream is a small plateau, about twenty by sixty yards, which, until 1892, was covered with brushwood. When that was cleared, rumour says that much earthenware was found, but none preserved. Enriched, like so many French peasants, by the war, the Fradin family, formerly petty farmers, became the proprietors of Glozel and the adjoining land. In 1924, old Fradin, with his grandson Emile, then aged eighteen, began ploughing the small field. They hit on an obstacle and uncovered it (March 1st). It was an oval structure of which we know very little, because the early visitors destroyed it. But Emile, an intelligent fellow, picked up a brick with incisions and showed it to a schoolmistress who was out for a walk. She reported to the inspector of the school, and the learned Society of the *chef-lieu*, Moulins, was duly informed. But the worthies whom that Society sent out, seeing bricks with strange signs, which Emile had meanwhile unearthed, decided it was all Roman. So the Society declined to spend money on Roman bricks, and here the matter would have ended if it had not been for Dr. Morlet, a physician of some standing in Vichy and member of the Society. He saw the earthenware, declared it was much older than the Romans, leased the field, made friends with the Fradin family and, with the sole help of his wife and Emile Fradin, began digging slowly and prudently in the spring of 1925.

Indeed, prudence was a requisite, the greater part of the finds being very fragile. Under a layer of earth, some thirty centimetres high, begins a layer of clay, the upper part of which, at the depth of sixty centimetres or thereabouts, contains the worked objects in stone and bone, the inscribed tablets, the vases, the strange clay idols with the emblems of both sexes (the so-called *idoles bisexuées*). Some of the stone and bone objects also bear incised inscriptions; a few vases are inscribed, the idols are not. The clay objects have not

been sufficiently baked, and must be taken out and dried with the utmost care; no progress is possible except with the point of a knife. Sometimes the things lay in hoards, but in other places nothing was found. Not a fragment of Celtic or Roman pottery, not an atom of copper or bronze, not a coin ever came to light.

During the summer and autumn of 1926 and 1927 the finds were exceedingly numerous, though less than half the field has as yet been explored. A great part of the objects remained, as exhibits, at the Fradin farm at Glozel; the remainder went to the house of Dr. Morlet, who published photographs and outlines, with a clever text, in four small illustrated pamphlets, and in numerous articles inserted in a well-known Parisian periodical, the *Mercure de France,* the editors of which were the first to believe in him.

Among the more recent and sensational discoveries were two oval tombs, which induced Dr. Morlet to believe that the first dilapidated structure was also a tomb. More than a hundred objects, with very few human bones—the site is unusually damp—were extracted from one of them, and opened in the presence of a Member of the French Institute, a professor at the University of Clermont, a geologist, and others.

As far as the actual facts admit of a conclusion, the field above the Vareilles, called Duranton, was a sacred spot in the early neolithic age, where offerings were deposited and some eminent priests or chiefs interred, with similar offerings to keep them company.

Three unforeseen and, *prima facie,* incredible novelties impress a mysterious character upon that site:

(1) While it has generally been admitted that the reindeer and the graphic arts of the cave-dwellers had somehow disappeared before the beginning of the later stone age, we can recognise at least two indisputable reindeer engraved on flat stones found at Glozel. The art of those engravings and many others is not of the best, but still naturalistic and with no tendency to stylisation, as in the neolithic rock-paintings of Spain.

(2) Contrary to the teaching of every handbook, rude pottery and sculptures in clay have been found, together with the images of reindeer, on the same archæological level.

(3) Stranger still, about 150 inscriptions on clay, stone, or bone have been unearthed, the longest filling a tablet with more than a hundred signs. Put together, the signs hitherto ascertained make up an alphabet of about 110 signs, half of which are quite unknown, while the others bear an unmistakable resemblance—often amounting to identity—to the Phœnician, Greek, Latin, Cretan, Libyan and Iberian scripts, in fact, to all the scripts used on the shores of the Mediterranean except hieroglyphics. The closest analogy is

with Phœnician on the one hand, with proto-Iberic, as known from discoveries made at Alvâo in Portugal (1893), on the other. Some signs, found on bones of the reindeer period as early as 1865, occur on the Glozel tablets; others are very like the Northern runes, certainly older than has been hitherto believed.

The only possible explanation of those queer facts is as follows: Writing, in its earliest linear form, was invented during the Pliocene age by the reindeer hunters (what archæologists call the Magdalenian period, from the famous cave of La Madeleine in Périgord), then developed, together with pottery, at the very beginning of the second stone age. That linear writing, first very complicated, somehow spread towards the East and was simplified much later (about 2000 B.C.) by Phœnician traders, who evolved the alphabet of twenty-two signs which we all use. Western Europe, not the East, invented the linear script. Now, the continual invasion of northern barbarians—Iberians, Ligurians, Germans, Celts—destroyed that promising culture in the West, while in the East it was tutored by Egypt and Babylonia, just as Greco-Roman culture was saved, to a certain extent, about 700 A.D., by the Christian Churches. Gaul and Spain having relapsed into barbarism, they were taught again to write and read by Eastern people; but what they then learned, after B.C. 1000, was the outcome of what they had invented at least twenty centuries before. That sounds like romance, but it is interesting to observe that a French explorer of caves, Edouard Piette, discovering pebbles on which letters were painted, had put forward that very hypothesis in 1896 and had, of course, been considered a dreamer by the professional teachers of pre-history.

* * * *

Vichy is only five hours by rail from Paris and Glozel is an hour by motor from Vichy. So Dr. Morlet thought that Parisian and other scholars, hearing of his discoveries and seeing photographs of them, would rush to Glozel. But none came and none believed; he was told politely that the whole matter must be a hoax, because it was *impossible* that clay vases and dolls were made when reindeer still roamed about France, and more impossible still that a developed linear script should have existed at that early period.

At last (June, 1926), an ethnologist, M. Arnold van Gennep, was sent by the *Mercure* to Glozel. He witnessed the excavations, returned quite sure that nothing was wrong about them, and expressed his absolute confidence. So I also went there (August, 1926), with the same result, and gave my opinion at a sitting of the French Institute (August 27th). M. Camille Jullian, the well-known historian of Gaul, did not go to Glozel (he has not even been there since), but contradicted me on September 3rd in the Institute,

to discuss the current business and to settle upon the line of action which shall be taken with regard to it. If parties are to retain their cohesion and to conduct the work of Opposition effectively, then such consultation is necessary.

Assuming, however, that one of the great political parties in the country is filled with suspicion of its Parliamentary representatives and does not trust its Parliamentary leaders to carry out the party programme with the requisite degree of ruthlessness, then a situation arises comparable to that which we now find in Australia, Czecho-Slovakia and Fascist Italy. The Parliamentary party is controlled by a party executive, in which the Parliamentary leaders may be in a minority; and the party executive, being composed as to the majority of its members by men and women who have not experienced the sobering effects of a discussion in which argument is met by argument and question by counter-question, are determined at all costs to impose their outside programme upon a legislature to which they do not belong. The more highly organised a party becomes, the greater the temptation to dictate to its representatives in Parliament. And when a political party mainly rests upon the support of bodies chiefly formed for industrial ends like the British Trades Unions, the temptation becomes very great indeed. The big industrial leaders may not be the big political leaders. They may be very jealous of the political leaders; and, having no traditional or inherited respect for Parliament, may derive some satisfaction from the thought that they are in a position to make the political leaders dance to their tune. In the British Labour Party these tendencies, only partially developed it is true, are clearly visible: and it is possible that they may be carried further. Nevertheless, we doubt whether they will finally succeed in overpowering the inherited respect for Parliamentary institutions which is so marked a feature of British political psychology. Experience will show that parties, so controlled, will cut a poor figure in Parliament. The knowledge on the part of their Parliamentary opponents that the professed leaders of a party are not in reality the leaders, is a serious source of weakness. It is exploited in the House and in the country. An organisation, therefore, of the type described is not likely to influence for very long the political future of the party which adopts it.

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asserting that the inscripions were late Roman and related to witchcraft.* Several other scholars of repute, Emile Espérandieu, Loth, Depéret—the latter a geologist—went to Glozel and, after having themselves found things on the spot, emphatically confirmed Dr. Morlet's opinion and mine.

But, meanwhile, a very clever book-lover, M. S. de Ricci, had declared that the Glozel objects were forgeries, in which perverted scepticism he was followed by many people who shook their heads but wrote nothing, and by others who both sneered and wrote. One of the latter was an Englishman, Mr. Crawford; three were Frenchmen, Count Begouen in Toulouse, Vayson and Dussaud in Paris. The last-named, who is an Oriental scholar and a Member of the French Institute, had not seen the excavations, but created a sensation when he declared (September 16th, 1927) that all the inscriptions and most of the other objects were " fakes." The quarrel then began in periodicals and dailies; Morlet's friends protested indignantly. The French Ministry, rather annoyed, forbade further digging and sent two men, one of them a good draughtsman, to compile a list of the objects discovered, whether genuine or not.

Next came a prehistoric Congress at Amsterdam, organised by French sceptics; the Portuguese scholar Mendes Correa appeared there and, to the general dismay, proclaimed that the finds of Glozel were as authentic as those of Alvâo, having himself visited both places. So it was decided that an international Commission should be sent to investigate Glozel, the French Government allowing that excavations should be resumed by the Commission for a few days. But instead of being nominated by the members of the Congress, the experts were chosen by the secretary, who is a staunch unbeliever, and selected among his personal friends. No Dane, no Swede, no Norwegian, no Italian was included, and England was represented by Miss Garrod. That young lady is the pupil and follower of Abbé Breuil, one of the first French authorities on the art of the Pleistocene period. Now, M. Breuil went to Glozel in October, 1926, with M. Loth, and wrote an article in *L'Anthropologie* to state that everything was genuine; but, later on—irritated, as some people think, by the fame of discoveries which outdid his own—he declared that it was all a hoax (October 2nd). So the choice of Miss Garrod by the Secretary of the Congress, Count Begouen, is easily accounted for. The same line of argument may be applied to M. Forrer, an early enemy of Glozel, and to M. Bosch Gimpera, M. Begouen's correspondent in Barcelona, and so forth. I myself, as Vice-President of the Institute, which met at Amsterdam, protested against the choice of the members of the Commission; but no notice was taken of what

* Any Latin scholar may admire his readings in the *Revue des Études Anciennes* for 1927. Not one Latinist has approved of them.

I urged; i.e., that no scholar who had hitherto declared for or against Glozel was to be elected, and that the British Museum and the Cinquantenaire in Brussels should be approached in order to secure proper delegates.

The Commission worked at Glozel from November 5th during three days, and discovered many important objects, including an inscribed tablet. The public was, however, much surprised that the members left Vichy without having stated their opinion. Everyone went back to their respective countries; then they met again in Paris (December 12th). What influences were brought to bear on the Commission I do not exactly know; one thing, however, I can guarantee. Dr. Morlet had given a part of a bone to Professor Correa of Porto, in order to have it analysed, because a chemical analysis can always detect whether a bone is ancient or not. While Correa's analysis was going on, a *forged* telegram from Porto appeared in the French papers, to the effect that the bone was modern. Correa protested, and the final analysis has shown that the bone in question was very ancient! But the Commission, to which Morlet offered other fragments of bones for analysis, only insisting that a parallel analysis of the same bones should be performed at the University of Lyons, flatly refused them. Till further light has been shed on that incident, the *bona fides* of the President of the Commission must remain in doubt.

On December 23rd appeared the long-expected report, to the effect that " all the finds were non-ancient." The French word used is *non-ancien*, which is no French, but literally translated from the German *unantik*, and betraying the pen of M. Forrer, the most ardent enemy of Glozel.

So the war began afresh and is still raging. M. Dussaud now openly declared, in defiance of our laws against libel, that if Dr. Morlet was the innocent victim of an enormous fraud, the two or three thousand finds were fakes *made by the young peasant boy, Emile Fradin*. Immediately, three Members of the French Institute, Loth, Espérandieu, and myself, protested that it was the very acme of absurdity to suspect an almost illiterate young ploughman of so stupendous an achievement. One argument, repeatedly stated by myself, suffices to prove that the inscriptions, against which M. Dussaud specially revolts, are no forgeries: almost all the signs of the known alphabets figure therein, *excepting* B, which is missing in the Iberian and Etruscan scripts. What forger could have been aware of that? Not even a specialised graduate of a University. M. Dussaud never answered my argument; M. Vayson tried to discard it by supposing that I myself had instructed young Fradin. A little more, and I may be accused of being the forger, to which I

would answer : *Domine, non sum dignus*. Such a feat is too clever for me.

So here is a dispute which has conferred a world-fame.on Glozel, in which neither politics, nor religion, nor money is involved, but recalling to elderly French people the Dreyfus affair, so ardent are the upholders and the would-be demolishers of Glozel. If the public only enjoyed the fun of seeing scholars at daggers with each other and professors' caps changed into fools' caps, that reason would not be adequate. In truth, all learned or even semi-learned people feel that a very great stake is involved : *East or West, Asia or Europe?* Our education, still founded on the Bible (not read in France, but replaced by the teaching of the Catechism), implies that all culture originated in the East, and even scholars have never ceased to repeat the old saying : *Ex oriente lux*. Whether that unproven maxim is to be maintained or not is the true subject of the quarrel about Glozel. What personal grudges, conceit, rivalry or *invidia doctorum* may add to it, is of minor importance.

S. REINACH.

EX ORIENTE LUX.

RECENT advices from the Far East would seem to justify the hope that before long a more enlightened and firmer policy on the part of the Powers may serve to stem the tide of chaos in China. Certain things have lately been said and done in Tokyo and Dairen which may reasonably be held to indicate that the Japanese Government is disposed to call a halt to the predatory proceedings of the political adventurers and warring chieftains who have so grievously misruled and plundered that unfortunate country for the last ten years. While there is as yet no sign that either the British F.O. or the State Department at Washington fully realises the futility of the policy of patient conciliation prescribed by the Washington agreements, the fact that they have declined to permit the Nanking Nationalists to levy such exactions as they think fit from foreign traders suggests the possibility of a return to commonsense and insistence on the observance of Treaties. True, the American Minister at Peking has been recalled because his policy was not in sympathy with that of the Administration and because, in the face of unceasing, unprovoked acts of aggression, he could not bring himself to make complete surrender of his countrymen's dignity and Treaty rights. The attitude of those who are primarily responsible for British policy in the Far East still appears to be inspired by an incurable propensity towards " adventures in liberalism " and by readiness to sacrifice the remnants of British prestige and trade rather than abandon one of its sentimental shibboleths. The China trader is still required by the F.O. school of thought to regard himself as an undesirable intruder upon Chinese soil who, if he insists upon adventuring his person or his property there, does so at his peril; the current *mot d'ordre* in official circles is to discourage those lawful occasions which, not so long ago, the trader was urged by the same F.O. to pursue with vigour. The high places of Western policy in fact are still in darkness, but out of the East, from the land of the Rising Sun, there comes a welcome gleam of light and the first hope of better things.

Before examining the ground on which this hope is founded it may be well to consider briefly the policy which, since the Washington Conference and the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the rulers of Japan have pursued with regard to China. In the first place, it is to be observed that they have made a virtue of necessity and subscribed to the sentimental fallacies current in England and America concerning the patriotic aspirations of the Chinese " Nationalists " and other warring factions. They have faithfully observed the Washington pact of non-interference and have suffered, like ourselves, many things, because of their adherence

to the doctrine of patient conciliation. They have never ceased to proclaim their sincere desire to see the Chinese restore law and order by their own efforts, and their willingness to welcome any stable central government which might emerge from the chaos of strife. The necessity for acquiescence in a state of affairs which seriously threatens the most important outlet for her trade was inevitably imposed upon Japan as a result of the new international position created by the Treaty of Versailles, and, later, the Washington Conference. Active intervention in Chinese affairs, an aggressive policy such as that outlined in the " 21 Demands " of 1915, was evidently out of the question; it would have antagonised not only the English-speaking world, but those elements of Chinese politics upon whose goodwill Tokyo relies for the future. As in 1895, a period of watchful waiting became inevitable, and caution the keynote of Japanese diplomacy.

At the same time—(and herein lies the all-important difference between Japanese policy and our own)—while the Parliament and Press of Tokyo have professed as earnestly as ourselves their sympathy for China's national aspirations, Japan's Consular and other agents at the chief strategic points of Japanese trade and influence have made it quite clear to the Chinese that there are limits beyond which they may not go. They were led to realise by quiet words spoken in season and at the right places that, whatever other Powers might do, Japan has no intention of surrendering to intimidation either her Treaty rights or any " special interests " (such as those of the South Manchurian Railway) which have been definitely ceded by the Chinese and recognised by other Governments. And the Chinese, as usual, have had the worldly wisdom to respect the rights of a nation which is evidently prepared to defend them in matters vitally affecting its national security. It would not occur to any Chinese politician, for instance, to propose to the Japanese, at Hankow or elsewhere, that they should hand over their lawfully acquired places of trade and residence to be plundered and befouled by the mob, as we, alas, have done. On the contrary, wherever the tide of civil strife has threatened the lives and property of Japanese subjects in any considerable numbers, whether on the Yangtse, in Shantung or Manchuria, the leaders of the warring factions have speedily been brought to perception of the better part of valour by the appearance on the scene of Japanese forces sufficient to inspire them with wholesome respect—and these forces, be it observed, were quite small.

Human nature being what it is, and nations even less disposed to altruism than individuals, there is nothing surprising in the fact that, during these long years of strife and misrule in China,

a considerable body of public opinion in Japan has been disposed to regard with something like equanimity the losses and indignities thereby incurred, finding a prospect of compensation in the spoliation and expulsion of their trade rivals and in the collapse of the White Races' educational and missionary activities. If England, under the hypnotic influence of the Locarno spirit, is prepared to permit the Chinese Nationalist rabble to destroy the trade centres and prestige built up by two centuries of British enterprise, the final result should be of considerable benefit to Japanese commerce. The policy of watchful waiting had therefore something besides prudence to commend it. At the same time, there was always to be considered the possibility that it might have to be modified, and the attitude of patient conciliation abandoned, in the event of its advantages being outweighed by the risk of serious danger to those interests which Japan has frequently declared to be of vital importance to her national existence. Of these, her position of economic and political ascendancy in Manchuria and Mongolia comes first.

Encouraged by the impunity which they have enjoyed in violating the Treaties and repudiating their obligations where Europe and America are concerned, and fortified by the continuance of sympathy abroad for their lawless activities, the guiding spirits of Chinese " Nationalism " have lately been misled into believing that an assault by similar methods on the Japanese position might prove equally successful and lucrative. After several tentative manœuvres, obviously intended to test the limits of Japanese forbearance, they have announced their intention (in violation of a specific agreement) to construct a line parallel to the South Manchurian Railway, from Hai Lung-Cheng to Kirin. The Japanese authorities had previously drawn the attention of the Chinese to the fact that the construction, now in process, of the railway from Takushan to Payantala constitutes an overt breach of a formal agreement; moreover, that it is calculated to divert traffic from another line, built by the Japanese for China, which has not yet been paid for. Overlooking another agreement, they had consented in a friendly spirit to the building by the Chinese of the line from Moukden to Hai Lung-Cheng, but on the distinct understanding that it should not be extended from Hai Lung-Cheng to Kirin. The Chinese, however, are apparently disposed to ignore all such obligations and to proceed in defiance of the " special interests " (notably those of the S.M. Railway) which, after expelling Russia, Japan acquired by formal agreement at Peking in 1905.

The authorities at Tokyo seem therefore to have decided that the time has come to call a halt. At all events, Mr. Matsuoka, Vice-President of the S.M. Railway, has recently been at pains to let it be known that, while ready to negotiate with the proper authorities

for reasonable modification, wherever expedient, of existing arrangements, the Japanese Government must insist in the meanwhile upon China's due observance of her obligations. Japan, he declared, is fully alive to the benefits to be derived from increased construction of railways in Manchuria ; she is perfectly willing to see the Chinese build them and to assist them, if required, in so doing, provided always that these enterprises are not of a nature to override or injure the economic and strategic advantages secured to Japan by long-standing and binding agreements. But, he added, should the Chinese persist in pursuing their present high-handed policy, which, if unchecked, would involve the destruction of Japan's position in Manchuria, the Japanese Government may be compelled to draw the attention of such authorities as exist in Peking to the fact that Manchuria does not form an integral part of China proper and that it may become necessary to deal with it accordingly.

Whether the geographical term China covers Manchuria or not is an open question, dependent on circumstances. Germany, supporting Russia's predatory ambitions in 1901, declared that it did not. Twenty years later, Lord Curzon discovered that it did. If China were in a position to assert her rights, either by unimpeachable claims or by force of arms, to full dominion over her northern dependencies, she would no doubt proceed forthwith to denounce her " unequal Treaties " with Japan and demand the retrocession of the Liaotung leased Territory and the Railway zones in Manchuria. But she is not, nor can she be for a long time to come, in that position, and for the rest, Japan can point to the fact that before the war (June, 1912,) the Powers represented in the International Consortium had definitely admitted her " special rights and interests in the regions of S. Manchuria and the Eastern portion of Inner Mongolia." More than that, in 1917, by formal Treaty, the American Government definitely recognised Japan's " special interests in China, particularly in the part to which her possessions are contiguous." It is true that, in 1920, an attempt was made by Lord Curzon and by the State Department at Washington, through the financiers of the Consortium, to induce Japan to surrender these interests " to the combined activities of an international group," on the plea that " the international position had been profoundly changed by the Peace Conference, and that former claims to spheres of interest were no longer admissible." A new era had dawned, and " a new start was to be made with a clean slate."

The statesmen who subsequently represented Japan at the Washington Conference were tactfulness itself on the subject of international co-operation in China, but neither at that Conference, nor at those subsequently held (1925) in Peking, was anything said or done by them to justify the idea that Japan would ever

voluntarily abandon her claim to a privileged position of economic and strategical advantage in Manchuria and Mongolia. On the contrary, as I ventured to point out at the time, everything in their utterances and in the attitude of their Government justified the prediction that Japan would continue to develop her special interests with all the resources at her disposal, and to accelerate at every favourable point her " peaceful penetration " into that field of economic activity which, as Baron Shidehara frankly told the Washington Conference, is vitally necessary to her existence. Everything in the situation justified the further prediction that they would be materially assisted in that process of peaceful penetration by the incorrigible venality of Chinese officials ; which proved to be the case.

Even more significant of the probable course of coming events in the Far East are the hints let fall, in the course of a public lecture delivered at Tokyo in August by Mr. Kenkiche Yoshizawa, Japan's Minister at Peking. After observing that, since the Revolution of 1911, China has been reduced to a state of chaos in which neither law nor government any longer exists, and expressing the opinion that a Nationalist triumph over the Northern forces would probably mean the adoption of a Soviet system of government supported by militarism, Mr. Yoshizawa proceeded to discuss what would in that event be likely to happen to foreign rights and interests in China. There being little or no prospect of any improvement or relief of the present intolerable state of affairs, he foresaw the possibility of an international agreement of the Powers to take over and jointly control Chinese railways. Proposals to this effect, as the best and quickest means of putting a check on the destructive activities of the rival Tuchuns in Central China, have been put forward at various times and from several quarters. The significance of Mr. Yoshizawa's suggestion lies chiefly in the fact that it emanates from Tokyo and that, coming from a diplomat whose utterances are always duly weighed, it may fairly be regarded as expressing a carefully considered pronouncement of the Japanese Government. Furthermore, if Japan stands prepared to sponsor the suggested measure, it is safe to assume that some or all of the other Powers concerned have been consulted in the matter. If this assumption should prove to be justified, the prospect of better days for China will be brighter than it has been for a decade.

There can be no possible doubt that any indication of the possibility of united action between the Powers (even if confined to Great Britain and Japan) to insist upon due respect for the trader's Treaty rights and lawful occasions in China, would have an immediate and sobering effect upon those whose trade is civil war, and would have the fervent support of all the best elements in the country. A joint

declaration that, in the event of further violations of the Treaty, of unprovoked attacks or repudiation of obligations, the Powers would proceed to control and police the railways, could not fail to produce an immediate alleviation of the oppressive and humiliating conditions which traders have so patiently endured since the unfortunate policy of patient conciliation was adopted. Whatever excuse political idealists may have had at that time for professing belief in the genuine patriotism and constructive capacity of the " Nationalist " party, is completely stultified by the deplorable spectacle now presented by that party and by the country at large. The whole course of events since Great Britain's *beau geste* of surrender at Hankow should suffice to demonstrate to all but the wilfully blind the futility of hoping that any good can come from the lawless forces which have laid waste the land in the name of Nationalism.

As a matter of common humanity, if not for the lawful protection of unoffending traders, it is therefore to be hoped that the Powers may speedily come to an agreement on the lines suggested in Mr. Yoshizawa's speech, and proceed to put the railways of Central China and the Yangtze out of bounds for all movements of troops. The creation around and about them of " neutral zones," from which military adventurers would be excluded, would not require any large force of troops. The moral effect of a clear declaration of the Powers' intentions would alone suffice to induce most of the Tuchuns to proceed with caution and moderation, to be content with the day of small things, for fear lest their kingdoms be taken from them altogether. It is chiefly by controlling and plundering the railways and other highways of traffic, that a handful of military and political adventurers have been able to exploit the chaos they have made to their own advantage, and to deprive the toiling millions of China of the fruits of their industry. An effective policing of the main lines of communication in the Yangtze Valley, to check the traffic thereon of troops, arms and opium, and prevent the levy of unlawful taxes, would be a form of intervention justified by all the facts of the situation and infinitely advantageous to the Chinese people. And the cost of such intervention would be negligible; the revenues of the railways alone, not to mention those of the salt administration (whose lawful functions would be automatically resumed upon the restoration of law and order) would be more than sufficient to defray the cost of the comparatively small force required to patrol the railway lines and control their termini. Civil strife, the curse of the country and the bane of the trader, would thus be localised and eventually become unprofitable to those who now promote it. Sooner or later these measures must needs be adopted, unless the civilised Powers are prepared to see China sink to lower and lower depths of affliction.

J. O. P. BLAND.

HOW STANDS THE OLD THEOLOGY?

EVIDENCE abounds, quite apart from the recent Prayer Book controversy, that Religion remains one of the greatest interests, if not a main concern, of the present time. Arresting utterances upon the subject not only command great space in the daily press, but immediately set the telephones of the leading newspapers going to elicit opinions or to secure correspondence about them. When such utterances fail the newspapers themselves get up discussions, inviting statements of their faith from well-known, even if scantily equipped, persons, and encouraging discussions upon them. All this would not happen were not questions concerning Religion " good copy."

This interest extends even to Theology, provided that its treatment be not too formal, and, above all, that it does not impose any severe intellectual strain, to say nothing of serious examination, upon readers. Especially is this interest aroused whenever certain eminent controversial swordsmen enter into the arena of public debate.

It is possible, doubtless, to treat all this as merely superficial, for indeed, in a sense, it is. Yet it is difficult to resist the conclusion that, beneath the surface, there is widely diffused, though not intense and persistent, anxiety as to the contents and the supports, if not as to the precise formulation, of religious faith.

To begin with, there is a widespread and growing sense of the preciousness of Spiritual Values, even though they be neglected, or even betrayed, in the ordinary concerns and conduct of life. This sense is as manifest in many of the representatives of the physical sciences as in those whose chief business lies with the spiritual, moral and social needs of mankind. Nothing in this respect is more remarkable than the endeavour on the part of many of the former to find room for the legitimate and imperative demands of the ideal in any interpretation of the real : to do justice to the material factors of the Universe without being materialist either in philosophy or in temper. Broadly speaking it tends to be true that if the conflict be between stark materialism on the one hand and idealism on the other, idealism has won. Religion has established its birthright within the commonwealth of Reality.

Yet while Religion has established its claim, not merely as an obstinate survivor of the past, but as an essential factor of the present and the future, thoughtful men are dissatisfied with its formulation, uncertain as to its object, and anxious about its basis. Not only is there the old difficulty about Evolution, whether mechanically or vitally construed, but the recent developments and extensions of Psychology have yielded, so far, an ambiguous result.

On the one hand, Psychology has been compelled to treat Religion respectfully as a subject for science, while, on the other, the systematic attempt to examine its ingredients and to explain its processes has suggested, to hope or fear, the possibility of explaining it away. And this in spite of the obvious consideration that if Religion be treated, not as pathological, but as the subject of strictly scientific investigation, no adequate explanation can so explain it away as to destroy its claim to be a genuine reflection of and reaction to Reality as a whole.

Moreover, the memory of the war has inevitably left the impression rather of its destructiveness of Spiritual Values than of the way in which it evoked the sense of certain Spiritual Values and provoked a hitherto unexampled endeavour so to assert them as, by means of them, to make world-wars henceforth impracticable and in the end unthinkable. Furthermore, sensitiveness to the horrors and brutality of war has made men more than ever alive to the sufferings inflicted by the convulsions of Nature, and by the underlying prevalence of strife in Nature, only masked by the peaceful appearance of its order and beauty. Hence, while in time of peace Evolution, just because of its orderly naturalness has seemed to many to dispense with the necessity of God, in the recent troubled years the main difficulty has appeared to lie with the acceptance of a Theistic interpretation, which, while preserving the spiritual perfection that is essential to the Idea of God, can explain *the whole* of existence, and not merely certain selected elements that are favourable to this interpretation.

Thus the conflicting sense of the preciousness and yet of the precarious position of Spiritual Values has created a wistful desire to find convincing evidence, or rather assurance, that what is spiritually so precious is certain in its truth, permanent in its existence, implicitly sovereign and victorious in its influence. Faith has been shaken, not so much when it " gives substance to things hoped for " as when it constrains to the " testing of things unseen." There is increased fear of venturing upon the spiritual order and its values, *as revealed to and within human personalities*. Can anything so unseen, so imponderable, so relative, be trustworthy? Hence the craving for something tangible, something presented to, or bound up with, perception through the senses, that may enable men to say of the manifestation of Spiritual Reality " Lo! it is here " or " Lo! it is there," either as a substitute for, or as an assistance to, believing that " The Kingdom of God is within you."

Signs of this craving are everywhere manifest. In some circles it seeks satisfaction in Spiritualism and Faith-healing. Elsewhere it leads to the impassioned war-cry, " We must fight for our Tabernacles." Among physicists it may give rise to the desire, attributed

by Baron von Hügel to an eminent man of science, " to find God at the end of a telescope or a microscope," and to discover some material base, more ethereal and permanent than organised brain and nerve, to guarantee the immortality of conscious personality. In face of this imperious craving to bring the spiritual within the realm of the sensory, in order to establish its certainty and nearness, both the restrictions of Parliament and the discipline of Bishops are certain to prove powerless. Nor are polemics likely to be more effective. Only a change in the inmost depths of the human spirit and in its consequent outlook can displace tendencies that are so subtle, so pervasive, and so complex in their character.

Striking evidences of this tendency are to be found in the statements made respectively by the Rev. Ronald Knox and Professor Julian Huxley in the volumes contributed by them to the series that has been recently published under the common title, " What I believe " (Ernest Benn). It would not, however, be right to pass to them without a brief comment upon the volume by Miss Maude Royden, which is the first of the series. Miss Royden proclaims her faith by her sub-title, " I believe in God," and the whole volume is an impressive testimony to the combined fervour, intelligence and breadth of her belief. Though not a trained theologian, she is widely-read and well-informed. Above all, she is earnest and convinced, sensitive and sympathetic. It is with the sense of victory after struggle that she expounds her faith. Sometimes Miss Royden appears unduly swift, and even facile, in drawing conclusions from somewhat narrowly selected or imperfectly explored premises. At these points her almost irresistible logic and eloquence tend to inadequately reasoned and even onesided conclusions. Yet she is always attractive, suggestive and moving. Moreover, her positions are fundamentally sound even when they are imperfectly reasoned.

In Miss Royden's book the tendencies noted above as caused by the war are clearly present. She is a follower of Origen in believing that not only the sinfulness of mankind, but also the catastrophes and the predatory qualities of Nature are due to a supra-temporal Fall of the spiritual into materiality. Hence man is called to be a protagonist in the costly return to the spiritual, by which the restitution of all things will ultimately be effected. Above all, this belief in a supra-temporal Fall enables Miss Royden not only to escape anthropo-centrism, but also to acquit God—in theory, at least—of complicity in the alleged imperfections of His Universe. Yet her treatment of this hypothesis does not avail to set aside the conclusion that this explanation is a bare assumption, based upon Platonic rather than Christian presuppositions, and that any inherent difficulty in the doctrine of the Fall is in many ways intensified, rather than relieved, by treating it as universal. Moreover,

this assumption turns men aside from more laborious, and eventually more fruitful, efforts to justify the ways of God with men. Miss Royden is right in her treatment of the task set to mankind and in her vision of man's solidarity with the Cosmos. She fails, however, to realise, or at all events to show, how the very drawbacks of Nature may be, just because they are drawbacks, the indispensable instruments of challenging and enabling man to attain, rather than regain, spirituality and thereby to bring about both the justification and the consummation of the Universe, in so far as it is relative to man.

The other two volumes of the series, while in most respects poles apart, are alike in their endeavour to bring the object of Religion within the conditions of This-ness and Here-ness—that is to say in the last analysis of Time-Space. Externality, or what he would probably term the demand for objectivity—meets the reader at every point throughout Mr. Knox's account of " The Belief of Catholics." The treatment of the Evidences of the Existence of God, Inspiration, the meaning and consequences of the Faith, and the doctrine of the Real Presence in the Mass, is brought into a consistent whole by this common characteristic of externality. As to the existence of God, the entire stress is laid upon the arguments drawn from the necessity of a First Cause, from the marks of cosmic order and design, and so forth, accompanied by an extended criticism of the tendency of Protestantism " to find its evidence of God's existence rather in some supposed instinct or intuition than in any inference from premises grounded in experience " (p. 78). Indeed, the broad proposition is reiterated and insisted upon that " you cannot argue from a mere state of mind to an objective reality which that state of mind appears to presuppose " (p. 60). In contrast with the psychic gift " faith knows what it does not experience. It is a conviction, not a consciousness, that the other world is close at hand " (p. 179). So in regard to the Holy Scriptures, " the inspiration of the Bible was a doctrine which had been believed, before the Reformation, on the mere authority of the Church," for " What authority have we, apart from that of the Church, to say that the Epistles of Paul are inspired, and the Epistle of Barnabas is not?" (p. 153). Such evidence as Coleridge's " it finds me " is entirely ruled out. It follows that, though certain presuppositions of faith are required as a condition of entrance into the Church, and are fortified, if not established, by reasoning, the meaning, consequences and implicit content of these presuppositions must be drawn out by authority and imposed by it upon the believer, whose faith rests primarily upon the Church and not upon the direct and inward testimony of the Spirit. All this is in keeping with the doctrine that the Real Presence of Christ is authenticated by such an objective

miracle, that of transubstantiation in the Mass, as enables the Church to point to the consecrated wafer and to say " Christ is here." Even the " businesslikeness " of the Roman priests in the exercise of their functions, to which Mr. Knox refers, is a minor mark of the externality of the entire system.

The cardinal fallacy upon which this whole structure depends is that it is impossible to argue from " a mere state of mind " to any " objective reality." This is to set up an absolute duality between " states of mind " and " objective reality." What, after all, is a " *mere* " state of mind? No such state can emerge without some interaction between the mind and the reality, of which it is a true though an insignificant part. Even sense-perception is a " state of mind," which carries within it an immediately objective and, in the main, a trustworthy reference. If this be true in regard to the states of mind that are dependent upon sense-perception, how much more should it not be true of that reaction to the whole of Reality, which is meant by faith, in which Reason, with its apprehension of Spiritual Values and community of faith gained or fortified by common reason, takes an active, and it may be a predominant part? Moreover, why, if Reason be competent to attain such tremendously important presuppositions as the Existence of God and the Facts of Christ, should it be held incompetent to deduce the consequences of these beliefs, or indeed be absolved from the responsibility of so doing in active co-operation with all others who are led to entertain the same presuppositions?

Owing to this governing fallacy, the whole of Christian history is misread. The claim that an infallible authority has existed from the first to specify the inspired Books, and to authenticate their contents and consequences can only be established by a facile logic that either ignores or misinterprets actual and outstanding facts. The absence of any legislation by Christ as to the constitution and functions of the Church, the natural growth and unharmonised collection of the Gospel narratives, the occasional character of the Epistles, and the eventual determination of the Canon of Scriptures by the *sensus communis* of the Church, meet us at the outset. Then follow the free discussions and wide differences that led, only after centuries of controversy, to the formulation of the Catholic Creeds. All these facts unite to show, with overwhelming force, that the methods adopted by the Spirit of God and the claims of the Roman Church are incompatible with one another. Throughout the early and epoch-making centuries of Christian history, God did not dispense the members of the Church from the independent examination of the sources and the full discussion of the contents of the Faith. He did not guarantee inerrancy to the process. Rome only came in with occasional, and inadequate, interventions during its course, to

adopt, standardise and impose the results when they had been attained through free discussion and active controversy—that is, by the free exercise and the convincing statements of Reason, not only in regard to the presuppositions but as to the content of the Faith. Rome simply registered and proclaimed results it had lacked the equipment to obtain. The schisms that followed were largely caused by the Roman Imperialism, which essayed to forbid the personal and collective activities of faith and reason that had prevailed and proved fruitful in Apostolic and subsequent times. Indeed, Roman Authority represents a compromise rather than a principle, for in partial recognition of the facts and in view of the mistakes and blemishes that have marked the Papacy throughout the ages, the Vatican Council, in decreeing the infallibility of the Pope, was compelled so to limit the conditions of its exercise as in " playing for safety " to leave it quite unavailable for the ordinary emergencies of the Church. In short, the Roman attempt to gain such externality for the spiritual as to enable it to say " Lo ! Christ is here " breaks down before any adequate spiritual philosophy, and in presence of the indubitable evidence of the nature of the process in regard both to faith and order, by which alone, after a long interval and with disastrous consequences to real unity, Rome was able to put forward her present claims. We hear of the " seamless vesture of the Church," but there is, above all, a seamless vesture of the Divine Self-revelation, original and universal, before and since the Advent of Christ, not only in Religion but in every other concern of the human mind. This Self-revelation does indeed penetrate, but is not confined by, nor is its method conformable with, the authoritarian system of Rome.

It is, in most respects, a far cry from the Rev. Ronald Knox to Professor Julian Huxley. Yet in this great matter of the endeavour to bring the object of Religion within the Space-Time conditions of Here-ness they are at one. In " Religion without Revelation " the author shows how he has been led, on account of those features of Nature and history which lead Miss Royden to postulate a Supra-temporal and universal Fall, to find relief by dismissing belief in the Personality of God. " If God be one name for the universe as it impinges on our lives and makes part of our thoughts, then the horror and the contradiction is lifted " (p. 15). " Remove that personality, stick to the principle of giving agnosticism its due, and the logical and moral anguish which demands these justifications [of the ways of God with men] vanishes. Only the facts remain. That the universe is incomprehensible is a ground for humility; that it is mysterious is an occasion for awe; that pain and misfortune can often, perhaps always, be turned to good is one of the great lessons which all should learn " (p. 18). In other words, the object

of worship is to be the mere phenomenal process revealed in experience, without any spiritual or rational construction put upon it. To the exposition and enforcement of this thesis Professor Huxley devotes the whole of his volume. If its conclusions are unsatisfactory, the religious spirit in which he writes, with its reverence, considerateness and moral earnestness, is greatly to be admired.

Yet will this thesis bear any close examination? If " only the facts remain," what about the outstanding fact that Evolution reaches its highest point in Personalities, with spiritual, rational and moral endowments, and that these personalities have, for the most part, as Professor Huxley shows, attributed personality to the Source and Controller—or Controllers—of their life? While acknowledging the inadequacy of human personality to measure the Divine, is not the thinking away of Personality from God more artificial than the attribution of Personality to Him? If the inferiority of the universe to the spiritual and moral standards of men be the ground for rejecting the Personality of God, how can such a universe be the object of worship? Is the incomprehensibility of the universe a ground for humility, if it be, at the best, only on a level with man, and at the worst inferior to him? How can " good "—estimated by Spiritual Values—be defined in terms of the merely cosmic order at its best, and of the struggle for physical existence? And what explanation can be given of a universe, which, whatever may be its blemishes, " can often, perhaps always " supply the conditions by which pain and misfortune may be transmuted into good? If this be so, does not the universe treat Spiritual Values as precious and itself as the instrument of producing and perfecting them? How, then, can it do this—through the interaction of man and his environment—if there be not some Presence within it that is aware of these Values and able to appreciate as well as safeguard their preciousness? Are not such awareness, appreciation and safeguarding attributes to which Personality is indispensable? Is it not a misdirection of Religion to fix it upon the Here and Now of the facts of phenomenal existence, despairing of any possibility of so construing them as to find such a sovereign place in the whole for Truth, Beauty and Goodness as will justify Religion.

Only such a construction can save Religion from so flourishing at the expense of Reason, as to make an array of inexplicable facts its object, or perhaps man himself, while yet his spiritual evolution can only proceed by the apprehension of a Reality, higher, better and more sovereign than himself, with which he has kinship and can enjoy spiritual fellowship. Grant the predicates which Professor Huxley attributes to the universe and encourage the temper with which he seeks to regard it, and they lead beyond themselves and beyond the Here-ness of Time-Space to a supreme Personality and

an eternal purpose, of which Evolution, in spite of, and perhaps because of, its severity and accidents, is the instrument. If the mere instrument can remain the object of worship, how much more must this be true of its source and spring, interpreted by the aid, inadequate though it be, of the goodness that it has produced, and is seeking to produce, in man!

The prevalence of the spiritual conditions described at the outset of this article caused special attention to be given to the sermon preached by the Bishop of Birmingham in Westminster Abbey last September. Dr. Barnes then declared that " Darwin's triumph has destroyed the whole Theological scheme." He went on to explain that " In fact, man is not a being who has fallen from an ideal state of perfect innocence; he is an animal slowly gaining spiritual understanding, and with the gain rising far above his distant ancestors. Further, it is quite impossible to harmonise this conclusion with the traditional Theology of any branch of the Christian Church."

This statement demands careful examination, for unless an adequate Theological construction be available or within reach, many religiously minded people are likely to be thrown back upon the alternatives represented by the Rev. Ronald Knox and Professor Julian Huxley. The facts that have been established by " Darwin's triumph," supported by a great body of other and later evidence, are that Man has had an animal and apelike origin, that, owing to natural causes he has made a gradual ascent to his position and powers as *Homo sapiens,* and that this ascent has been marked by the struggling, and as yet incomplete, emergence of the spiritual and moral qualities, which are the signs of risen manhood. The exact way and the means by which this ascent has been effected are not as yet completely agreed, but as to the main facts just stated there can no longer be reasonable doubt. How far then does the acceptance of these facts " destroy the whole theological scheme "—the traditional Theology of every branch of the Christian Church?

In order to answer this question it is necessary to summarise briefly the main types of Christian Theology. The earliest Christian writings, after the time of the Apostles, were simply devoted either to practical edification, or to the explanation and vindication of the Christian faith in face of ignorance and misrepresentation. Gradually the need arose and the materials became available for dealing with the connected problems of the Person of Christ—His relationship to God, to man and to the Universe—and of the Idea of God as it was affected alike by the Divinity and by the humanity ascribed to Christ. This was the task of Greek Theology, particularly of the Alexandrian thinkers, and its results are embodied in the Nicene Creed. Christ was treated predominantly as the Consummator, and because the Consummator as the Saviour, of Mankind, seeing that He is the final Revelation of God, the Giver of Eternal Life, the Unity and Unifier of God and Man. It would not appear that this great construction, which has passed into the Theology of the entire Christian Church, is greatly affected by the doctrine of Evolution. No doubt there is some difficulty, as must needs be the case, with the metaphysical terms that were used, a difficulty that is due in part to misunderstanding of them, and some of the problems were not adequately solved. Yet, in the main, the Greek Theology is hospitable to the doctrine of Evolution and needs comparatively little modification on account of it.

It is when we turn to the West, particularly to St. Augustine and to the Reformed doctrine of Luther and still more of Calvin—with his Stoicism, precision and relentless logic—that the clash between Theology and Science becomes acute. Owing to the peculiarity of his own spiritual experience and to the conditions of his times, everything turned for St. Augustine upon the sovereign Will of God and upon the Fall of Man through sin into guilt, ruin and impotence. In consequence of these two determining factors, the spiritual and moral differences between man and man must needs be explained as due to the Will of God, choosing an Elect to be the recipients of His recreating and empowering Grace, while leaving the rest of mankind to the perdition that is simply the state of nature in fallen man, unless he be renewed and reinforced by the supernatural Grace of God. Calvin hardened this doctrine by his more rigorous logic and his individualism, while he, and still more his followers, elaborated a doctrine of the Atoning Death of Christ as a penal infliction in which the consequences of sin were transferred, in full measure, from the Elect to Christ.

It is this doctrine expressed in the splendid poetry of Milton that is incompatible with the conclusions of Science, and, it may be added, with the plain facts of human life. But then to what extent is it in accordance either with the tenor of the Bible, as a whole, or with the essential contents of the Christian Religion? It must suffice to deal briefly with outstanding points.

1. What about the doctrine of Sin and the Fall, seeing that Man is a risen race? To begin with, it is true that man must have risen, not only to become conscious of sin, but to be capable of committing it. He must have emerged so far from the animal stage as to have become truly, if imperfectly, a moral personality, with the rudimentary consciousness of free-will and accountability for its use. That sense of accountability has been subsequently developed and educated, under manifold influences. But its rudimentary presence and its capability of development mark Man's emergence from the animal to the human stage of development.

Yet, strangely and sorrowfully, this emergence has been marked by the sense, not only of presumed transgression and falling short here and there, but of rebellious unwillingness as well as inability to bring conduct and character into conformity with the higher law revealing itself to emerging manhood. The doctrine of the Fall, whether found in Genesis and in the Babylonian Scriptures or implied elsewhere, is not a condemnatory account and description from without, but is a confession of the inmost consciousness of Man. And that consciousness becomes steadily acuter, though more refined, as he rises, stage by stage, in the spiritual life.

Yet Augustinianism and Calvinism seriously misrepresented the Bible, and to a great extent the traditional Theology of the Universal Church, in the picture they presented of the actual conditions of mankind. Their defect has been due to their over-insistence upon the Divine Will, and their limited conception of Grace. Man has never been found in the condition that their abstract doctrine has described, for the default of man has never meant the complete withdrawal of the immanent activity and Self-giving of God; that is, of the grace and urge that makes him at least potentially man. Hence the gloom of the Genesis myth is relieved by the confident prophecy that " the seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head "—an immediately operative assurance that is only ultimately to be referred to Christ—and the subsequent narratives become the account of an ordered progress—unquestionably partial, intermittent, and often baffled here and there, yet real—towards the coming of Christ. Thus mankind, in order to His appearing, was not merely a fallen, but a risen, race; and its rise was only natural, provided that term be held to include such an immanent and universal presence and urge of God as is described by the Christian doctrine of Grace.

2. In the same way it is possible to preserve, while transforming, the doctrine of Redemption and Atonement by having due regard to Christ as being the Saviour just because He is the Consummation of mankind. His own word was " I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil." This declaration exactly and completely expresses both His historic mission and His permanent influence in the spiritual life of mankind. He vindicated the Spiritual Values, which the sin of man had violated, by realising them and expressing them throughout the entire course and content of His life. These Values and His life are equivalent and identical. He restored them by fulfilling them through the Sacrifice of the Cross. Through this sacrificial fulfilment He redeemed and renewed mankind. In fulfilling " All righteousness " he satisfied its claims by the living gift and deed of Love. He refounded the life of man in God by the Revelation, the Deed, the Self-giving of God Himself. The Atonement of God and

man was revealed and made effectual by the Sacrifice of the Cross. That Sacrifice reaches backward because it stretches forward. It redeems the nature and history of man because it perfects humanity by expressing in it and for it the eternal life and perfection of God. The presence and the work of Christ are the convincing signs and the effectual means of the rise of man, of the emergence of perfect manhood in complete and sacrificial union with God. The old penal doctrine—whether forensic, governmental or compensatory—is gone, but the Fatherly-filial satisfaction of righteousness, by its fulfilment, remains. The rise of man is consummated, his fall is, in principle and potentiality, blotted out by the Divine-human deed, which affirms and makes good, with reconciling effect, the unity of God and man. Thus Christ and His Cross solve the antinomy of man's evolution by a fulfilment which restores and redeems mankind by the spiritual and sacrificial consummation of his manhood and its Spiritual Values in and for God.

In conclusion, an answer must be given to the question, Should the recurrent necessity of restating traditional Theology shake confidence either in the spiritual experience it seeks to explain, or in the Divine Reality it endeavours to represent? The answer may be given by asking another question, Why should confidence be shaken by the need of theological, any more than by the need of scientific and philosophical restatements? Theological, scientific, and philosophical systems are alike in this essential respect that they all are provisional attempts—each within its specific reference—to formulate, by means of observation and reflection, an account of the unlimited content and the immanent coherence of Reality by means of the limited experience, the imperfect powers and resources, the as yet uncompleted labours of the human mind. The vitality and worth alike of Theology, of Science and of Philosophy are shown precisely in the fact that they both need and are capable of restatement with every advance of man's knowledge and every increase of his powers. All three are interdependent as well as incomplete. Theology, by reason of its higher, deeper and more comprehensive range is beset with the greatest difficulty of the three, and needs the assistance of both science and philosophy in the prosecution of its task. So long as they remain imperfect, so long will it be imperfect also. Yet just as the incompleteness of science and philosophy is a reflection upon them and not upon the universe they imperfectly construe, so the imperfections of Theology are a reflection upon and may be a reproach against the inadequacy of the human mind, but involve no well-founded disparagement or distrust of the experienced, though unsearchable, Reality of God, or of His real manifestation in Christ as the outstanding fact of historic and spiritual evolution.

J. Scott Lidgett.

THE TURKISH CENSUS AND WHAT IT MEANS.

THE census which was held in Turkey on October 28th, 1927 is one of the most important events that have occurred in the Near East during the last few years.

Historians and others have often discussed what was the population of the old Ottoman Empire, and more recently politicians and statesmen have asked themselves how many people the Turkish Republic contained. Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha decided that this question must be answered, and in 1925 he gave orders that a census should be held at the earliest possible moment. The Government found that they could not carry out the President's order immediately. There was a vast amount of preparatory work to be done, as no proper census had ever before been carried out in Turkey. Furthermore, the Government soon realised that they were quite unable to take the census themselves. Recourse was, therefore, had to foreign aid, and Dr. Camille Jacquard, a Belgian statistical expert, was engaged.

Dr. Jacquard has been twenty-five years in the Statistical Department of the Belgian Government, and has taken part in three census which have been held in Belgium, and it was through the International Institute of Statistics that he was appointed to Turkey. Arriving in Angora in February, 1926, Dr. Jacquard created a Central Statistical Office, which depended directly on the " Présidence du Conseil." In passing, it may be mentioned that Ismet Pasha, the Prime Minister, has evinced the greatest interest in the census and has lent Dr. Jacquard all the assistance in his power. The Central Office was staffed by an adequate number of Turkish officials, and for several months Dr. Jacquard was occupied in instructing these officials in their duties, and in laying the basis of a census staff throughout Turkey. Afterwards Dr. Jacquard began to travel in the interior in order to become acquainted with the country and the inhabitants. He lectured on the necessities of a census, and explained to the people what they must do in order that the census should be successfully carried out.

A law was passed in June, 1926, whereby it was decided to hold a census during 1927, and the Central Office of Statistics was meanwhile authorised to hold trial census in various parts of Turkey. Dress rehearsals were held at Angora, Sivas, Diarbekir, Rodosto, and other places, and by the spring of 1927 Dr. Jacquard was able to report to the Government that the census could be held in the autumn of the same year. The Government then fixed October 28th as census day. It had early become apparent that the first Turkish census could not be carried out in the same manner as in other

countries. The complete lack of information regarding the numbers, sex, and whereabouts of the population made it necessary for extraordinary measures to be adopted. It was consequently decided to " keep the whole nation indoors " on October 28th. Such a decision was, to say the least of it, a novel one, and was attended by several obvious disadvantages, notably the virtual stoppage during twenty-four hours of the whole life of the country. In order, however, to lessen as far as possible the inconvenience caused, a Friday (the Turkish day of rest) was chosen as census day.

The wisdom of this somewhat drastic measure has since been proved, but it is probable that if other methods had been adopted reliable statistics could not have been obtained. Some of the difficulties encountered by the census staff may briefly be enumerated. First, the illiteracy which prevails in Turkey; the majority of the peasants and a large proportion of the townspeople are totally illiterate and were unable to answer the questions put them without assistance. Second, the fact that only an infinitesimal proportion of the people live in houses which possessed a name or a number. It was necessary to name and number thousands of streets and houses throughout Turkey, and this work was particularly complicated in Constantinople where the streets are legion, besides being narrow and nondescript in appearance. Third, the wars, revolutions, emigrations, and exchange of populations had wrought such great changes in Turkey's population during the last few years that the census staff had not the remotest idea as to the density of the population in certain areas and were, therefore, unable to judge how many census-takers would be required in any one particular district. Fourth, there was the human element to contend with. Neither peasants nor townspeople welcomed the idea of a census when it was first mooted. They suspected that if they divulged their names and their whereabouts to the authorities they might be subjected to increased taxation.

All the above will go to show that Dr. Jacquard and his staff were faced with a Gargantuan task, and many people believed that they would be incapable of fulfilling it. These forebodings proved to be false, and by 10.30 p.m. on October 28th the Valis and Caimecams (Governors and Assistant Governors) of the 391 different Departments had reported to Angora that the census had been taken in their respective areas. Constantinople proved to be the most difficult area, and each of the 5,000 census-takers in the former capital had to count 160 people. When one takes into consideration that each person had to answer fifteen written questions, the magnitude of the task is apparent. As soon as the results in the different areas were received they were telegraphed to Angora, and on November 6th, nine days after the census day, the complete figures were published.

They show that Turkey has a population of 13,649,945 men, women and children; Constantinople's share being 800,000. Early in 1928 Dr. Jacquard hopes to be able to publish definite figures giving the sex, profession, nationality, and other details regarding all those included in the census.

It is undeniable that the publication of the total figure caused intense surprise in foreign circles acquainted with Turkey, while even the Turks themselves were impressed. No one had any real idea what was the size of the population, but it can safely be stated that the average estimate did not exceed eleven millions. The first question that the reader will ask is whether the figures are correct. Although it is manifestly impossible to give an absolutely definite reply to this question, Dr. Jacquard may be quoted as having said, "The census was conducted in an orderly and reliable manner, and statements which have appeared to the effect that irregularities took place may be considered as false." Furthermore, it would appear very unlikely that any trickery on the part of the census staff would be either welcomed or tolerated by the Government in Angora, which has everything to gain, and nothing to lose, by being in possession of accurate information regarding Turkey's population. One is, therefore, entitled to assume that Turkey has a population of around thirteen and three-quarter millions, and the vista opened up by this disclosure is both interesting and important.

Since the victory of Turkey over Greece in Asia Minor and the signature of the Treaty of Lausanne, the Turkish Republic has acted and behaved as if she was a Great Middle Eastern Power. The Allies, and other Great Powers, while not always subscribing to these pretensions, may be said to have treated her as such, for they hastened to appoint Ambassadors to Angora. All the same a veil of mystery hung over the possible extent of Turkey's greatness, and in more than one quarter it was believed that the Turks had successfully played, and were still playing, a gigantic game of bluff. As years went by and as the Ghazi continued to "reform" the country, these beliefs began to decrease. With the publication of the census figures, they will decrease still more.

It has, indeed, become apparent that Turkey is a State with which one has to reckon. The virility which the Kemalist régime has instilled into Turks, young and old, men and women, has to be seen to be believed. Whether it is of a lasting nature is another matter, but the writer himself would hazard the statement that the patriotism engendered by the Kemalists will take a long time to disappear. Of course, a country which is to all intents and purposes governed by one man always presents a puzzling problem even to the most daring prophet. It also presents many opportunities for criticism, but it must be remembered that each country has the

Government which it deserves, and Turkey to-day is no exception to this rule.

The Ghazi has accomplished so many startling reforms—they are too well known to require mentioning here—that it is not to be expected that he will allow the census figures to escape his attention. Hitherto, he has been directing the destinies of a country without knowing the size of the population—no enviable situation in present-day times. Now he will be in a position to rule and administer a State whose birth-rate is greater than its death-rate, and which contains close on fourteen million souls.

What are the Ghazi's intentions? What are the intentions towards Turkey of Soviet Russia on one hand, and Great Britain on the other? In the answer to these two questions is contained the future subject matter of this article, and—in the opinion of the writer—is also bound up the future of Republican Turkey. Let us attempt to answer the first question, although it is as well to make clear that the writer has had no intercourse, either direct or indirect, with the Ghazi and is, therefore, betraying no confidential information.

Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha has followed the career of a soldier and a remarkably successful career it has been. After defeating the Greeks in Asia Minor, he was obliged to enter the political arena, although he has generally managed to confine Turkish politics to a very narrow sphere. As President of the Republic he has been able to choose his own advisers, his Ministers, his representatives abroad, and his administrators at home. It was only natural that military officers should at first be appointed to most of the important posts; they had faithfully served the Republic in times of stress and deserved their reward. As time went on, the Ghazi, without in any way estranging his military friends, came to realise that civilians could be just as useful to him as officers. It was obviously impossible for him to dismiss officers and replace them by civilians, but he skilfully contrived that the civilian element should gradually re-enter the political and administrative domain. This action on the Ghazi's part is highly important, as it shows that he is looking to the far, as well as to the near, future. Turkey's geographical position, the whole of her past history, and the character of her people, render it unlikely that she will ever cease to be primarily a "Military State." But these considerations do not preclude the possibility that under the Ghazi, or someone else equally talented, the Turkish Republic should gradually develop into an important civilian Power.

The Ghazi wants peace. That was made abundantly clear during the Mosul crisis in 1925-1926, and has been manifested on numerous other occasions. But he is essentially a realist, and has no illusions as to the means by which he can secure peace. He has not shown any

inclination to allow Turkey to join the League of Nations, as he does not consider that that institution can be of any use to Turkey. He has not bound Turkey to any foreign Power, as he believes in the doctrine of Independence. But he has insisted, and will probably continue to insist, that half of Turkey's budget should be spent on the Army, Navy, and Air Force. Such a policy can, of course, be freely criticised on the grounds that the economic and financial needs of the country are starved thereby. The Ghazi's reply is that, until the defence of the country is assured, it is absurd to think of anything else.

When, if ever, can the defence of Turkey be assured? Despite the results of the census, despite the virility of the modern Turk, and despite the advantages (the disadvantages will be mentioned later) of Turkey's geographical position, will she ever be safe as long as she stands alone? The Ghazi's policy has been to steer a middle course between Soviet Russia and Great Britain, although, during the war against the Greeks in Asia Minor, Turkey and Russia were on terms of great cordiality, and Moscow lent Turkey both monetary and military assistance. The Bolshevists were the first Power to establish an Embassy in Angora, and M. Surritch, the actual Soviet Ambassador, is " personissima gratissima " with the Turks. Turco-Russian friendship never reposed on any stable basis, and Angora made it quite clear that Communist doctrines and propaganda would not be tolerated in Nationalistic Turkey. The Russians appear to have understood this, and have contented themselves with using Constantinople as a centre for their Near Eastern propaganda. So long as they continue to refrain from stirring up trouble in Turkey, they are likely to be left in peace by the local authorities.

Meanwhile, with Great Britain, Turkish relations have been as strained as they possibly could be. Our pro-Greek policy of 1921-1922, and the dispute over Mosul, were matters which very nearly caused war. Happily the changed attitude of the Foreign Office, and the skilful negotiating of Sir Ronald Lindsay, our then Ambassador to Turkey, brought about a better atmosphere and to-day Anglo-Turkish relations are almost friendly. As has already been said, the Ghazi aims at steering a middle course between Russia and Britain. He realises that he cannot afford to break with either Power, while he hesitates to cast in his lot with one or the other. Such a policy has much to commend it, and by many it is deemed the only rational policy for Turkey to follow. It naturally requires both diplomacy and dexterity, but these qualities seem to be possessed by the Ghazi and by his principal advisers in questions of foreign policy. The Press back him up in this policy, and if a pro-Russian article appears on a Wednesday, there is almost certain to be a pro-British article on the following day.

The foregoing should serve as a reply to the question regarding the Ghazi's intentions in so far as foreign policy is concerned. At home the Ghazi believes in absolute government. It is true that there is a Parliament composed of more than three hundred Deputies, but they all belong to the Kemalist Party, and practically all of them have been chosen by the Ghazi. There is no Opposition, and no signs of one. Whether such a situation can last is impossible to say, but there is no doubt that in a country like Turkey there is a great deal to be said for this form of government. Public opinion has never counted for very much in Turkey. The nation at large is not interested in either politics or politicians. Like America, it wants the Government to maintain order and decrease taxation. The Kemalist Government has certainly kept order, and brigandage and crime have never been so scarce as they are to-day. But it has not reduced taxation—on the contrary, taxes have been increased and the cost of living is abnormally high. It is unlikely, however, that any other Government could have alleviated the economic situation, and the general point of view is that the Kemalist Government has nothing to fear at home.

One is consequently dealing with a country which is being strongly, if dictatorially, governed at home, and whose foreign policy is independent and Nationalistic.

Now let us pass to the intentions of the two great Powers who really matter in the Near East to-day: Russia and Britain. The other Great Powers, France, Germany, and Italy, all have considerable influence and prestige in Turkey, but they do not play the same rôle as Russia and Britain. Russian relations towards Turkey —if the truth be known—are the same as they have been for years. The coming of Communism has not altered the policy of Russia in the Near East: it has only deferred it. M. Chicherin and his colleagues in Moscow have been at great pains to point out to Turkish statesmen and journalists that, since Tsardom was abolished Turkey and Russia can be real friends, if not allies. Two countries that have a common frontier should always try to be friends, even allies, but in the case of Russia and Turkey it is doubtful if they can ever be more than friends, and this friendship will require an output of loyalty which has not yet been apparent on either side. Very much more powerful than Turkey, Russia has so many pressing problems to deal with that she cannot be expected to devote much time to Turkey. Owing, however, to Turkey's geographical position—she still possesses Constantinople although she no longer uses it as her capital—and owing to her belief that Britain is active in Turkey, Russia actually devotes a great deal of attention to Turkish affairs. The Soviet Government does not intend to allow Turkey to fall under the influence of any Western European Power, least of all

Great Britain. At the same time Moscow has no sentimentality in her policy towards Turkey.

The position thus is that Russia wants a friendly Turkey who will be amenable to her guidance in times of crisis. There are no hostile intentions in the Bolshevists' minds towards Turkey, but Russia is a great Power and must have liberty of movement for her troops, her ships, and her air force in times of war. This liberty of action may bring Russia into conflict with Turkey and then we shall see what Russia's real policy is.

One has now to answer the last of the questions, namely, the intentions of Great Britain. Here again the writer is without any official or unofficial information. Our policy towards Turkey during 1919-1924 was the reverse of happy. When we required to be firm we were weak : when compromise was necessary, we were adamant. Only when the soldiers had gone and the diplomats had arrived, did affairs become brighter. The Mosul question was settled by able diplomacy, accompanied by the threat of force if diplomacy failed. Sir Ronald Lindsay was appointed Ambassador to Berlin and was succeeded by Sir George Clerk from Prague.

As the Mandatory Power in Iraq we also have a common frontier with Turkey, and are closely interested in what goes on in that country. We do a considerable, though decreasing, import and export trade with Turkey. No outstanding questions, save that of the pre-war debts, exist between the two countries, and the horizon should be bright. Unfortunately there is still a not unnatural suspicion lurking in the minds of many Turks regarding our intentions. It is supposed that we may again support Greece if that country was incited to take part in another wild adventure. It is believed that our relations with the Kurds, who are a constant problem to the Angora Government, are friendlier than they ought to be. Only time can dispel these suspicions ; they are ill founded, but cannot disappear all at once. When they have disappeared, the Turks will realise that Britain has no harmful intentions towards her, always providing that Turkey herself plays the game. We require peace just as much as Turkey does, and we are willing to go a long way to secure it.

To sum up, Turkey has nothing to fear from either Russia or Great Britain, at any rate, not for the time being. No other country would dare to move without the implied consent of one of these two Powers. The internal situation appears to be stable, and the Ghazi seems to have unlimited possibilities before him. The census has materially helped him, as he knows who and what are behind him.

J. WALTER COLLINS.

Constantinople, December, 1927.

THE CHALLENGE TO "TRUSTEESHIP."

THE shrill challenge issued from East Africa is obviously directed against the principle of Trusteeship for native races. This challenge demands either the surrender of Trusteeship, or at least that the interpretation and application of the principle, from Uganda to Northern Rhodesia, shall be in the hands neither of the British Government nor of the local inhabitants of the whole territories, but that it shall repose in the hands of the 2,000 immigrant white settlers of Kenya. It seems astonishing that Uganda, Tanganyika, Nyasaland and Rhodesia (Northern) are content to allow Kenya colonists to issue forth their manifestoes and declarations with a publicity which implies that the white settlers of Kenya are so numerous that they shall have the right to decide policy for the whole area of British East Africa. The total number of Europeans in all these territories concerned is less than 20,000, whilst Asiatic immigrants number 60,000, and natives 12,000,000 ; but the total settler element in Kenya is, according to Mr. Ormsby-Gore, " approximately 2,000 families."

The local settlers of Kenya admit that they have never liked the doctrine of Trusteeship as set forth by President Wilson and by the Duke of Devonshire ; as these pronouncements represent the heart of the problem, it is imperative to keep them in mind. The Duke of Devonshire, in his despatch of July, 1923, thus set forth the policy of Trusteeship :

> " His Majesty's Government believe that the decisions now taken, resting as they do on the broad basis of the British trusteeship for the African, provide an equitable adjustment of those interests."*

That is the policy, and here is the practical application of the policy according to the Duke of Devonshire :

> " His Majesty's Government think it necessary definitely to record their considered opinion that the interests of the African natives must be paramount, and that if, and when, those interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail."*

The Covenant of the League of Nations provides for Trusteeship in Article 22 :

> " To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation. . . ."

* Cmd. 1922.

This being the declared policy of the British Government and the Treaty obligations under which Great Britain *temporarily** administers the Tanganyika territories, in what respects do the 2,000 settlers demand a change?

They ask first for a Federation of British administered territories, with a supreme official authority resident in Kenya. Secondly, that they shall possess a Legislature with secure dominant white voting power, and that native affairs shall—subject to certain safeguards—be delegated to this Legislature. The third main claim is that some change should be made in the Mandatory system, which will convert Tanganyika into an inalienable part of the British Empire.

The Hilton Young Commission, the composition of which really satisfies nobody—the settlers criticise it, and both the Lords and Commons have been anything but complimentary to it—has before it the task of composing a host of conflicting claims, which if it attempts to settle along lines other than those hammered out by a long line of British administrators, will lead to disaster.

Trusteeship and Citizenship.

It is only within quite recent times that the right of coloured British subjects to attain to full citizenship has been challenged. The choice before us is clearly that of according to native inhabitants full citizen rights within the British Commonwealth, or doing as we did in Basutoland—disannex the territory and allow the natives to develop their indigenous citizenship. The 2,000 settlers in Kenya are apparently unwilling to permit either of these. In a series of articles in the *East African Standard,* the authorship of which is not difficult to detect, it is declared that the settlers are willing to accord representation of African *interests* on the local Legislature, by a white representative or representatives upon some communal basis; but even this must be so limited " numerically that there could be no danger of the establishment of a floating vote holding the balance of power." In short, " power " must rest with the 2,000 settlers of Kenya, and there must be neither native franchise nor native members of the Legislature.

If the Hilton Young Commission were to adopt this view, it would violate at once both British tradition and British practice. The nearest colony to the territories concerned is Southern Rhodesia, where any native capable of satisfying the accepted " civilisation test " can be inscribed upon the Electoral Roll. It is, of course,

* " This dominion of territories brought under the *temporary* control of the Allied and Associated Powers will be wholly misconceived, not to say abused, if there is ever the slightest deviation from the spirit and exclusive purpose of a trusteeship as strict as it is comprehensible." (Mr. Colby, in *The Times,* November 27th, 1920). (Italics mine.—J.H.H.)

true that there is no native on the Southern Rhodesian Legislature, but in every British West African Colony a substantial proportion of natives are valued members of the Legislature—some of these are now popularly elected. It is scarcely conceivable that the Hilton Young Commission will give support to the specious proposals for a " Communal Franchise " so attenuated as to preclude the ultimate enfranchisement of civilised native subjects of the British Crown; still less that recommendations will be made which will maintain for all time the unassailable dominance of a mere handful of white settlers. Trusteeship demands that the goal of full citizenship should be kept open to all civilised subjects of the British Crown, and it is surely not too much to hope that the words of Mr. Winston Churchill, at the Imperial Conference of 1921, may be adopted as the basis of any political reconstruction of East Africa:

> " . . . there is only one ideal that the British Empire can set before itself in this regard, and that is that there should be no barrier of race, colour, or creed which should prevent any man by merit from reaching any station if he is fitted for it."

Trusteeship and the Land.

There are two cardinal features in the Kenya land policy which must never be allowed to spread further. The first of these is administrative. Mr. Ormsby-Gore has placed it on record that:

> " The legal position appears to be that no individual native and no native tribe as a whole has any right to land in the Colony which can be recognised by the Courts."*

This expropriation of rights is not based upon conquest, finds no excuse in " native rebellion," and is not the legitimate fruit of purchase or even compensation.

The second cardinal feature is the declaration of Lord Delamere, the leader of the settlers in Kenya:

> " If the policy was to be continued that every native was to be a landholder of a sufficient area on which to establish himself, then the question of obtaining a satisfactory labour supply would never be settled."†

Whatever may be said of the ethics of this pronouncement, it is in fact brutally true. But in all its shameful nakedness Lord Delamere has set forth Kenya's land policy, with an authority none would challenge.

The Hilton Young Commission cannot apparently change the land position in Kenya. But Trusteeship demands, first, that Kenya land policy should be confined to that Colony, and not allowed to infect her neighbouring territories. The Native Reserves in Kenya amount to only 47,000 square miles, out of a total area of 245,000

* Cmd. 2387.

† Native Labour Commission Report, 1913, page 109.

square miles; but even to these 47,000 square miles the natives today have no inalienable title. It is proposed, however, to create a Trust for these native lands, but the terms essential to the success of this Trust must include two things: First, the right of the Trustees both to defend the present boundaries of the Reserves, and to acquire additional lands as circumstances demand; secondly, the Trustees must be given both power and resources to encourage a native economic development of the Reserve lands.

Trusteeship and Labour.

That the value of tropical and sub-tropical territories is determined by the native labour supply, is an axiom that no responsible person would dispute. But what is not so clearly recognised is that the treatment of native labour during the last fifty years has been flagrantly uneconomic. The Belgian Government stands out as the one Government which has given a scientific study to the problem. In July last Professor Gilbert Murray led a deputation from the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society and the League of Nations Union before a technical Committee sitting in Geneva under the Chairmanship of the Belgian Colonial authority, M. Gohr, and upon one of the speakers drawing attention to the action of the Belgian Government in fixing the percentage of native labour beyond which it was not safe to draw, M. Gohr interposed, and gave the text of the recommendations as follows:

> "Five per cent. for employment at a distance, five per cent. for employment at a distance not exceeding two days' journey from home, and fifteen per cent. for work in the locality."

Thus, in the opinion of this Belgian scientific inquiry, it was declared to be dangerous to draw from native areas more than 15 per cent. even when utilised locally. It is known that British officials are gravely concerned at the prodigal demands for native labour; the Native Commissioner of Makoni, in Southern Rhodesia, estimates that some 60 per cent. of the able-bodied natives had been in employment during the past six months (1926), and observes:

> "So long as the system of Native Reserves is maintained it would be impossible for a much larger proportion to remain away in employment without serious injury to the whole community. . . ."*

In the Ndanga region of Southern Rhodesia, Sir Herbert Taylor tells us the percentage has reached "80 per cent. of the able-bodied males of the district."

In Kenya Colony there are 2,500,000 natives, of whom 509,500 are between the ages of 15 and 40 years; of these it is estimated that 407,000 are able-bodied labourers. Out of these 407,000 labourers,

* C.S.R.6-1927. Report of the Chief Native Commissioner for the year 1926.

over 165,000 are normally at work outside the Native Reserves—that is a general average of 40 per cent. But the position is in fact much more disturbing because of the unevenness of the incidence; in Kyambu it rises to 72.28, whilst it drops to 48.22 in Kavirondo. The gravity of these figures leaps to the eye—any tyro in Colonial affairs can picture the social disaster which must overtake the Kavirondo tribe, for example, where, out of a male population of 68,000, no less than 23,000 of the most virile men have been withdrawn from the domestic and economic life of the tribe. Whilst this prodigal use of able-bodied adult native labour continues, the population will either remain stationary, or will continue (as it is doing in certain areas) to decrease. This situation brooks no delay; Trusteeship demands that a scientific study, with the aid of the records of contagious diseases, should be undertaken. It cannot be expected that the Hilton Young Commission will be able to do more than draw attention to this fundamental feature of East African administration and point out the urgency of the matter—but it may be hoped that this will be done.

Trusteeship and Taxation.

To make taxgathering and taxpaying one of the enviable pleasures of life is surely an administrative triumph which any Chancellor of the Exchequer might envy. That this can be done has been demonstrated by Sir J. H. P. Murray, the Governor of Papua. How has this remarkable achievement been accomplished? Governor Murray holds that under Trusteeship the whole of the native direct taxation should be earmarked for native welfare—native technical education, medical treatment, baby bonuses, and so forth. It thus comes about that, as Sir Hubert Murray points out, taxes are paid to the officials amid the cheers of the people, and any suggestion that a village or tribe is unable to pay its full assessment is "deeply resented." Governor Murray's general conclusion is that:

> "the explanation is not, as one is inclined to think, that the taxpayers are all mad, but that the more intelligent among them take it as a compliment that they should be asked to contribute to the administration of the Territory. . . ."

Professor Gilbert Murray might, with advantage, seize a suitable opportunity to introduce his wizard of a brother to Mr. Winston Churchill!

There can be no question that taxation in Kenya weighs heavily on the native; as Lord Olivier recently pointed out, the tax represents over 29s. per annum for each able-bodied labourer, or the produce obtained by nearly four months' labour in the Reserves, out of each year. The total proceeds of the direct taxation in Kenya exceed £500,000. Mr. Ormsby-Gore gives a figure of £133,000, less

about 25 per cent., as the cost of native medical services—say £100,000; and £37,000 as the cost of native education; or a total return to the natives of only £137,000 from their direct taxation of £500,000. Is it any surprise that Sir Edward Grigg's tax-collectors in Kenya are met by sullen and despondent natives, while those of Sir Hubert Murray are met with rounds of cheers from the joyful Papuan taxpayers?

Within recent years the principle has found favour that all native direct taxation should be earmarked for purely native services, leaving the proceeds of native indirect taxation as a contribution to general administrative expenditure. It would, indeed, be a welcome result of the Hilton Young Commission if the members could take this view, and recommend the adoption of the broad principle of taxation as an integral feature of Trusteeship.

Tanganyika and Uganda.

The proposals of the settlers of Kenya include the incorporation of both Tanganyika and Uganda in a Federated East Africa. It is true, of course, that in one respect the Tanganyika Mandate differs slightly from certain other Mandates, in that provision is made for an "administrative union or federation with the adjacent territories," but this proviso is subject to the condition that nothing is done to "infringe the provisions of this Mandate." It is difficult to see how any federation of the type proposed by the Kenya settlers can be applied to Tanganyika, where the organisation of a native military force is prohibited except for police and the defence of Tanganyika territory, and where land transfers to other than natives are all subject to severe restrictions and oversight. The settlers of Kenya recognise this, and bluntly demand that the Allied and Associated Powers, in conjunction with the League of Nations, should redraft the Mandate of Tanganyika so that it conforms to the aims of the 2,000 settlers of Kenya;—as not merely the League of Nations, but the United States of America, would be required to sanction such changes in the Mandate, the time required to obtain sanction for any re-drafting of the Mandate would exhaust the patience of the East African settlers.

But the independent political position of Uganda is even more firmly based than Tanganyika. Uganda is a native kingdom with its free political status established by Treaty, under which the independence of the kingdom is recognised and guaranteed by the protection of Great Britain. This Treaty is a "friendly" relationship with His Highness King Daudi Chwa. The Protectorate includes the Kingdom of Buganda and the three Principalities of Ankole, Toro and Bunyoro. The British nation is justly proud of its relationship with Uganda, and would be deeply stirred by any

change in the Constitution which did not carry with it the full and hearty concurrence of the rulers and people of Uganda.

Nothing is to be gained by closing our eyes to the fact that the Kenya settlers' proposals for federation have created profound uneasiness in Uganda—uneasiness which has become accentuated since the belief has gained ground that Sir Edward Grigg is giving his official support to the proposals of the settlers. The King, or Kabaka, of Uganda, in the hope of allaying the irritation which has been created, has issued in pamphlet form his correspondence with the British Government. This pamphlet is a masterly presentation of the Uganda case against the proposed "Federation." King David (Daudi) is quite prepared to agree to a federation if it only involves postal and transport facilities, but to a type of federation which spells annexation he is naturally opposed:

> "I have made it clear from the foregoing that it has never been, and I hope will never be, the intention of the British Government to annex Buganda Kingdom as an ordinary Crown Colony or to deprive its Kabaka of his suzerainty among his subjects. Subject to the protection and advice guaranteed by His Majesty's Government of the Uganda Protectorate, the internal self-Government of the Buganda Kingdom has been left intact and has been reserved to the Kabaka and his Chiefs under the Agreement of 1900."

The clear and courageous stand taken up by King David will certainly be upheld by many lovers of Uganda in Great Britain. Happily, there is every reason to believe that King David the First of Uganda is echoing the views of the British Colonial Office so clearly expressed in 1922:

> ". . . the Secretary of State for the Colonies has requested that you may be informed that, if it should be decided to make any arrangements for effecting closer co-ordination between the Administrations in East Africa, whether by federation or other means, you may rest assured that no action will be taken involving infringement of the Uganda Agreement of 1900, and that in any event it is not contemplated that the Kingdom of Buganda or the Uganda Protectorate generally should be placed under the jurisdiction of any external legislative body in Eastern Africa, or that the Secretary of State's responsibility for the administration of the Protectorate should be reduced in any way."

Keeping faith with native races, seeking first their well-being and moral advancement, is the essence of Trusteeship which, in turn, is sound Statecraft, for by these means inter-racial confidence will be established, leading on to contentment and security, to which will be added abounding prosperity not only for the indigenous inhabitants but in full measure for the brown and white immigrant colonists. The challenge to Trusteeship must be met—and at all costs defeated.

John H. Harris.

THE VOLUNTARY HOSPITALS.

IN this bureaucratic age the Voluntary Hospitals shine out as some of the last great institutions to remain untrammelled by State interference, which has encroached upon so many of our liberties in the past decade. Are the Voluntary Hospitals destined in their turn to yield to that ever menacing tide of State control, and would they better serve the needs they exist to satisfy if they ceased to be voluntary? The fifty-fifth celebration of Hospital Sunday occurred last year and the numerous services conducted in connection with the movement stressed the importance of maintaining the Voluntary Hospitals. If funds are forthcoming in sufficient amount and with sufficient persistence, the Hospitals will remain as they now are, the product of widespread individual self-sacrifice and effort, bearing the marks of those qualities as no State institution can ever do.

Some years ago I was a member of a Committee presided over by Lord Burnham to inquire into the position of the Voluntary Hospitals, and I was Chairman of the Sub-Committee which dealt especially with the great teaching Hospitals to which Medical Schools are attached. It is with this group that my experience, now of twenty-five years duration, chiefly fits me to deal, and of which I accordingly propose principally to treat. They form the flower of the whole Hospital system of this country; their Schools enjoy a tradition and a reputation which has grown with the centuries and which has never had a stronger hold on the esteem and love of our people than at present. It was, indeed, a poignant satisfaction to me as a Hospital Physician to find, during the course of the investigations of the Committee, how deeply based was that confidence and affection in all classes of the community, and very especially amongst the poorest of our population, who contributed their pathetic pennies, obviously wrung from real privation. If the poor could have their way, there is little doubt, indeed, of the survival of the Voluntary system. But, unfortunately, although the will is there in such overflowing measure, the power to help is, alas! lacking, and the burden must be shouldered by those who are able to bear it.

What office in our commonwealth do the Voluntary Hospitals in fact discharge and again I speak especially of the teaching Hospitals? They were established and they are maintained primarily in the interests of the sick poor. That purpose has never been lost sight of, and it is, indeed, a noble purpose, ever more and more faithfully performed. But they combine with that duty the function inseparable from their existence, of advancing knowledge. Because of their outstanding reputation and fame, the teaching

Hospitals for the past two hundred years have attracted to their medical service the ablest men and women who enter medicine, and by the character of these workers they have become the great outposts of the advance of medicine and surgery, an advance which, within the memory of living men, has so largely transformed the lives of all of us.

A few months ago, celebrations, world-wide in their extent, marked the centenary anniversary of the birth of Joseph Lister. Those of us who are old enough to remember, however faintly, the conditions which prevailed in our Hospitals, even the most advanced of them, before the epoch-making discovery of Lister, can best gauge the beneficent revolution which he effected. Lister received his training in London Schools of Medicine and ended his long and honoured life as a member of the staff of one of them. At the Cathedral service of the centenary celebration in his own town of Glasgow, where he first made his stirring researches, the preacher hailed Lister as " one of the greatest saviours of mankind since the advent of Jesus Christ Himself," and that comparison, so full of awe and worship, can hardly be improved upon. To-day, if there is no genius comparable to Lister—and where indeed can we hope to find his equal?—there is a thousandfold greater army of research workers than was possible in his day. New methods of science have received an immense stimulus from his invention and from his example, and have provided far more precise means of investigation than ever before, in which our Hospitals have throughout taken the leading part, so that nowadays we have progressed far beyond the conceptions which prevailed at the end of the last century, when the medical schools were looked upon as little more than incumbrances to the Hospitals, and when voluntary subscriptions were often jealously safeguarded from any possibility of being used in the promotion of medical teaching or research. Besides acting as an ever open asylum for the sick poor, the Hospitals have thus become the greatest Schools in the world for the advancement of medical science.

Let me now turn for a moment to the consideration of the manner in which the Hospitals serve their primary purpose in the relief of suffering humanity. Under the voluntary system the Hospitals are managed by a body of voluntary lay workers, who exert the greatest vigilance and ability in providing the most economical and most advantageous service for the sick. Business men and women, whose time is money, give generously both of their time and of their money. Were these lay helpers, now voluntary, to be replaced by paid workers, the cost to the State would be very great indeed. The medical services are perhaps even more wonderful, under the voluntary system, both for

their efficiency and for their economy. The most famous physicians and surgeons of our day form the medical and surgical staffs of our Hospitals. Their services are entirely gratuitous and they are given with an enthusiasm and a devotion which no paid office can ever arouse. It is, indeed, often a reproach to the staffs of our medical Schools that they are so wrapt up in their Hospital work as to leave no time for other interests outside their Hospitals. When, for example, I urged a certain surgeon to a Hospital to stand for a vacancy on the Senate of my University, I was met with a blank refusal. He said his Hospital took up every moment of his time and of his interest. Under our present system it is true to say that two classes of the community, and two classes only, obtain medical treatment that can be described as being absolutely first-rate—the very rich and the very poor—and both classes are attended by the same medical advisers. A member of the staff of a great Hospital practically divides his day between these two classes. Half his time will be spent in tending the sick poor, for which he gets paid nothing, and the other half in gleaning from the rich the means which enable him to devote himself to his profession and to succour the poor without fee.

With the extension of the modern insurance system, the place of the Voluntary Hospital has become far more assured, and it is indeed the foundation of the success of that system. The insured person can always fall back upon the immense resources of science which are to be found in the Voluntary Hospitals. The class in our community which comes off worst under this system is the middle class. Its members are generally too poor to afford the necessarily high fee of the consulting physician or surgeon, and are too proud to seek the aid of charitable institutions like our Hospitals. The middle classes, nevertheless, are the most generous contributors to our Hospitals, and their contribution is tainted by no self-interest, but inspired by the loftiest devotion to ethical and moral ideals; virtue in this case is its own abundant reward. A movement is very properly now being made to provide more of the possibilities of Hospital treatment for the middle classes, and much more should be done in that direction than is at present afforded.

For the very rich, the inducements to support the Voluntary Hospitals are overwhelming. Medical treatment of the best kind is only procurable from the best trained men. There is no training in the world which can in any way compete with the efficiency and the value of the training gained from Hospital work, and the contributions which the rich man makes to the Hospitals are the best investment which he can find. The very poor, who give all they can with the most touching persistence, must be and to some extent are helped by the State, and in this degree the proud boast

of the Hospitals that they are supported entirely by voluntary contributions is now no longer exactly true.

Certain questions arise from these changed conditions of State aid. How far should the State in return for these partial contributions have a voice in the management of the Hospitals? Is it desirable that the contributions from the State should form the greater part of the income of our Hospitals? And is it in any way likely, if that consummation were reached, that the State would not insist upon control? Would such control lead to better and more economical service? It is quite certain that the cost of maintaining the Hospitals, which is so largely borne by voluntary workers both lay and professional, would, of necessity, be greatly increased; the economy of administration secured by the Hospitals is mainly due to this voluntary service, stimulated by a generous rivalry with other similar institutions. It is a matter of competitive pride to provide the best treatment at the lowest rate per bed. For many years the Children's Hospital, Shadwell, upon the staff of which I served for a quarter of a century, enjoyed the services of a Secretary who was so able an administrator that the cost per bed of that institution was the lowest in London. His salary was a mere pittance—the Hospital could not afford to pay him more. Naturally that splendid administrator was ultimately snatched from us to preside over the fortunes of the largest Hospital in London, where his capabilities soon made themselves felt. The modern institution of Almoners has resulted in an ever increasing watchfulness against Hospital abuse, and in reducing administrative expense.

Quite recently a uniform system of Hospital accounts has been adopted in London with the cordial approval of King Edward's Hospital Fund, by which considerable economies in administration are secured, and by which accurate comparisons of expenditure of various institutions may be made. It is the proud boast of the Hospital, St. Mary's, to which I am attached, that our cost per bed is £158, as against a general average of £183 per annum.

I have mentioned King Edward's Hospital Fund, and would like to say a word upon the sympathetic understanding exhibited and the effective influence exercised by that body under its present membership upon the Hospitals, to their great benefit as well as to the benefit of the community, which can rest entirely satisfied that Hospital finance is thoroughly economical and sound. If I may mention my own Hospital again, we have recently appealed for funds to enlarge and extend the present buildings, in response to ever increasing pressure on our beds. £32,500 was collected within six months for this end, and the cost of collection worked out at one penny farthing per pound sterling, a result due to the zeal and efficiency of our Secretary.

The spirit which has prompted the foundation and the maintenance of the Voluntary Hospitals has been a spirit of love rather than of duty, and it is that spirit which we would foster. Contrast that motive with the reasons actually put forward for the establishment of the Poor Law services, " that the sick poor exposed to view on the streets constitute an eye-sore." It is the spirit of loving-kindness, a beautiful old word for a beautiful quality, which pervades a great Hospital School and makes its atmosphere so pleasant that students, nurses, lay workers and medical staff co-operate with a wholeheartedness which only an intense disinterested affection can achieve. To leave a Hospital staff is like entering one's grave. It happens that recently two intimate personal friends of mine have retired from their Hospital staffs, and sadder men than these two friends are not to be found in London. In spite of the many adverse circumstances of overwork, restriction of resources, misunderstandings and misrepresentations of their purpose, the Voluntary Hospitals remain the ideal of all medical services. The Poor Law Hospitals under State or Municipal control pay them the sincerest form of flattery, that of imitation, and their highest pride is to become affiliated to one or other of the Voluntary institutions. The rigidity and soullessness of the State-controlled institution were exemplified for many of us during the War, when the State ran the Military Hospitals. I may instance a very characteristic incident. While I was acting as physician to one of these Hospitals I was practising a certain form of treatment which required the use of drugs not included in the War Office schedule; after some time protests were addressed by the War Office to the P.M.O. of my Hospital against this practice, and the correspondence was referred to me; I pointed out that by the use of that treatment I considered the retention in Hospital of the patients so treated was about half as long as if that treatment were withheld, and that it was both humane and economical to pursue it; I received the astounding instruction that I might be allowed to use the treatment for officers but not for privates, and it was only when I indicated quite firmly that I would rather resign my appointment than obey such a snobbish ruling that I was allowed my way.

The expenses of conducting medical services have enormously increased for various reasons, some of which I will just indicate.

To take a modern development first. The number of daily street accidents in the London Metropolitan Police area has almost exactly doubled in the past twelve years, and increased provision for accidents in all the Hospitals is urgently indicated. Such provision was insisted upon by King Edward's Hospital Fund as a condition of sanctioning and helping the extension of St. Mary's Hospital to which I have referred.

The extension of specialism, which has made possible the enormous advances in medicine and surgery, has raised the whole standard of treatment, and of nursing as well, with corresponding increase of expenditure. The immortal discovery of Lister, and the developments following upon it, have made necessary the provision of modern operating theatres, inevitably costly in construction. The standard of nursing has changed out of all recognition; it is now the rule, and not the exception, that nurses shall be well educated, highly trained gentlewomen, for whom better accommodation and better conditions than satisfied their predecessors must be found. In this connection it may be mentioned that a new scheme of pensions for nurses initiated by King Edward's Fund during the past year has been accepted by several hospitals, and will help to make provision for nurses no longer able to work.

The advances of the past thirty years in the knowledge of the causation of disease have been largely brought about by immense improvement in laboratories, and this is a need which must ever grow as medicine grows. Diagnosis is the only sure foundation of treatment, and for diagnosis nowadays investigations far more complicated and costly than were dreamed of a few years ago must be undertaken. The outstanding importance of equipment and of specialised knowledge may be illustrated by one instance. The mortality rate of parturient women of all classes treated in their own homes remains about one in two hundred, while the mortality in properly conducted Maternity Hospitals can be kept below one in five thousand. With the increased sense of responsibility towards the sick, which is the note to-day both of the public and of the medical profession, the after-care of patients leaving Hospital has become of almost equal importance with their treatment during their retention in the wards, and the provision of Convalescent Homes has become an additional and an expensive drain upon Hospital finance. The great advances made in the rational treatment of disease by sunlight and fresh air, and by applications of artificial light and other forms of physical therapy, again, entail new and costly services, the expense of which is constantly expanding. For example, the cost of maintenance of the X-ray Department at St. Mary's Hospital in 1913, that is, just before the War, was £400 per annum, as against a cost nearly five times as much in 1926.

But if I stress the cost of the Voluntary Hospitals I do not wish to convey the impression that these services form anything but the most economical use of money that has ever been invented. The advances in medicine and surgery which have been the glory of our generation have had a prompt and thousandfold return in the diminution of mortality and the raising of general standards of health throughout the country. In no branch of medicine has the improve-

ment been more wonderful than in the medical treatment of young children, who must always form the brightest hope of every generation. Child-mortality has sunk in the past thirty years by at least 50 per cent. A similar change has taken place at the other end of life. It was seriously debated in the Senate of the University of London a few weeks ago whether it would not soon be necessary to raise the retiring age of Professors from the present limit of sixty. Men and women of that age nowadays are immeasurably more vigorous and more youthful, owing to improved conditions of living, than they were thirty years ago.

The Voluntary Hospital is an essentially English invention, existing nowhere in the same perfection outside these islands. It is an illustration of the English character at its happiest; the simple unostentatious devotion of personal service, unfettered by theorising, thriftily adapted to practical ends. It affords the most sovereign antidote to the miserable class-consciousness which some present-day political creeds so cruelly promote, and if we could get some of our cruder Socialists to " walk the Hospitals " I am convinced that they would get a saner and a more cheerful view of humanity than they now possess. In the wards of a Hospital, as perhaps nowhere else, " Cook's son " and " Duke's son " are equal as God made them; no greater care is taken of one than of the other. The queen of a sick-ward will often be some poverty-stricken Irish woman, who has endeared herself to her fellow patients by her wit or by her gay courage in facing pain. Let us see to it then that this most English of our present-day institutions, the best embodiment of the genius of our race, does not die out in our land in our time.

E. GRAHAM LITTLE.

DANTE'S ANTI-DOGMATISM.

NEW Light—it is Dante's own expression:

> This shall be the new light, the Sun which shall rise, when the spent sun shall set and shall give light to them who are in shadow and darkness because of the spent sun which enlightens them not.*

These words of his own in *The Banquet,* at which he " serves " the reader with his own interpretation of his art, strike the keynote of his life and thought. A flood of light pours to-day on the " inveterate darkness " which Karl Witte—a German wonder-child of culture—called a hundred years ago the art of " misunderstanding Dante," when he concentrated the acumen of German scholarship on Dante's own story. The latest development is the searchlight of Spanish scholarship. Professor Asin, its *choregus*—a Roman Catholic priest—has just concentrated on Dante's work a light gathered from research during the past thirty years in that unexhausted field of the literature of Islam, when it stretched from the Middle East along the Mediterranean Sea into the heart of Spain in the days of her great Moslem civilisation. *Lux ex oriente*—a light indeed from the East, which shines behind as well as within this light of Islam—has come through Asin's monumental work,† with which he chose to enter the Royal Academy of Spain from his Chair of Arabic Scholarship in Madrid, and which has now appeared in English form as *Dante in Islam.*‡

But this is not the same thing as light from Dante himself. Professor Asin has established the extraordinary parallel which exists between the material of the *Comedy* and the vast body of traditions which, under the name of Mohammed's Night Journey and Ascension, still hold during Ramadân the supreme place in the popular worship of Islam. The material of both visions possess a startling resemblance, which cannot be accounted for by anything short of direct appropriation on Dante's part from these sources. The Professor has gone much further and has revealed the identity, *mutatis mutandis,* of Dante's psychical experience, as pictured in the *New Life* and *The Banquet,* with that of the great mystic poet and philosopher Ibn Arabi, who died within twenty-five years of Dante's birth. He has demonstrated the fact that Dante's mystical standpoint in life and literature was anticipated even long before this among the earliest Sufis. This and much more in the mass of Asin's evidence prove beyond dispute a hitherto almost unsuspected contact between East and West. Asin shows, moreover, strong presumption for the belief that it can be traced in the web of Dante's personal story and that of his closest associates—Brunetto Latini, for instance.

* *Il Convito,* I, 13. † *La Escatologia Musulmana y Dante.* ‡ Murray, 1926.

These discoveries raise one question. How can they be reconciled with the impression which Dante's language everywhere forces at first upon the mind, that he is the inflexible champion of what passes for orthodoxy and its culmination in the dogma of the ages of faith? It is with this single issue that this article attempts to deal, because its utter misunderstanding still obscures interpretation of Dante's art. His " new light " cannot rise till this darkness is dispersed by his own words. But our question must, for lack of space, be confined to its most elementary form, and we must ask not what Dante's faith is, but what it is not. He asks in the Heaven of Justice for the solution of a doubt—" the doubt that urges me with such inveterate craving "*—which haunts everyone who takes up the *Inferno* and finds on the portal of Hell that inscription, " Abandon hope all ye who enter here." His passionate doubt in the *Paradiso* is about a faith that seems to condemn a world which has it not and cannot have it :

" . . . . A man
Is born on Indus' banks, and none is there
Who speaks of Christ, nor who doth read nor write;
And all his inclinations and his acts,
As far as human reason sees, are good;
And he offendeth not in word or deed:
But unbaptised he dies, and void of faith.
Where is the justice that condemns him? where
His blame, if he believeth not?"†

Now we must listen very carefully if we are to catch his answer. First of all, we must realise how much it means to him. " Ye discern the heed wherewith I do prepare myself to hearken," and again, " let the hunger be appeased, that with great craving long hath held my soul *finding no food on earth.*"‡ Secondly, we must remember that Dante never answers his questions directly, but always dramatically (Christ's invariable way in the Gospels), and that, as he tells us himself, " what the speaker wishes particularly to say he should always reserve till the last, because that which is said last always remains longest in the mind of the hearer."§ Thirdly, we must realise that Dante is bent on exalting the Justice of God and its apparent clash with the claims of Mercy. A true faith must confirm them both. And it is in this Heaven of Justice that he seeks the solution of his doubt.

" . . . . This well I know;
That, if there be in Heaven a realm, that shows
In faithful mirror the celestial Justice,
Yours without veil reflects it."‖

* *Par.* xix, 25-30. † *ib.* ll. 70-78. ‡ *ib.* ll. 31, 25-27. § *Convito*, II, 9. ‖ *Par.* xix, 28-30.

Before, however, we can appreciate the full force of any of these points, or the depth of his conclusion when it comes, let us pause for a moment to glance at this wonderful creation of the Heaven of Justice, " a wonder worthy of the rhyme." It is the despair of all comment on the *Paradiso* that its condensation of thought is inextricable, its images kaleidoscopic, its music incommunicable, and its atmosphere never to be distilled by quotation. This Heaven of Jupiter, the abode of angelic Dominations, is a blinding vision—of supernatural blazonry in which sparkling jewels and cosmic torches, the flights of heavenly birds, and the scintillation of human souls, gradually assume the form of an " ever-blessed image "—" the great Sign that marshalleth the world," the " Eagle of Divine and Human Empire " :

" For all those living lights,
Waxing in splendour, burst forth into songs,
Such as from memory glide and fall away:—
such as my heart
Did look for, on whose tables I inscribed them."*

Glittering in the Eagle's eye there are " burning splendours of the Holy Spirit." What is our astonishment to find that two of these are pagan souls! Dante, whom the Eagle addresses, is not less astonished. One is the Emperor Trajan, the other " Trojan Ripheus "! The Eagle recounts strange stories of their presence :

" They quitted not their bodies, as thou deem'st,
Gentiles, but Christians; in firm rooted faith—
This, of the feet in future to be pierced,
That, of feet nailed already to the Cross."†

Trajan went to Hell, because he denied justice to a widow for her murdered son. But " his mighty worth moved Gregory (Pope and Saint) to a mighty conquest in prayer." The story is beautifully told in the *Purgatory* (Canto X). Here, in the *Paradiso,* Dante tells us that " from the barrier of the dark abyss where never any to goodwill returns," he had " come back into his bones." Reincarnation indeed and translation from Hell to Heaven! Equally strange is the story of Trojan Ripheus, who lives otherwise only in Virgil's beautiful phrase: " Then Ripheus fell, the justest far of all the sons of Troy." But Dante not only tells us that he " believed," he adds : " three nymphs were sponsors for him more than a thousand years before baptising "; they are Faith, Hope and Charity. Let us note carefully this one point in the dramatic solution of his doubt. Not despite their unbelief, as with the Indian; for Dante declares the existence of a latent faith " which makes souls known to God," though unknown " to one who knows the names of things by rote . . . till Other's tongue reveals them."‡

* *Par.* xx, 10-12. † *ib.* ll. 103-105. ‡ *Par.* xxv, 10, and xx, 91-93.

We begin to see how far Dante's conception of Faith lies from current conception in his day and even in ours. St. Thomas Aquinas had said of virtuous heathen : " If anyone who is born in barbarous nations does what lies in him, God will reveal to him what is necessary for salvation, either by interior illumination or by sending a Teacher." St. Francis' Apparition to the Soldan may come into our mind : but Dante goes much further. " *Regnum coelorum* violenza pate "—the Kingdom of Heaven suffereth violence. Nothing can frustrate this will of God : but His will *desires* to be overcome. " Not in such sort as man prevails o'er man . . . because 'tis willing to be conquered ; still, though conquered, by its mercy conquering "* ; that is the essence of His justice.

Let us admit at once that in these two baffling cantos Dante's words suggest at first another solution which easily obsesses even the scholar's mind. Scartizzini, typical amongst them, is what Asin would call " a vacillating guide." He holds that Dante insists on the inscrutability of God's justice, and stifles instead of solving his doubt, like St. Paul in the Epistle to the Romans on the question of predestination. But both act and Apostle in fact are on their way to the same conclusion. Scartizzini cannot evade the inference from the Eagle's latest utterance, that Faith is a prerogative of the pagan, Christian, not Gentile. There can be no question about " the deep counsel " of the Eagle that these strange saints possess Faith in the sight of the Divine Justice. That is the judgment to which Dante draws us, though he keeps the reader long in suspense, " as one who speaking keepeth back his warmest saying to conclude the speech "† :

> The ken, your world is gifted with, descends
> In the everlasting Justice as low down
> As eye doth in the sea ; which, though it mark
> The bottom from the shore, in the wide main
> Discerns it not; and ne'ertheless it is;
> But hidden through its deepness. Light is none,
> Save that which cometh from the pure serene
> Of ne'er disturbèd ether : for the rest,
> 'Tis darkness all : or shadow of the flesh.
> Or else its poison.
> Amply to thee is opened now the cavern
> Which has concealed from thee the living justice
> Of which thou mad'st such frequent questioning.‡

Dogmatists, from St. Thomas to Bellarmine, took grave exception to Dante's story about Trajan, but there is room for doubt too in the minds of those who read the words " abandon hope " on the surface and not as Dante dramatically rewrites them. Dante rises always by stepping stones : the *Comedy* " leaps," as he says himself, ever " to higher things." What, we are impelled to ask, is

* *Par.* xx, 94, 97-99. † *Purg.* xxx, 71, 72. ‡ *Par.* xix, 58-69.

the real significance of this Heaven of Justice; what the " new light " from " that clear Heaven which cloudeth never " ; what the darkness which is a shadow of the flesh or its own poison?

Now in Dante's cryptic words about the " new light " he is speaking (superficially) about the mother-tongue in which he writes *The Banquet,* and for which he discards the Latin language of the " Doctors." Taken thus literally, his words are significant enough, for he is defending the new form of the *New Life* and that mysterious new literature which he then began to create. Moreover, he is foreshadowing the creation of the *Comedy* itself. But the author of *The Banquet,* in an excellent English version, says justly :* " this seems to be only the meaning of the letter, and Dante must have referred also to the Truth that he had gleaned as the new sun." His vision of the Empire in the *Comedy* is a central feature of Dante's whole ideal there—God's plan for all mankind. This Imperial Eagle is a symbol of His Providence and Justice at all times and in all space. Of the *De Monarchia,* which is the reasoned counterpart of this Vision, even a Romanist writes : " It looks forward to the coming of a *respublica humana,* in which all political and religious life will be brought together in the closest unity."† The Empire is a religious as well as a political vision : that is the point. No one doubts that in the *Comedy* Dante is bent on scourging the political Christendom of his day. But what of its religious dogmatism? Professor Gardner, our exquisite Romanist interpreter, has uttered this thought very boldly, *à propos* of the host of apparitions who encompass and overshadow the Doctors of the Church, as they cluster in the theological Heaven of the Sun.‡ Speaking of that mysteriously beautiful episode, he writes : " For the modern reader this episode might become a mystically expressed prophecy of future discoveries and of men of science to come ; an acknowledgment that there were truths which the mediæval schoolmen had not dreamed of." He sees there a silent challenge to " Ecclesiastic Authority." As Dante condemns the usurpations of the Canonists, so he condemns unsparingly the deviations even of the Contemplatives.

Here is another surprise : Asin calls it an enigma—the inexplicable presence in the theological Heaven of Sigier, the " eternal light, who in the Street of Straw at Paris argued truths fraught with hate."§ He was condemned as an Averroist-heretic and seems to have perished for his thought in 1284. Asin sums up the evidence :

> How justify such audacity? Dantists have exhausted every ingenious hypothesis to save the sincerity and seriousness of a Christian poet, who not only saves a heretic like Sigier who died

* Katharine Hillard (Kegan Paul). † M. de Wulf, *Hist. Mod. Phil.* Vol I, 322.
‡ *Par.* xiv, 67-75. § *Par.* x, 138. *Sillogizzò invidiosi veri.*

> outside the communion of the Church, but further exalts him to the abode of holy theologians and doctors of orthodoxy, and by a daring climax, which reaches the borders of sarcasm, places his eulogy on the lips of St. Thomas, his irreconcilable adversary—an eulogy which amounts to the rehabilitation of his memory.

And what a shock it is to those who think of Dante as the champion of dogmatism to find even an orthodox critic like Torraca* asking, as the result of his researches: "Was Dante's father heretical, a Paterino, a Catharist, like so many other Florentines in his time, like the great-hearted Farinata? So it seems." The grounds for this strange conclusion are to be found in the documents and on the soil of old Florence as well as in the covert text of this queer quarrel between Dante and a famous friend—which conceals startling facts, and still awaits complete elucidation.

Now it is impossible in a few lines which are intended to catch the eye of the general reader to do more than indicate the trend of evidence which leads us to-day towards a fresh interpretation of Dante's genius. It would be quite misleading to suggest that sympathies and ties with the seething world of heresy around him determine his own attitude. He was in that world, but not of it. But in matters of Faith as of State he was "to make a party for himself." What he says of the human soul is true pre-eminently of his own: "the chrysalis was born (in him) to form a heavenly butterfly."† "In the garden Catholic" he shone like Joachim, the author of the *Everlasting Gospel,* "endowed with a prophetic spirit."‡ There are "two currents" in the Christian consciousness, Dogma and Vision, the exoteric and the esoteric way, but they mingle, and whenever a great spirit arises he goes upon his solitary way. That is true of Western as well as Eastern Mysticism.§ Dante's kinship with Islam is due to the fact that the higher worlds were open to the seer there as they had not opened in the West. It was the revenge of time, for that very tradition of Islam had drawn much of its inspiration, as Asin shows, from the inner light which shone round the cradle of the Christ, but had veiled itself to serve the darkness of the falling Empire. The light broke through the darkness of the rising Faith of Islam because of its greater vigour and a simple ecclesiastical organisation and an unbroken contact with the wisdom of the East. To have demonstrated this is one of the values of Asin's work. He shows us that Dante imaged that amazing flight of the human soul to God which is the real theme of the *Comedy* largely out of the undogmatic material of the Ancient Wisdom.

What was Dante's faith is, as we have said, too far-reaching a matter for this article. An attempt has been made here simply to

* *Nuovi Studi Danteschi* (1921), Chap. I, La tenzone di Dante con Forese.
† *Purg.* X, 125. ‡ *Par.* XII, 141. § *Cf. Mysticism and the Eastern Church.* Nicholas Arsenius, 1926. *Intro.* Evelyn Underhill.

show that Dante's own language forbids us to rest in the current view of his dogmatic orthodoxy and to suggest that a "new light" is as old as his expressed declaration in the *Banquet.* His art, his thought, his life demand reconception. If we confine ourselves to the immediate import of his cryptical language in that single scene where his doubt comes to the surface, in tracks of the *Comedy* where we should least expect such a confession, what a new light flashes, for instance, upon his conception of the "Emperor to come"! Students of Dante have been content to regard the *De Monarchia* as his anticipation of a World-Court of Justice or the World State; the germ of both is certainly there. A German thinks he has just announced a future in Europe for Dante's ideal Cæsarism, but Dante's was a loftier vision of Empire. When we take the single question which Dante raises in the Heaven of Justice, and put it side by side with that single passage in the *Banquet* which heads this article, we sense another interpretation of the Empire. It is the dream also of a world-wide Faith, a Faith in which "Christ is Abbot of the College," with a "Third Order" of many souls beyond the cloisters of the Church. It is the dream of a faith based upon Philosophy, "the loving use of the Ancient Wisdom"—in a word, Intuition. Virgil has led Dante to the feet of "Beatrice," this "bliss" of Intuition; but Virgil has left him at the gate of Heaven "crowned and mitred," a Priest, as well as a King, to God. (*Purg.* XXVII, 142.)

It is this undogmatic conception of Faith which gleams through the crevices of the *Comedy* dramatically. And the light is not that mother-tongue of Italy which Dante incidentally re-created, but the language of the heart (to borrow Goethe's definition of Greek)—the tongue which Dante said himself "women and children ever use." His work upon *The Mother Tongue* (*De Vulgari Eloquio*) is a Defence of (this new) Poetry—not a linguistic treatise nor a handbook of poetical technique. These are only means to his end. The end is intimately connected with that "New Life" of which he speaks and sings from first to last. Dante was no exclusive champion even of his own mother-tongue. In the very work devoted to its praise he wrote*:

> We, whose motherland is the whole world, even as the ocean is the fishes', must judge by reason rather than by sense . . . And, though on earth there exists for our delight no fairer spot than Florence, yet when we turn the pages of the poets and other Scriptures and reason *within ourselves* of various regions in the world and their relation to either pole and the Equator, we are firmly of opinion that there are many nobler and more delightful lands and cities than Tuscany and Florence . . . and that most nations and peoples use more delightful and profitable discourse than the Latins.

* *Op. cit.* I, 6.

Whatever the significance of these strange words, we are bound to recognise that Dante's eyes are always straining beyond the common bounds of space, as well as time, in his own age. In that work *On Empire,* again,* he startles us by expressions about " the universal consent of mankind, or at least of its pre-eminent spirits," and covertly contrasts with it the position of the Church to whose authority or power in conferring Empire " not only all the people of Asia and Africa, but even the greater part of the inhabitants of Europe, are averse."

Dante's " new light " was the new truth in every land and every language which should utter the art of the New Love and the New Life. *Eloquium*—eloquence in the mother-tongue—as scholars are prepared to admit the very title should run (*Eloquentia* rather than *Eloquium*)—is his theme in the *De Vulgari Eloquio*. That work is a plea and programme for establishing an Art of Love, which was to be Art for Life's sake (to borrow a modern phrase)—Art for (a new) Love—of God. The *Eloquium* is an essay on its " utterance." Dante had from the beginning vindicated in the *New Life* (*Vita Nuova,* XXV), his intention of devoting his rimes, as he had devoted them there, to the praises of a New Love. He had claimed to speak of Love like poets of the *ancient* Latin tongue. And even then he had noted that " perchance among other folk it may have happened and may still happen . . . that literary and not vernacular poets treated of these things." The same wide outlook again over time and space. He had already taken the *clus trobar,* the " secret " style of the mystic Troubadours, into his hands, not for the sake of its perfection of technique, or its studied obscurity, but for the deeper purpose which that served in their hands of concealing devotion to a certain religious ideal. We know that Provençal literature suffered wholesale destruction at the hands of the Church. We know that this ideal was current, under many names, among devotees in many lands, among those who abjured the " Latin " dogma and culture.

When Dante says in this *locus classicus* for the interpretation of the *New Life* : " The first that began to compose as a vernacular poet was moved because he desired to make his words intelligible to a lady who had difficulty in understanding Latin verses," it is hard to believe that this mysterious *lady* was not a Sect. Let anyone who thinks such an interpretation forced turn to a single passage on the threshold of Dante's art and weigh what he says there—" that all may be made clear in this little book,"—about the " glorious lady of my mind,"—" Beatrice," his Bliss. " It were deep shame," he adds here, " to one who should rhyme under cover . . . and afterwards, being asked, should know not how to strip such vesture from his words, in such wise that they should have a real meaning."

* *De Monarchia,* III, 14.

There is indeed no other way than this of penetrating the problems of his lesser works, of the *Comedy* itself, and of that maze which has hitherto baffled all clues—the *Canzoniere*. It has been assumed too long that we held a clue to Dante, in the interpretation of Dogma alone and the traditions of the Church. Professor Asin's " Light from the East " has created a new horizon and compels us to look far beyond the borders of Christendom for the real antitype of his art. The barest attempt has been made here to suggest that Dante's *ipsissima verba* also compels us to review the whole position. The " new light " is a challenge to the dogmatist in every form, be it in Faith or Culture or Poetry.

But Faith comes first in the case before us, whether the reader be attracted or repelled by what he has taken to be Dante's orthodoxy. What his " new light " really was, and what the relation of his new language to the New Life, has barely been suggested here for lack of space. But enough has been said to show that he was essentially undogmatical, because in the matter of Faith, as in every other way, he was no slave to Dogma any more than he was a " friend of Fortune." He was " afraid of being a timid friend of Truth " and thus " losing life among those who would call his own Age—Antiquity."*

A new " high sun " was already casting its beams East and West, a new thirst was leading Man again to the Tree of Knowledge with that last " glad cry of Christ "† (when He uttered the word of Self-abandonment upon the Cross), *Eli*—" I am He "—the " Thou art That " which was the cry of mystic Islam in Dante's very time, and in substance the consummation of his Vision in the *Divina Commedia*.

" A rational Religion " (to borrow the latest word from Professor Whitehead's *Making of Religion* in our own day) " appeals to the supernormal experience of mankind in its moments of finest insight —to the distinct intuition of special occasions." Such supernormal experience, such a distinct intuition, such moments of finest insight, were Dante's link, by his own showing, with the Wisdom of the East. They were also his supreme gift to Western Christendom. A re-making of Religion, a re-vision of dogma, was his lifelong work, and remains the secret of his hold upon Orthodoxy and Unorthodoxy alike.

S. UDNY.

* *Par.* XXVII, 118-120. † *Purg.* XXIII, 74. Dante chooses so to read in the old Mother-tongue and mystically this combination of the two sacred Names, which he declares (discrepantly) in the *De Vulg. Eloq.* and *Paradiso* to have been Ēl and Ī'. This is an example merely of his secret understanding.

THE DAUNTLESS PRINCESS FELIX SALM-SALM.

IN 1867, Princess Felix Salm-Salm flashed like a brilliant meteor on military circles at Coblenz. After serving as a general in the American Civil War and in Mexico, her husband had been made a major in Queen Augusta's regiment of guards. Though she was the recipient of many royal favours, her unaffectedness disarmed jealousy, and the fame of her deeds overseas discounted her not being born a German. In the American war she had befriended many German soldiers, in Mexico she had risked life and liberty in attempting to save the Emperor Maximilian, whose bereaved mother was the Archduchess Sophia of Austria.

During five years of remarkable experiences, this young Princess had been upheld in her selfless endeavours by an extraordinary determination to win through, and occasionally by hot anger. When she failed, it was only after exhausting every expedient. In Mexico, the Liberal General Escobedo declared he would rather face a whole Imperial battalion than the angry Princess Salm. Once she whipped out a revolver and covered a Juarist officer sent to remove her from Queretaro, saying: "Captain, touch me with one finger, and you are a dead man."

Yet she was by no means aggressive-looking. More attractive than strictly handsome, her face suggested a thinker rather than a woman who had faced situations before which men had quailed. Her eyes had, however, a compelling directness which explained Escobedo's feelings, and that without a trace of coquetry. She confessed herself to be at heart "just like other women," often frightened and depressed, sensitive to impressions and environment, and sometimes the slave of her prejudices. Had she not been intensely feminine, she might never have shared in events which keep her memory green.

Meeting Prince Salm early in the American Civil War, she fell straightway in love with him and he with her. A brief courtship was followed by their marriage, though the bridegroom then knew no English and the bride was equally ignorant of German and French. Like many young officers at Vienna, the Prince had been the prey of moneylenders and had fled to America. As a boy, he had fought with distinction in Schleswig-Holstein, being captured by the Danes after receiving seven wounds. This only gave him an eager appetite for fighting. A devoted husband and rather retiring in private life, he could not remain idle if there were prospects of heavy fighting. His wife worked hard on behalf of her "Hotspur," by which name she indicated his passion for being in the thick of the fray.

In America feminine influence was only frowned on by men known as women-haters. Even with these the Princess's importunity succeeded, and she pleaded repeatedly for others besides her husband. The necessity for it arose out of the peculiarities of the Federal military system. A regiment might be enlisted for two years' service, then disbanded, and its officers were left stranded, or a colonel might be appointed to a regiment provided he could bring to it a given number of men. Prince Salm found himself more than once in such predicaments; to help him his wife boldly bearded senators, governors of States, even the Provost-Marshal-General and the Secretary of War, not resting till she had her husband's fresh commission in her pocket, or got the promise of a sufficient draft of men.

With characteristic frankness, she owned to having been terrified during such interviews, but told of them with twinkling eyes, which showed that her sense of humour was another mental asset. Compared with what she went through later, the American Civil War only initiated her into facing difficulties, yet there already she found much scope for courage and resourcefulness, accompanying the Prince frequently on active service and indifferent to peril if it helped her to rejoin him. Frequently, the fierce guerilla warfare carried on by the South brought bands of dangerous ruffians unpleasantly near. Travelling on horseback often meant sinking deep into mud or braving violent storms. On railways, more than once an engine with a "caboose" attached proved the only available conveyance, and the lively Princess chose a seat on the cowcatcher as "more airy," and out of the devilry of youthful spirits alarmed her companions by her pranks. By contrast, she used her influence as a commanding officer's wife to procure comforts on a gigantic scale for wounded soldiers, and more than once for the starving and wretchedly-clad Southern families in conquered districts.

A close study of hospital management evoked her praise for the lavish generosity of the Americans, and for their reverent treatment of the dead; but with equal frankness she painted a ghastly picture of the ruined condition in which they found Atlanta, but lately so prosperous, when Prince Salm was given the command of the district. General Sherman's aim had been to make it impossible for Confederates to follow where no sustenance remained for man or beast. The Princess was overjoyed when Judge Root and his wife brought huge consignments of gifts for her to distribute to the emaciated women and children. At such times her woman's heart spoke, as it did regarding the severity of field-punishments for minor offences. Once, with her own hands, she released a soldier who was tied to a tree with a bayonet in his mouth! General Salm was absent, and his aide-de-camp told no tales.

To mention the Princess without her dog, Jimmy, her constant companion and often her chief solace, would be to play Hamlet without Hamlet. Jimmy, the gift of the late James Gordon Bennett, was a public character. He hated gun-fire as much as his master loved it, but it did not prevent his sitting on his mistress's saddle when she rode at the head of a column of troops. Once, feeling bored with travelling in a military train, he jumped off. Discovering his escapade, the Princess daringly pulled the communication cord, thus stopping the train and getting into momentary trouble with the captain in command. No matter, she got back Jimmy.

When peace came in the United States, Prince Salm offered his sword to the Emperor of Mexico, whom he had known as the popular Archduke Maximilian of Austria, and who was already in a parlous plight. For a lady to be with troops on march in Mexico was to expose her to worse dangers than in the United States; it was only by means of tears (and, she confessed, screams), that Princess Salm persuaded her husband to let her accompany him and the Belgian Legion to garrison Tulacingo. It might have been held with reinforcements. To the disgust of the Belgian Colonel and of all officers with him, orders came from Bazaine to surrender the town to Juarez' troops.

On the way to Tulacingo, a hostile contingent was reported to be at hand, and an attack was decided on. The Princess refused to be left behind, and rode between her husband and Colonel van der Smissen. The supposed "enemy" was found to be an Austrian regiment which, having just been severely handled by the Liberals, fled like hares before the oncoming host. The Princess and Jimmy galloped after them to relieve their minds, and, being good Catholics, they took the lady for some heavenly rescuer.

Events followed rapidly on each other. Napoleon was removing his troops. Prince Salm had leave to raise a regiment, but Bazaine offered every inducement to the Austrians and Belgians to go home. The Belgian and Austrian representatives did the same by their countrymen. Maximilian stood his ground, then suddenly he went to Orizava meaning to abdicate and retire to Europe. He had heard of the mental breakdown of the Empress Charlotte. For the moment his sense of responsibility gave way before his grief. Generals Marquez and Miramon, and Father Fischer, hurried to implore him to stay. Money being the crux, Fischer promised unlimited gold when the French had left. They had seized the Customs' receipts. These promises proved futile.

The mysterious Fischer was certainly more politician than priest. After the Mexican collapse, a friend of mine, whom several of the first German authors had trusted to translate their books, was approached by Fischer to do some work. They corresponded and he

sent her his photograph. It represents a shockheaded priest with a large face, whose character is hard to guess. Somehow, my friend felt dissatisfied, and decided to break off communications, when suddenly Fischer's letters ceased and she heard no more of him.

Maximilian was singularly unfortunate in those whom he allowed to influence him. Marquez, who for his cruelty was called the "Alva of Mexico," if not a traitor was a very indifferent general. Miramon, faithful unto death and goaded to hatred of the Juarists by the horrible way in which they had butchered his brother, was oversanguine and gave much wrong advice. Prince Salm foresaw disaster and meant to stand by the Emperor. When Maximilian determined to make a last stand at Queretaro, no entreaties from his wife could gain Salm's consent for her to accompany him. She was left at Tacubaya, near Mexico City, with their friends the Hubes. She passed anxious weeks, then Marquez arrived with glowing accounts of Maximilian and Salm, and of the state of Queretaro, which, however, he had not revictualled. He had been sent to Mexico because of the desperate need for money and troops. Ere long he marched away taking all foreign troops, and leaving the city protected by a few untrustworthy Mexicans. Three days later news came that he had utterly routed the Juarist General, Porfirio Diaz. On the morrow he returned alone save for a few horsemen. The utter defeat had been his.

On three consecutive nights, Princess Salm dreamed of her husband as dying surrounded by the din of battle, whilst Maximilian begged him not to leave him. This decided her to go into Mexico to see what could be done to save them. Her host protested and locked his gates; but early next morning she stole out with her maid Margarita and Jimmy, passed Mr. Hube, and wished him good-morning. He circumvented her and delayed her for two hours, emphasising dangers and possible insults, but in vain. With Margarita and the dog, she walked unmolested four and a half miles along a road swarming with Juarist officers and soldiers, to Chalpultepec. There she interviewed the Juarist Colonel Leon, and told him of her distress, and that she wished to ascertain whether the Imperial Colonels in Mexico would surrender if Diaz guaranteed life and liberty to Maximilian and his officers. Leon told her truly about the desperate state of Queretaro's starving garrison and, sanctioning her entering Mexico, asked if she could get help for his wretchedly-situated prisoners. Her consenting and collecting a hundred dollars from Baron Magnus, the Prussian Minister, and from some Austrian officers, was made afterwards the basis of a false accusation.

Escorted to the outpost by Leon, she promised to return to report progress, then in full face of a battery marched boldly with her

faithful companions across the open to the gate of Mexico. Some soldiers laid down a plank, and they stepped across. Baron Magnus, though diplomatically cautious, arranged hospitality for all, and accompanied Princess Salm to interview the Colonels, whose bravery had won Leon's admiration.

Count Khevenhüller advocated surrender, believing that Marquez planned treachery. Colonel Kodolitsch agreed to meet Leon, and only wished for further news from Queretaro before acting decisively. Next morning he withdrew from interviewing Leon because Marquez had issued an order that officers or soldiers communicating with the enemy for any reason should be shot. Neither the Colonels nor Magnus would commit themselves by giving the Princess anything in writing. They wished her to go without their introduction to Diaz, and request that she or someone else might go to Queretaro and inform Maximilian of the state of things and seek his sanction to an armistice. If that was refused, she might offer Diaz the surrender of all foreign troops, on his written pledge of their safety and of that of Maximilian.

Baron Magnus suggested asking Madame Baz, a Juarist general's wife and a known intriguer, to accompany Princess Salm to Diaz. Madame said she must await her husband's return. Meanwhile Princess Salm went once more to Colonel Leon, who told her that Diaz had heard of her movements. In Leon's presence, she gave the money collected to the prisoners. Returning to Mexico, she inadvertently answered "Enemigo" instead of "Amigo" to the sentry's challenge, and was fired at; Margarita began frantically invoking the saints, but nobody was hurt. Madame Baz then announced her inability to accompany the Princess to Diaz, averring her husband was to join Escobedo outside Queretaro. Princess Salm could only accept Colonel Leon's offer of a horse and ride alone to headquarters.

She found Diaz civil but obdurate, looking on her as a second Madame Baz, whilst presumably primed by that lady. At most he would agree that if Mexico surrendered the foreign troops might leave for Europe after laying down their arms. If Princess Salm determined to go to Queretaro, he would give her a pass and a letter to Escobedo. On reaching Mexico the Princess was greeted by a volley, a bullet passing through her hair without wounding horse or rider. This, though apologised for, was none the less unpleasant.

Then came a bolt from the blue.

Back at Tacubaya to arrange for her journey, Princess Salm learnt that Diaz had issued an order that all persons proposing to leave Mexico to negotiate should be shot. The good Hubes wept, especially when a carriage and escort arrived to remove the Princess

to Diaz's headquarters. Forced to obey, she went, accompanied as usual by Margarita and Jimmy. At headquarters, she was told Diaz insisted on her leaving the country instantly. She said they might shoot her, but leave she would not and, lodged under guard with a Mexican family, she held everyone at bay till General Baz arrived. Then she learnt that the gifts to the Imperial prisoners had been represented as efforts to bribe Diaz's officers; hence his wrath. Kindly General Baz appeased Diaz, and at last the famous trio was allowed to start in a tumbledown vehicle on the weary journey to Queretaro, fortunately accompanied by a Liberal civilian with an armed servant. The road was infested with robbers.

Outside Queretaro, Princess Salm had again to ride alone to seek permission from General Escobedo to enter the besieged city. He was most kindly, but said for this she must go to San Luis Potosi, another three days' journey, to President Juarez. Three o'clock next morning found her in the diligence, escorted by Colonel Aspirez. The dreaded President, a swarthy, undersized Mexican, with piercing black eyes, was elaborately courteous, but somewhat suspicious, and compelled her to remain at San Luis till on May 10th joy-bells announced the fall of Queretaro, sold it was said.

Four days later the Princess was there, riding an officer's horse, to ask Escobedo for a permit to visit Salm and Maximilian. In a dirty room, littered with mats on which prisoners lay, she met her husband unshaven and dust-stained, and fell half fainting into his arms. The Emperor was very ill in bed; Prince Salm led her to him; it was no time for ceremony. His condition grieved her, but he received her warmly, listening eagerly to all she had to tell. She never forgot his gallant bearing during many harrowing scenes. Others knew his doom was sealed, unless he could escape, but whilst often seeming to court death fighting, he had hitherto refused to fly. Many people desired his escape including, so the Princess believed, Escobedo and Juarez himself.

Princess Salm continued to evince an almost superhuman courage, going again to Juarez to beg a respite of the Emperor's trial, when men did not dare. She prevailed, but returning had to walk many leagues at night with bruised feet through torrential rain. Dishevelled and with torn boots, she hurried to tell Maximilian. "May God bless you, Madame," he said. "You have been kind to one who I fear can never serve you."

Her husband evolved a scheme to rescue Maximilian. It might have succeeded, but for two reasons. The Emperor wished to wait for the diplomatists, who came from Mexico but accomplished nothing, and gold was wanting for the wholesale bribery required. Cheques represented nothing to Mexicans. Princess Salm pleaded eloquently with Colonel Potosi, whose connivance was imperative;

after almost yielding, he betrayed her to Escobedo. It was then that the General insisted on her removal from Queretaro, only allowing, when she showed fight, that she should go to Juarez under escort to plead for the Emperor's life. She went and on her knees used passionate persuasion. Juarez was deeply moved, but said : " It is not I, but the law." He, however, gave her his hand and pledged his honour that her husband's life should be saved. Though condemned to death, Prince Salm was sent home some time after the Emperor's execution.

Thus ended a woman's gallant effort to save Maximilian.

Fate decreed that the Princess should be where great events happened. King William of Prussia had praised her " courageous behaviour " with characteristic bluffness, and showed much friendliness to the Salms in frequent meetings at Ems. His Majesty told the Princess he disliked Prince Hohenzollern's acceptance of the Spanish Crown, fearing evil results. She was near on the historic occasion when Benedetti stopped King William on the promenade and, acknowledging that he had heard of Prince Hohenzollern's renunciation of the Spanish throne, suddenly demanded that the King should refuse his consent if the question were ever re-opened.

That interview brought the war that gave Princess Salm fresh scope in caring for the wounded, and left her a widow. The Guards' heavy toll at Gravelotte included her Hotspur, heroic to the end. An adoring note to his wife written before the battle contained the message : " Kiss Jimmy."

M. MONTGOMERY-CAMPBELL.

THE ECONOMICS OF FAME.

IN Lucian's *Convocation of the Gods* we are told that the Olympian peerage had become so diluted by the constant incursion of new deities with doubtful credentials that Zeus was compelled to summon an Assembly to devise measures to remedy the evil. The dimensions of that evil were shown in certain economic consequences, the chief of which was that the price of nectar had risen to such prohibitive heights that a poor but honest god of the old *noblesse* could no longer afford to slake his thirst. The Father of gods and men, after listening to an unedifying and wearisome discussion, decided to put to the vote a proposal to appoint a Departmental Committee to report upon the validity of the patents of godship held by the residents of Olympus. The book says, however, that on second thoughts the celestial Chairman very wisely declared the proposal carried without having had recourse to the formality of a show of hands, and gave as his reason that he knew that the dissentients would be in the majority. Any god who could not exhibit plain proof of title was to be dispatched to his proper ancestral vault there to trouble no more the sacred heights, no matter how big a temple he could show on earth nor whether he was regarded by men as divine or not.

It would be well if it were possible to set up a similar Inquisition to examine the titles of those who throng another mountain which has become overcrowded as never Olympus was. The twin peak of Parnassus, populous enough even in Lucian's time, has in our days become so densely packed that it is well nigh impossible for a newcomer to find a vacant plot except by the drastic expedient of expelling some older inhabitant. That is why, indeed, we find the slopes of the Mount are now being swept by a driving hail of evicted Greeks and Romans. It is, too, a hopeless task, even for the most ardent disciples of Salmasius, to make acquaintance with a tithe of the permanent occupants of that burdened hill, to say nothing of the temporary residents, while the babel of voices, stridently claiming to be heard, confuses the humble individuals whose dwelling is upon the plains. Not only are a certain number of authors in each age translated to Parnassus when the flesh is shed, but the impatient living take those eternal mansions on a repairing lease, or pay ground rent in the hope of being able ultimately to purchase their own freeholds from the accrued savings of their Fame account. So great is the press that, unless we are prepared to risk the eventual appearance of slums on the Parnassian slopes, we must pay more heed to the precepts of economics than we have hitherto done.

This plan of a " Synod . . . for the benefit of learning, to reduce it, as it lay at first, in a few and solid Authors " was, also, one which

commended itself to Sir Thomas Browne. Yet there are objections to its adoption which appear to be insuperable. We have no infallible President to guide the deliberations of such a " Synod " nor to assist them to determine who are " the few and solid authors." Nor would any such scheme attack the problem at its source. Since Fame is the currency in which an author pays for his place on Parnassus, it is evident that what is needed is more caution in the grant of this potent means of exchange. But haphazard precautions are of little avail. To be effectual they must be dictated by the canons of a systematised knowledge. We must inaugurate a new science which shall deal critically with the Economics of Fame. What Adam Smith did long ago for the elucidation of the factors which determine the wealth of nations needs to be done in our own day in respect of the wealth of Ideas.

Though it is unlikely that any De Quincey will say of the present scribe, as was said of Ricardo: " Thou art the man," yet he cannot resist the temptation to essay a preliminary examination of the ground which will have to be traversed by Smith Futurus when he consents to be born. Nor is there any great probability that the observations which follow will deserve to be regarded as a " Prolegomena to all Future Systems " dealing with the Economics of Fame. Yet it may be of advantage to the coming Smith to have the way cleared a little for him, to have a little of the wood hewn, a little of the water drawn, and a few of the materials gathered together. The first step then, must obviously be to attempt some classification of the methods by which the Fame payment is made.

These are three. Fame may be awarded as a lump sum payable after death in the flesh in return for premiums paid towards " a life beyond life "; as current wages for achievement; and as a pension paid to Intellect when it is past work. More concisely, we may group them under the heads following: (1) Post-mortem endowment; (2) Wages, and; (3) Pension. Any or all of these may be allocated, though it is rare to find that a man or a woman has been fortunate enough to have been the recipient of all three. Very often, where a liberal salary has been paid during an author's lifetime, either in the form of wages or pension, or both, he or she receives no post obit emoluments, and vice versâ.

The first method is clearly akin to Life Insurance. And here it may be remarked that we come upon a reminder that a science of the Economics of Fame must be regarded as a natural science and not merely a man-made system rounded off to conform with his particular cast of mind. For we at once find ourselves in a region where the ordinary laws and principles which are alleged to govern social and political economy fail to guide aright. Dame Nature is

intuitive rather than logical. She does not chop logic, nor has she any use for the syllogism. Man is ever trying to " save the appearances," but Nature does not agree that there are any appearances to save. In the world of affairs, for instance, which is man-governed, there is not to be found a safer and surer investment than Life Insurance. In the world of Ideas, which is nature-directed, there is no investment more precarious. One man may be awarded Fame in a lump sum when he has ceased to exist in the flesh in return for a single premium, while another, after most regular payments during a long series of years, may have all his premiums forfeited. There is an apparent capriciousness, also, in the manner in which, when the Insurance becomes due, the debt is paid. The award, for example, may be made and then withdrawn or diminished. The shade of Akenside must have been well satisfied for a time when in return for his premium *The Pleasures of Imagination* he was granted a sum in Fame currency equal to that paid to Gray. But by now he must be marvelling why, since Gray's emoluments have not been touched, his own have been almost cancelled and his " life beyond life " reduced to a mere shadowy existence like that of the Homeric heroes in Hades. He is not the only author who has been similarly bubbled. Sometimes, again, there is an unaccountable delay in the settlement of an apparently just and honest claim.

The " reasons " for these discrepancies we must leave to Smith to discover if he can. There is no question, at any rate, as to the solvency of the Office which deals with this class of business. We can be quite sure of that. There are, no doubt, certain fundamental principles, not incapable of discernment, which govern these transactions, and for the guidance of future investigators we will hazard a few conjectures. The first obvious thought is that the solution of the two first anomalies may be found in the nature of the premiums paid, for it is essential that these be remitted in good, sound currency. It would also appear that the Office may occasionally be temporarily deceived by specious notes drawn upon the Bank of Elegance. All premiums are, however, ultimately referred to a certain cashier who has a permanent appointment with the Office. Cashier Time is a most efficient employé, but he works slowly and, though his verdicts upon the money tendered are always accepted in the long run, it would seem that the Management of the Office are apt now and then to get impatient with his slow and cautious methods, attempt to anticipate his reports, and in some cases necessarily have to revise or withdraw their grants. The answer to the third problem —the unaccountable delays in settlement—is obscure, but the tardiness may be due to periods of over-cautiousness following as a reaction upon some more glaring blunder than usual.

Yet when all is said and done, it cannot be denied that there is a

certain wilfulness which characterises the business methods of this great Office. No chartered rights are granted to its clients, and while one man is fobbed off with a posy of poppies when he expected far other payment, another is forced to take the sum adjudged to be due even though unwilling. Sir Thomas Browne wrote: " and, therefore, at my death, I mean to take a total adieu of the World, not caring for a Monument, History, or Epitaph; not so much as the bare memory of my name to be found anywhere "; but his premiums found acceptance, and a considerable sum was paid him post-mortem which has never been revoked. He was, in addition, one of those fortunate persons who received a very substantial salary as current wages.

Fame as a post-obit Insurance payment is the most unobjectionable and the most just of all its forms. It is liable to no abuse (except in certain special circumstances which will be discussed in the next paragraph), it is honestly earned, and it cannot be hoarded. All this cannot be said without considerable reservations of the second method of rendering Fame payment, which takes the form, as we have already said, of current wages for achievement. On the surface, salary or wages for work done appears to be fair enough. Nevertheless, when this salary is excessive a most tremendous abuse is liable to arise—the Capitalisation of Fame. Whether Capitalism is an evil in the economics of Nations may be left for the pundits to determine, but there can be no question at all that it is wholly unjustifiable in the economics of Notions. Now Fame is likely to be hoarded whenever, for some worthy work or works, a too generous Fame payment is made to an author. He may never write another good book, but the interest on the capital he has been enabled to accumulate may render it possible for him to gain a hearing, quite undeserved, for the unworthy later progeny of his brain. He may, in other words, transfer a subsidy from his Fame account to the credit side of a new transaction. It is, too, by means of the capitalisation of Fame that sclerosed age is enabled to wage advantageous battle with unpanoplied youth. It is by reason of hoarded Fame that the drivel dicta of eminent persons obtain credence and circulation. Thus it is plain that Fame coming within this category needs to be hedged round by wise restrictions.

Still more serious, however, than the capitalisation of Fame by an individual is its cornering by a syndicate. This form of abuse is not, as in the former case, brought about by a hoarding of wages, but is consequent upon a too generous return upon the Life policies of groups of individuals in certain eras. There are some ages in which an unusually large number of persons qualify for post-mortem emoluments. It is the habit of the Office, when such is the case, to declare, in addition, a bonus which is shared more or less equally by

the whole group. The consequence is that (to take two examples which come first to mind), any fragments from the golden age of Greek literature or from our own golden Elizabethan age are, almost irrespective of merit, treated with an exaggerated deference and respect which would not, to be sure, be of very great consequence if the matter ended there. But the trouble is that equally good work in the same fields belonging to a later age is apt to be disparaged and compared to its disadvantage with heavily subsidised goods belonging to the favoured age. Writing in the *Westminster Gazette*, Mr. H. A. Scott quotes an instructive example of this from Mr. F. E. Weatherly's volume of reminiscences, *Piano and Gown*. One of the latter's own songs was, by mistake, described in a programme as an " Old English Ballad " with the result that the critic of a well known paper wrote:

> " Miss Kate Flinn then introduced an exquisite old English ballad. What a pity singers do not sing the old English ballads more frequently. Modern composers would do well to note in this song how well the composer has caught the spirit of the words."

Here the pernicious effects of Fame cornering by a syndicate are well shown, as well as the injustice thereby entailed to a modern who has no accumulated deposit wherewith to subsidise his own work. These corners in Fame are of no real advantage to anyone, not even to those who at first sight would appear to be most benefited by them, for they are apt to evoke resentment and retaliatory measures. The Fame corner which the Victorians bid fair to establish has been smashed with a ruthlessness out of all proportion to the real necessities of the case, while there are signs that even the long tolerated syndicates of Rome and Greece are in none too happy a plight.

Finally, we have to consider Fame in the light of a payment made to Mind when it is past work. None will be bold enough to deny that Fame as a pension is rightly due from a grateful public to an intellect which has ceased to function, but which in the past has done good service and has added in considerable measure to the common store of the " goods of the mind ": goods which are available for the use of all who are fortunate enough to have behind their foreheads warehouse room for their reception. Moreover, it is, like all pensions, a kind of deferred pay, and to withhold it would be a species of fraud of the most heartless kind. Our gratitude to these disabled persons is all the more profound, and our obligation to discharge it all the more imperious, from the fact that in their prime they made no charge for these commodities, produced so freely for our benefit, beyond the costs attaching to carriage. For a book is merely the Pickford van whereby the goods of the mind are conveyed from their storehouse in one brain to their storage in another.

Herein we may discern another remarkable difference between man-made economics and the commerce of nature. Nevertheless, there lies as much peril in the too lavish grant of Fame as a pension as in its extravagant award in the form of wages. For the recipient has usually long been receiving Fame as current salary for his work, and he will thus not only be likely to possess accumulated savings from that source, but also he may be enabled to add to them from the proceeds of his pension. He is in a position, therefore, to become a menace to his fellows by his superior opportunities for capitalising his Fame. It is from among these pensioners of Fame that the nonsense sayings to which we have already referred most often emanate. We need not labour the point further, but enough has been said to convince the candid reader that some reforms are urgently needed in the conditions under which such pensions are dispensed.

It would require a treatise rather than an essay adequately to discuss the best methods of effecting the necessary reforms, but there is one suggestion which might be worth considering with a view to the mitigation of the evils arising from the abuses mentioned in the preceding paragraph. It is that the names be inscribed upon a Roll of Honour of those who are past mental work of any real value, but who, on account of previous services, are held worthy of receiving Fame as a pension. This roll might most suitably be published from time to time as an Appendix to the official *London Gazette*. Any author would become eligible for inclusion in this roll so soon as he could point to past services of real value, and present mental inadequacy as evidenced by his recent writings, or sayings, or both. Although it would rightly be regarded as an honour to have a place upon this roll, yet many writers fully qualified for inclusion might, from diffidence or other reasons, fail to claim their rights. It would be necessary, therefore, to appoint some permanent Body charged with the duty of seeing that the name of no eligible person was omitted from the list. Once listed, such persons would be allowed freely to express opinions upon any subject they chose, but no harm would be done, since the public would know the reasons for the grant of Pension and thus listen to their pronouncements with affectionate toleration without being misled thereby. So justice would be done with no inconvenience to anybody. *Fiat Justitia* need not necessarily entail *Ruat Caelum*.

By some such means as these, depending upon the intelligent application of the principles governing the science of Economics as applied to Fame, new ideas might be expected to have an easier and less painful birth, while the feeble offspring of doddering senility, deprived of artificial props and stays, will speedily perish of their own lack of vitality. And all this to the great good of the individual thinker in particular and the community in general.

E. W. ADAMS.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

CONSTRUCTIVE WORK ON PEACE AND SECURITY.

MUCH diplomatic energy is being devoted to practical schemes of peace and security. The professional diplomatist knows that lasting peace can be won only by hard work, and that the work can be sustained only if the general condition of the world is free of big disturbance. The student of diplomacy sees in the present time one of the best opportunities yet given to diplomacy to do the work. A confluence of events and tendencies is pushing the world into it. The League of Nations has started its Disarmament and Security Commissions in so businesslike a way that every Government represented at Geneva is committed to see the work through or to suffer in prestige. The British and other Foreign Offices in Europe are engaged in compiling memoranda about arbitration, conciliation, instruments of security, in preparation for the resumption of the Security Commission's work on February 20th. On January 16th there meets at Havana the sixth Pan-American Congress at which the United States will be forced to discuss with the other American States the problems of peace in America. M. Briand and Mr. Kellogg have linked up the two Continents in the general tendency by discussing a scheme for the outlawry of war. The three chief naval powers of the world last summer were discussing a further step towards the ideal of naval disarmament. China stands out as a conspicuous exception to the general rule; but chaos in China is so commonplace that it hardly affects a world-wide movement towards the scientific organisation of peace. Nearly every government in the world finds it expedient in the prevailing temper of the world to pay lip-service to peace as an ideal. The fact that such lip-service is found expedient is an important thing. Even Mr. Litvinov, when Russia "came back," launched a drastic proposal of immediate disarmament.

Of course, no visible progress has been made. The moment any progress is made towards real confidence, even Mr. Litvinov's scheme will be a fair subject for discussion. Those who habitually disbelieve in any progress anywhere in human affairs can find as much satisfaction in the records of diplomacy as in those of religion or in any other field of human endeavour. The United States, being the richest country in the world, has started using her power, not to set a standard of peace and disarmament, but to build the world's biggest navy. Mr. Coolidge's often repeated assurances that the United States would never do such a thing have belied their face value. It is true that last June the British Admiralty was not clever enough to see that the best way to deal with the United

States was to accept any scheme of limitation whatsoever that might be proposed by that powerful country, even the grotesque scheme actually proposed by Mr. Gibson; for in the alternative the American conscience feels happier in appropriating a thousand million dollars for the building of a grand and glorious navy. It is true that France in 1927 allowed M. Poincaré not only to balance the budget and stabilise the franc, but to put through a Bill "for the organisation of the country in time of war," which empowers the French Government to mobilise the entire population and take over all private property whenever it feels that it would like to engage in war. It is true that the son of the Locarno pacifist has decided on war as a career. It is true that even M. Briand, the greatest living pacifist, one who by dauntless courage, at a time when M. Poincaré is in the ascendant, has effectively contributed to a sense of peace in our time, has failed to induce Mr. Kellogg to renounce war with France. It is true that most things go wrong. The commonsense of the matter, however, is that in spite of the latest big navy the world is moving in the direction of peace.

Few nations in the world's history ever had the opportunity that is now America's of serving mankind. Prosperity, however, is a more searching test of quality than adversity, and it is harder for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for nine out of ten rich men or nations to stand that test. Fortunately there is only one rich nation now, and it takes at least two to be dangerous. The United States comes into contact with the rest of the world's diplomacy chiefly when some pacific proposal is afoot, as when M. Briand proposes that the United States should undertake not to fight France, or when Great Britain and Japan propose that cruisers be limited to police needs. Although neither of those proposals has met with American sympathy, any more than has the League of Nations, yet circumstances forbid the making of any but pacific proposals, and perforce the United States has to discuss them or be silent.

The American Navy.

While Mr. Kellogg was proposing to the world that war should be outlawed, the United States Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Wilbur, was explaining to the Naval Committee of the House of Representatives the need for a much bigger navy. There seemed to be some lack of co-ordination in the coincidence of the two events. Mr. Wilbur gave it to the Committee as his emphatic conviction that "America needs a first-class Navy," and proceeded to quote the view of the General Board of the Navy as harmonising with his own, that Congress should be asked to authorise the new naval estimates. Those estimates provide for an expenditure of $725,000,000 (£145,000,000), the main object being to bring up the number of

cruisers in the American Navy to forty-three. Now it will be recalled that the insuperable difficulty that arose between the United States on the one side and Japan and Great Britain on the other at the three-Power naval conference last summer was that whereas the two latter wanted to limit the tonnage of individual cruisers and the size of their guns, America wanted to limit the total tonnage and to leave each party free to build within the global limit any size of cruiser it might choose. It was no secret that America wanted to build 10,000-ton cruisers with eight-inch guns. Such cruisers are of no use whatever except for war. By contrast Great Britain wanted to build smaller cruisers with smaller guns, such as are necessary for the policing of trade routes, but which in war are utterly useless against cruisers of 10,000 tons and eight-inch guns. The effect of the American proposal would have been to force Great Britain into a position of marked inferiority in fighting cruisers, for Great Britain would have to use her available total tonnage in the building of police cruisers. The total abolition of 10,000-ton cruisers carrying eight-inch guns would have no effect except to reduce the fighting power of the nations.

Yet the United States, not wanting police cruisers, held out for fighting cruisers. Why? The reason now given the world is Mr. Wilbur's statement made on January 11th of this year that "America needs a first-class Navy." He had the frankness to explain that owing to the limitations of the Washington Naval Treaty (!) the new cruisers provided for in the estimates would be limited to 10,000 tons displacement and to carrying eight-inch guns, the naïve implication being that America wanted cruisers of the maximum size. He explained, lest there should be any misapprehension about what constitutes a first-class navy, that the twenty-five new cruisers provided for would be in addition to the eight 10,000-ton cruisers and the ten 7,500-ton cruisers already built, making the grand total of forty-three cruisers. He added that moreover five new aircraft carriers of 13,000 tons each would probably be built.

Mr. Wilbur proceeded to give an almost unrecognisable account of what happened at Geneva last June. Starting from the premise that the United States "needed" 600,000 tons of cruisers, he went on in effect to say: "Our original proposal at Geneva was for a cruiser tonnage of about 300,000 tons, which is actually less than we felt was necessary for our fleet. We were, however, willing to accept the hazard of building less tonnage than we needed, if other Powers would accept similar hazards. Great Britain was not ready to accept this limitation, but felt that a larger tonnage in cruisers was imperative for the protection of her national interests. The insistence of Great Britain's naval experts and delegates at Geneva

upon her absolute need for a larger tonnage in cruisers, regardless of the naval programmes of other Powers, is the most persuasive evidence that we also have a definite need for a certain cruiser tonnage, regardless of the programmes of other Powers, if we are to have a well-rounded fleet for our defence, and also that such a programme for us is in no sense competitive. A programme of twenty-five cruisers, five aircraft carriers, nine destroyer leaders, and thirty-two submarines is in no way competitive, but is based upon the needs of the U.S. Navy, as determined by technical advice."

He therein entirely forgot or ignored the whole point of the British contention at Geneva, which was that a differentiation should be made between fighting cruisers and police cruisers, that Great Britain would accept any limitation whatever in fighting cruisers and parity in the other class based on the needs of whichever nation needed most for the protection of trade routes. There is a melancholy contrast between what Mr. Wilbur said in January, 1928, and what was said on the same subject in January, 1927, by Mr. French, Chairman of the United States House Naval Committee. Mr. French, in presenting the American naval estimates in the House of Representatives a year ago, made a sympathetic and informed reference to the difference between American and British naval needs. " The people of Great Britain," he said, " depend, and must depend, upon the outside world. Their dependency is for food, it is for clothing, it is for structural material, it is for fuel, and especially fuel oil. Great Britain must maintain open to her ships the lanes of the sea. To do this Great Britain must have naval bases, and Great Britain, more than the United States, is in need of types of ships such as cruisers that are swift and of the widest radius of action."

America is a paradox. At a time when Mr. Kellogg expresses the vague aspiration of large masses of individual Americans to do something fine in the world, his colleague, the Secretary of the Navy, advocates something that not only aims at something different, but is unnecessary. In the speech he made on January 11th, Mr. Wilbur somewhat lamely admitted that the President of the United States was opposed to competitive building, and that Congress had also shown its unwillingness to embark on competitive programmes. " We do not ask you " (he said) " to build a certain number of tons of each type of vessel for the reason that Great Britain has that number, or because to do so would bring us up to parity with Great Britain. Nor do we ask you to construct a certain amount of tonnage in order to be on a five-three ratio with Japan. In the opinion of the Naval Board, the programme, if carried out, would create a properly constituted fleet, and would furnish sufficient strength to ensure protection of the rights of American citizens under international law, to protect commerce, to preserve the ocean trade routes, and to provide for adequate national defence."

Defence against what? He did not specify. He submitted that trade was helped " by the prestige which up-to-date and smart modern cruisers create and foster." Mr. Wilbur's adjectives are worth looking at : a " first-class " navy ; a " well-rounded " fleet ; " up-to-date " and " smart " modern cruisers. Could not budget surpluses be spent on equally ostentatious, but less controversial, luxuries than smart up-to-date cruisers?

The Briand Pact for America.

In June last M. Briand submitted to the American Ambassador in Paris, for transmission to Mr. Kellogg, the draft of a proposed treaty entitled " Draft of Pact of Perpetual Friendship between France and the United States." There were no doubt minor motives in M. Briand's mind, as there always are minor as well as major motives in the closely-woven fabric of French diplomacy. M. Briand's main motive, however, was to obtain from the United States an undertaking never to go to war in any circumstances whatever against France. That was an excellent experiment on M. Briand's part. Any nation would welcome an unconditional undertaking by the United States never to go to war. M. Briand decided to " try it on." His proposal was that the two Powers should solemnly declare, in the name of their peoples, that they condemn war, renounce it as an instrument of their national policy towards each other, and agree that the settlement of disputes arising between them, of whatsoever nature or origin, should never be sought by either party except through pacific means.

That was his proposal. It was simple and straightforward. If accepted, it would make arbitration the final and only method of quarrel between the two countries. Could America refuse? It is difficult to imagine that any country can refuse to give up its right to make war, if reciprocally proposed by any other country. Yet these difficult things have a way of becoming easy in diplomacy. Great Britain, for instance, refuses to renounce her right to make war on Switzerland, although ingenuity could hardly devise a cause of war between the two countries.

Mr. Kellogg delayed answering M. Briand's proposal for six months. It was obvious that if slaughter was to be abandoned as a diplomatic instrument, some other diplomatic instrument must take its place. Arbitration was the only alternative. It happened that the United States, like Great Britain, had always adopted a certain formula in her existing arbitration treaties, which excluded from the arbitral field all questions affecting " national honour " or " vital interests." An Arbitration Treaty subject to such a limitation may

lead to some result in international relations, but it certainly cannot lead to arbitration about any question serious enough to threaten war. For war is invariably declared as a result of something affecting a nation's vital interests or its honour, whether reasonably conceived or not. For Mr. Kellogg the general question of arbitration took on an urgent aspect because the existing arbitration treaties between the United States and other chief Powers, including France, Japan, and Great Britain, fell due for renewal in 1928. The treaty with France was to fall due for renewal on February 27th, 1928.

Towards the end of December Mr. Kellogg made his move. He proposed that the existing (1908) treaty of arbitration with France be renewed in a revised form, in which the so-called "Root" reservation of questions affecting national honour and vital interest be dropped, and instead arbitration be enthroned for all questions except those affecting (1) domestic matters, (2) the Monroe doctrine, (3) third parties. That proposal was interesting because it made a clear advance towards real and effective arbitration. It was at once and naturally assumed that if France accepted the proposal and the new type of arbitration treaty were signed between France and the United States, the other treaties of arbitration with the United States would have to be revised in the like sense. London was therefore closely interested.

There are two treaties of arbitration in force between Great Britain and the United States, the "Root" treaty of 1908 and the "Bryan" treaty of 1914. The 1908 treaty was signed at Washington by Mr. James Bryce for Great Britain and by Mr. Elihu Root for the United States, its main provisions being that the Hague Court of Arbitration (1899) should be invited to settle all legal disputes or those relating to the interpretation of treaties provided they did not affect "the vital interests, the independence, or the honour of the two contracting States, and do not concern the interests of third parties." That treaty is renewable every five years. It was renewed in 1913, 1918, 1923, and will fall due again for revision this year. The second was a Treaty of Conciliation signed by Sir Cecil Spring-Rice for Great Britain and by Mr. Bryan for the United States in September, 1914. It merely provided for the setting up of a Permanent International Commission whose competence would be to give advisory opinions about the settlement of any disputes that might arise between the two countries. By the only stroke of commonsense produced by that treaty, the said Commission was never set up at all. The irony was well deserved. By contrast the Kellogg proposal of December 28th did aim at some more convincing form of arbitration than had been allowed to operate between the Great Powers in the past.

Suddenly, without warning, Mr. Kellogg put an entirely new complexion on the negotiations. On January 5th there was published the text of a new Note which he handed to the French Ambassador in Washington the day before, which dropped all immediate reference to any specific form of arbitration treaty and instead suggested that the world at large should solemnly outlaw war. The Note began by recalling M. Briand's proposal of June, 1927, and after some expression of vague harmony with M. Briand's motives the Note continued thus:

"The Government of the United States welcomes every opportunity for joining with the other Governments of the world in condemning war and pledging anew its faith in arbitration. It is firmly of the opinion that every international endorsement of arbitration, and every treaty repudiating the idea of a resort to arms for the settlement of justiciable disputes, materially advances the cause of world peace. My views on this subject find a concrete expression in the form of the arbitration treaty which I have proposed in my note to you of December 28th, 1927, to take the place of the arbitration convention of 1908. The proposed treaty extends the scope of that convention, and records the unmistakable determination of the two Governments to prevent any breach in the friendly relations which have subsisted between them for so long a period. In view of the traditional friendship between France and the United States, a friendship which, happily, is not dependent upon the existence of any formal engagement—and in view of the common desire of the two nations never to resort to arms in the settlement of such controversies as may possibly arise between them, which is recorded in the draft arbitration treaty just referred to—it has occurred to me that the two Governments, instead of contenting themselves with a bilateral declaration of the nature suggested by M. Briand, might make a more signal contribution to world peace by joining in an effort to obtain the adherence of all of the principal Powers of the world to a declaration renouncing war as an instrument of national policy. Such a declaration, if executed by the principal world Powers, could not but be an impressive example to all the other nations of the world, and might conceivably lead such nations to subscribe, in their turn, to the same instrument, thus perfecting among all the Powers of the world an arrangement heretofore suggested only as between France and the United States. The Government of the United States is prepared, therefore, to concert with the Government of France with a view to the conclusion of a treaty among the principal Powers of the world, open to signature by all as an instrument of national policy in favour of the pacific settlement of international disputes. If the Government of France

is willing to join with the Government of the United States in this endeavour, and to enter with the United States and the other principal Powers of the world into an appropriate multilateral treaty, I shall be happy to engage at once in conversation, looking to the preparation of a draft treaty following the lines suggested by M. Briand for submission by France and the United States jointly to the other nations of the world."

It would not be unfair to say that London as well as Paris was taken by surprise. Instead of a proposal for something concrete, new and advanced in the practice of diplomacy, Mr. Kellogg had suddenly plunged into an old story. The freshness with which he approached it was perhaps understandable because the United States, having disinterested herself in European affairs since 1919, took little account of the fact that European opinion had been closely exercised by this question for the past eight years. It was perhaps a matter for satisfaction that the United States had now reached the point in political philosophy that was reached by Europe just after the war. Mr. Kellogg now contemplated what Mr. Benesh first proposed and what Mr. Lloyd George proposed at Genoa in April, 1922. It was then ineffective because the United States refrained from participating in the solemn declaration made by all the other chief nations, including Russia and Germany. Mr. Kellogg's purpose would be fully met—perhaps too fully met—by the United States signing the Covenant of the League, but realist people are prepared at any time sympathetically to consider an alternative covenant initiated from Washington, unnecessary as it might be in the view of the existing Covenant. It is true that the United States Senate had not debated the Kellogg proposal of December 28th, and that there are questions of unpaid American debts about which the Senate might by some people be expected to be sensitive and cautious. The thinness of the Senatorial ice was made thinner by the undisguised hope nourished in some French quarters that the famous case of the unpaid Beaumarchais Loan might, as a result of the contemplated treaty, be made a subject of arbitration, and that the proceeds might easily exceed the total present indebtedness of France to the United States. Moreover, the Senate's attitude to treaties of arbitration or to any treaties involving a limitation of its own powers can never be taken for granted. In 1912 Sir Edward Grey proposed to the United States Government a new and advanced type of arbitration treaty which that Government accepted. The Senate rejected it, as it had rejected a similar proposal for an Anglo-American arbitration treaty in 1897.

Clearly, however, Mr. Kellogg's Note of January 5th was not dictated by fear of the Senate. He had changed his own ground. He had one refreshing effect, namely that he revived in an elemental

form some of the commonplace discussion about war and peace such as led to the Geneva Covenant after the Great War. There were those who pointed out that the Kellogg idea differed from the Covenant of the League because the Covenant prescribes sanctions, and attempts to outlaw war by the very sanction of war. That again is an old subject of discussion. Those who are familiar with the post-war study of this question at Geneva and elsewhere regard any attempt at a simple outlawry of war as an unpractical dream. It is obvious that the nations of the world could send their representatives to Geneva, to Washington or to any available other spot, and that those representatives could stand solemnly in some central place and pronounce the outlawry of war. But what in practice would be the value of it? If a declaration of the outlawry of war were to be made a matter of practical policy an alternative to war would have to be operative. In the analogous case of national life it would have been useless in the days of highway robbery for a number of prominent citizens earnestly to declare the outlawry of highway robbery. Highway robbery was, in fact, outlawed when an effective system of law succeeded by the method of penalties in making highway robbery impossible. War will be outlawed when international law provides an effective sanction against it. The best means so far available for providing the necessary sanction is the Geneva League of Nations. Its chief limitation is the aloofness of the United States. The most effective immediate thing Mr. Kellogg could do to give substance to his own ideal would be to induce the United States to become a member of the League of Nations.

That, however, is out of the question. It was therefore left to M. Briand to keep Mr. Kellogg's ball rolling. London officially had no standing in the argument, Mr. Kellogg's Note being sent to London only for information. It was a Note addressed to M. Briand to suggest that France and the United States should call the world to peace. M. Briand answered Mr. Kellogg promptly and with the far-sighted patience which is a chief element in the reputation he has made for consistent statesmanship. Some day M. Briand's fine work, performed without limelight, will be given its due recognition. Mr. Kellogg had made an embarrassing proposal. No doubt M. Briand saw, as all clear-headed people saw, that other things being equal it is always best to take off one's hat to the United States. In this case other things were not equal. It may be argued that as the United States will have none of the present League of Nations, that League should be disbanded and a new League formed in conformity with the undoubted ambition of many Americans to be the pivot of an alternative league. Commonsense, however, would be against the destruction of something real in

exchange for something hypothetical, no matter how alluring the hypothetical thing might be.

M. Briand answered Mr. Kellogg's Note of January 4th on the following day : " In the opinion," he wrote, " of your Excellency the two Governments would contribute more effectively to the peace of the world if, instead of confining themselves to a bilateral agreement, they made a joint effort to obtain the participation of all the principal Powers of the world in a declaration by which war should be renounced as an instrument of their national policy. Such a declaration, if it were subscribed to by all the principal Powers, would not fail to be a solemn example to all the nations of the world, and undoubtedly might lead them in their turn to subscribe to the same declaration and thus to bring about between all the Powers of the world an agreement which has hitherto been proposed only between France and the United States. Your Excellency added that if the Government of the Republic consented to join the United States Government in such action, and to subscribe with the United States and the other principal Powers of the world to the appropriate multilateral agreement, your Excellency would be happy immediately to begin conversations with a view to the preparation of a draft treaty which would be inspired by the suggestions of M. Briand and would be submitted jointly by France and the United States to the other nations of the world. The Government of the Republic has deeply appreciated the favourable reception of M. Briand's proposal by the United States Government. It considers that the procedure suggested by your Excellency, if carried out in terms corresponding to the public opinion and the popular sentiments of the nations concerned, is well calculated to meet the views of the French Government. It would be an advantage to confirm that procedure by the immediate signatures of France and the United States. I am authorised to inform you that the Government of the Republic is ready to join with the United States Government in submitting for the approval of all nations an agreement which shall be signed beforehand by France and the United States and by the terms of which the high contracting parties shall bind themselves to refrain from any war of aggression and shall declare that they will have recourse, for the settlement of disputes of whatever nature, which may arise between them, to all possible pacific means. The high contracting parties would undertake to bring this agreement to the notice of all other States and to invite them to subscribe to it. . . ."

That answer was a clever piece of diplomacy. By qualifying the type of war to be outlawed as war of aggression he safeguarded the essential obligations of the signatories of the League Covenant. Mr. Kellogg promptly (January 13th) re-acted uncomfortably, for any

suggestion of loyalty to the League of Nations seems to sting American feeling. " While the Government of France and the Government of the United States (he wrote) are now closely in accord so far as the multilateral treaty is concerned, the language of M. Briand's Note of January 5th, 1928, is in two respects open to an interpretation not in harmony with the idea which the Government of the United States had in mind when it submitted to you the proposition outlined in my Note of December 28th, 1927. In the first place, it appears to be the thought of your Government that the proposed multilateral treaty be signed in the first instance by France and the United States alone, and then submitted to the other Powers for their acceptance. In the opinion of the Government of the United States this procedure is open to the objection that a treaty, even though acceptable to France and the United States, might for some reason be unacceptable to one of the other great Powers. In such event the treaty could not come into force, and the present efforts of France and the United States would be rendered abortive. . . . In the second place—and this point is closely related to what goes before—M. Briand's reply of January 5th, 1928, in expressing the willingness of the Government of France to join with the Government of the United States in proposing a multilateral treaty for the renunciation of war, apparently contemplates that the scope of such treaty should be limited to wars of aggression. The form of treaty which your Government submitted to me last June, which was the subject of my Note of December 28th, 1927, contained no such qualification. On the contrary, it provided unequivocally for the renunciation by the High Contracting Powers of all war as an instrument of national policy in the following terms : ' Article 1. The High Contracting Powers solemnly declare, in the name of the French people and the people of the United States of America, that they condemn recourse to war, and renounce it respectively as an instrument of their national policy towards each other. Article 2. The settlement or the solution of all disputes or conflicts, of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise between France and the United States of America shall never be sought by either side except by pacific means.' I am not informed of the reasons which have led your Government to suggest this modification of its original proposal, but I earnestly hope that it is of no particular significance, and that it is not to be taken as an indication that the Government of France will find itself unable to join with the Government of the United States in proposing, as suggested above, that the original formula submitted by M. Briand, which envisaged the unqualified renunciation of all war as an instrument of national policy, be made the subject of preliminary discussions with the other Great Powers

for the purpose of reaching a tentative agreement as to the language to be used in the proposed treaty. If your Government is agreeable to the plan outlined above, and is willing that the further discussions of the terms of the proposed multilateral treaty be based upon the original proposal submitted by M. Briand last June, I have the honour to suggest that the Government of France join with the Government of the United States in a communication to the British, German, Italian, and Japanese Governments, transmitting the text of M. Briand's original proposal and copies of the subsequent correspondence between the Governments of France and the United States for their consideration and comment; it being understood, of course, that these preliminary discussions would in no way commit any of the participating Governments pending the conclusion of a definitive treaty."

M. Briand was understood to be preparing a further Note when this paper was written; but most of the practical interest of the negotiations had by now evaporated.

The Scope of the League.

The renewed attempt of the United States to replace the existing League of Nations by a new league of American origin—for there seems little room for doubt that such was Mr. Kellogg's conscious or sub-conscious object—was partly due to American ignorance of what the existing League is doing. When the League started functioning on January 10th, 1920, few could have expected that within eight years it would have become a working organisation offering a practical alternative to war as a method of settling international disputes. That it is imperfect is neither here nor there. No human organisation, not even a League of Nations enlarged and strengthened by American participation or a new league initiated from Washington, could ever be perfect. The existing League, even without America, has in eight years come to be taken for granted. Its work and scope increase every year. What was done in the eighth completed year of its work, ending on January 10th of this year, was typical and impressive. During the year there took place the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly, the five ordinary sessions of the Council, five international conferences, and hundreds of meetings of committees and sub-committees. Not a week in the whole year passed without a meeting of statesmen, officials or experts summoned to Geneva or to some other meeting-place in Europe, the Far East, or Latin America. There are fifty-five States members of the League. Forty-nine of them were represented at the Assembly, an average of forty of them worked in the various conferences. Fifty countries took part in the Economic Conference. In the technical work of the League even the United States played

a part, as did other non-member States, including Russia, Turkey, Egypt, Ecuador and the Argentine. It is not certain at the moment whether the Argentine is a member of the League or not. Mexico made her first appearance at Geneva by attending the meetings of the Economic Conference. One of the features of the year was the growing interest of non-member States in the work of the League. Another feature was the number of Foreign Ministers who personally represented their Governments at League meetings. No longer are League affairs regarded as the province of a minor Minister. The Council now includes seven Foreign Ministers; the last Assembly was attended by two Chiefs of State, two Prime Ministers, and more than twenty Foreign Ministers, all acting as the first delegates of their countries.

The work of the Eighth Assembly was measurably more important than that of any of its forerunners. The Council's report presented to it, giving an account of the year's work, called for six days of debate ranging over such first-rate questions as the progress of arbitration and security, the reduction of armaments, the codification of international law, the methods of the Council's procedure as international pacifier. Thirty delegates spoke in that debate, including all the Foreign Ministers aforementioned. The League's chief effect was felt in its work on the economic condition of the world as a factor of international peace and on disarmament. Already the League has a solid record of achievement in the financial recovery of Europe from the effects of the war. The attempt made last year to remove some of the more obstinate economic obstacles to recovery was a natural development after the financial achievement. The first financial conference summoned by the League was the Brussels Conference of 1920, which propounded financial principles since used by several Finance Ministers and by the authors of the Dawes Scheme—in which American financial interests are closely involved. No American banker or financier would deny that America's financial interests have been served by the League's work in Europe. Any capitalist is interested in the success of his investments. The tottering States of Europe have been helped by international loans to the aggregate amount of nearly £70,000,000, all raised via Geneva.

In addition to the two main provinces of work, that of the Economic Conference and that of the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament, the League's work covered an interesting range of minor activities. In the codification of international law the Committee of Experts finished the first part of its work, and the Assembly was able to arrange for the summoning of the first Codification Conference in 1929. The League Technical Organisations concurrently did important work in unifying the law and drawing up conventions in

innumerable matters affecting international trade, finance, imports, exports, navigation and what not. The Permanent Court of International Justice, whose last session extended over six months, adjudicated on several important matters including the " Lotus " case and the competence of the European Commission of the Danube. Germany and Guatemala signed the " Optional Clause " for compulsory arbitration. The Statute of the Court is now signed by fifty-two States, the " Optional Clause " by twenty-seven.

The League's political activity was a matter largely of routine. Article XI of the Covenant was invoked on only two occasions, once in the Hungarian-Rumanian, the other time in the Lithuanian-Polish, dispute. Germany submitted a question about Lithuania's alleged violation of Memel autonomy; Greece asked for an interpretation of one point in the peace treaty; Great Britain communicated a memorandum about China. One question of Minorities was considered, that of the minority schools in Polish Upper Siberia. Among administrative questions raised were those relating to the Saar, the Free City of Danzig, and mandatory reports from Iraq and Syria. In finance and economics, financial schemes were proposed for Danzig, Estonia, Bulgaria and Portugal, and for the continuation of refugee work in Greece and in Bulgaria. The loans authorised were 40,000,000 gulden for Danzig, £1,350,000 for Estonia, £9,000,000 for Greece. The Transit Organisation held its Third General Conference. The Health Organisation sent a mission to Latin America, received an invitation from the International Conference of the Pacific to explore health problems in the Pacific countries, convened an International Rabies Conference, opened international public health courses in London and in Paris. The organisation for Intellectual Co-operation—a silly name—did some work, but it is difficult to feel excited. A conference of press experts was held at which some of the chief problems arising from the international aspect of newspaper work were considered. In humanitarian work the chief accomplishment was the setting up of an International Union for the Relief of Populations smitten by Disaster. The Committee on the Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs continued to function, but its work is controversial. There is a danger that the League of Nations may attempt too much. Moral questions are doubtful fields of activity for political organisations. During the year a report was compiled on the traffic in women, and work was done on child welfare and refugees.

That bare summary of the various fields of the League's activity will at any rate show that confidence in the League is growing, and that an increasing amount of work is referred to Geneva. American official opinion is not well informed about the League of Nations.

Mr. Parker Gilbert and Germany.

The Agent-General for Reparation Payments has issued a report which, if its general value be controversial, at any rate shows that the United States maintains a keen interest in the Dawes Plan. When on July 16th, 1924, at the opening of the London Conference which adopted the Dawes Plan, Colonel Logan announced that the United States Government had decided to be represented on the Reparation Conference in the event of a German default having to be considered, the adoption of that Plan was assured. The security of the loan which was to form an essential part of the Plan might now be taken for granted, for the richest nation on earth was now fully committed to preventing Germany from wriggling and France from intriguing. Those who assessed the importance of July 16th, 1924, as decisive have been proved overwhelmingly right. American opinion has taken a keen interest in the working success of the Dawes Plan. Mr. Parker Gilbert, the American Agent-General for Reparation Payments, is an enthusiast. On December 10th last in Berlin and on December 23rd in London there was made available his report on the working of the Plan in the third annuity year. The year began on September 1st, 1926, and ended on August 31st, 1927. While he was drawing up the report, and before he presented it, he became possessed of some serious misgiving about the use Germany was making of the proceeds of the loan. In October, 1927, he addressed a Memorandum to the German Government to call attention to certain circumstances which caused him concern. He criticised in detail some of the tendencies in Germany's financial policy which he regarded as likely to damage German credit. " The mounting expenditure and borrowings," he said, " of the public authorities coincided with increasing evidences of over-expansion and over-stimulation of internal activity and with growing signs of tension in economic life." The German Government had a good answer, the details of which need hardly be recalled. Mr. Gilbert succeeded, however, in stirring up public interest in the whole question of the Dawes Plan so that when at the end of the year his report was published it attracted considerable attention, the more so because he ended the report with a certain highly contentious suggestion " off his own bat." He suggested that the amount of Germany's total liabilities should be finally fixed. The merits of that suggestion were of less immediate moment than the indication it gave of the lengths to which individual enthusiasm on the part of an American official can divorce itself from official American policy. M. Poincaré with unconscious irony—M. Poincaré's irony is always unconscious—promptly reminded the world and in particular the United States that Germany's total liability was fixed by

the Treaty of Versailles, in which the United States had steadily refused to take an interest. Moreover there was a commonplace connection between German reparations and inter-allied debts which the United States had also likewise refused to recognise. " It becomes always clearer," wrote Mr. Parker Gilbert, " that neither the reparation problem, nor the other problems depending on it, will be finally solved until Germany has been given a definite task to perform on her own responsibility, without foreign supervision and without transfer protection."

Most people who have retained their commonsense agree with that simple proposition of Mr. Parker Gilbert's. While French opinion joyfully shouted for the " astronomical " myth of 1919, British opinion was stubbornly and wearily silent. The unending grinding of the British taxpayer between the nether millstone of France and the upper millstone of the United States is not eased by Mr. Parker Gilbert's inconsistencies. Mr. Gilbert's very long and detailed report, leading up to his point about the monstrous incubus of the prevailing network of debt, reads as if it were making some new contribution to the subject. Yet, ever since the Balfour Note of 1921, Great Britain has been patiently crying " Cancel the lot!" As the Agent-General's report revealed, the United States received 107,458,000 gold marks from Germany's payments in the year under review. Out of the cash transferred a special priority is allotted to the United States, up to 50,000,000 gold marks a year, until her outstanding claim for army costs in arrears is discharged. It used to be part of the stock-in-trade of American post-war propaganda that the United States was not interested in German reparations. " When France and Italy," said Mr. Churchill on March 25th, 1926, " have funded their debts . . . it is clear that the United States will be receiving . . . 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." Mr. Parker Gilbert's whole anxiety would be allayed by America's acceptance of the standing British offer to cancel all these debts. It would have been more to his own purpose if instead of lecturing Berlin he had lectured Washington.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

January 15th, 1928.

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LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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AN EVENTFUL LIFE.*

No living Englishman has seen more of the world during the last half century than Sir Valentine Chirol, and no recent autobiography surpasses his latest work in interest. He tells us his story with admirable clearness and commendable modesty, and several of his chapters are important contributions to history. Moreover he is no less successful in his portraits of the innumerable celebrities he has met than in his analysis of political situations and diplomatic relationships.

The story opens with the Paris Commune of 1871, of which the lad of nineteen was a fearless spectator. The scene then shifts to Egypt in 1876, when the spendthrift Ismail was nearing the end of his disastrous reign and his long-suffering subjects were writhing under his heel. Sir Valentine is thoroughly at home in the Valley of the Nile, which he has visited at frequent intervals for half a century and to which he has devoted one of the best of his books. In these chapters we witness the triumph of Lord Cromer, to which the rebel patriot Arabi lived to do justice; but we witness also what our author calls the deterioration of the quality of British control after the departure of the great Proconsul, and the costly errors of policy after the World War. In addition to Cromer himself we are introduced to Nubar Pasha, Gordon, Kitchener, and a whole series of Khedives, good, bad, and indifferent.

* *Fifty Years in a Changing World.* By Sir Valentine Chirol. Jonathan Cape. 16s.

Passing to other portions of the Ottoman Empire more directly under the control of Constantinople, Sir Valentine describes Syria in the early eighties, where he renewed acquaintance with Laurence Oliphant, who " fascinated me as no one else I have ever known." Of Turkey and its government under Abdul Hamid he has the lowest opinion. " When one has been in Turkey and crossed the frontier into any of the Balkan States, no prejudice could blind one to the immediate change from the dead weight of Turkish stagnation into a more vital atmosphere, instinct at least with freedom and progress, and with intense, if often dangerously passionate and impatient, patriotism." The author knew the first two rulers of Bulgaria, and accompanied Prince Alexander on his last sad journey when he had received notice to quit from the implacable despot Alexander III. The difference between the first and the second rulers of Bulgaria was aptly defined in a reply of Ferdinand to our author's observation that Prince Alexander's greatest qualities were " des qualités de cœur plutôt que de tête." " Eh bien, monsieur," replied Ferdinand, " l'histoire ne dira pas cela de moi." Equally vivid is the portrait of Ferdinand's victim, the sturdy patriot, Stambuloff.

Sir Valentine's narrative of his first visit to Persia in 1884 reveals even lower depths of corruption and incompetence than in Turkey, and on his return in 1902 the situation was still worse, for Russia was exploiting the hapless country for her own ambitious purposes. Passing to the Far East we are introduced to China and Li Hung Chang, to Japan and Prince Ito, and to the decaying realm of Korea. A long talk with Roosevelt at Washington in the early days of the Russo-Japanese war reveals that voluble statesman flatly contradicting himself in the course of a single morning. The chapters on India are written with the knowledge and insight which make the author's three volumes on that country political classics. It was the experience gained by his membership of the Indian Public Services Commission on the eve of the World War which " gradually modified the unquestioning confidence I had formerly shared in the impeccability of the old system, and tended to convert me to the general spirit, if not to all the actual details, of the reforms introduced to meet the vastly changed conditions that had arisen in India, and indeed all the world over, out of the Great War."

In the closing chapters of this tightly packed volume we return to Europe. A chapter on Berlin in the early days of William II recalls the experiences of the author during his years as Berlin correspondent of *The Times,* and the chapter " On the road to Armageddon " describes later conversations of high political significance with the slippery Bülow and the mysterious Holstein on Anglo-German relations. With the coming of the World War the

author, who had resigned his influential position as Foreign Editor of *The Times* in 1912, was despatched on a semi-official mission to the Balkans in 1915, when emissaries of both sides were flocking to Sofia to bribe, threaten and cajole the crafty Ferdinand, on whose decision the fortunes of the struggle in the Near East appeared to turn. The chapter describing this fruitless enterprise is, for the historian, the most valuable in the book. A glance at Paris during the Peace Conference ends this political odyssey, which no student of recent history and world politics can afford to neglect.

G.P.G.

* * *

THE SILVER AGE.*

Professor Wight Duff has rendered a real service not only to the educated public but to scholars in the publication of this study of Latin literature during the century and a quarter from the beginning of the reign of Tiberius to the end of the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 14-138). The work, scholarly, judicial and living, is a continuation of Professor Duff's well-known *Literary History of Rome from the Origins to the Close of the Golden Age* which appeared in 1909. In both volumes emphasis is laid on " the national character imprinted upon Latin literature despite all borrowings from Greek models." Roman literature is indeed as definitely national as British literature. In the latter case borrowings have been on a gigantic scale, but from the days of Gower, or indeed of the great Saxon poets, it is national through and through. The Romans borrowed much from Greece, but the transformation was complete.

The Silver Age of literary Rome was a lineal and legitimate successor of the Golden Age, but its writers reflected the artificial environment of an epoch when the consolidation of Empire and the precision of administration was coupled with bloody tyranny and the advent of the new rich. Old Rome had almost definitely disappeared and the freedom of the Republican days had failed before the efficiency of the Principate. Rhetoric, with all its unrealities, had come to stay as an educational force, and the wonder is that the Silver Age was able to display the learning and the genius that has made it scarcely less famous than the age of Horace, Cicero and Virgil. The Golden Age indeed could not have produced men like Petronius, Martial, Tacitus and Juvenal, writers of genius who moulded the disabilities of their time to the revelation of their astounding gifts. The elder and perhaps the younger Seneca, Persius, and perhaps the elder Pliny, seem to link up the Silver Age

* *A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age From Tiberius to Hadrian.* By J. Wight Duff. T. Fisher Unwin. 21s. net.

with something other and more massive than itself, while Tacitus scarcely belongs to any age, a man apart who looks down from an Olympian height on the meanness and the greatness of an epoch that seems to him to be dissolving beneath his glance.

The strange thing of the Silver Age and a tribute to its essential greatness is the fashion in which later ages have echoed it. Did not Curtius show something of the road to the mediæval historical romancers, did not Phædrus give something to the late seventeenth century; has not Petronius been the *elegantiæ arbiter* of men nobler than Nero, and the father of the great European and not least the great Spanish novelists; did not Seneca the Philosopher, of all men, influence the predecessors of Shakespeare; has not the deep influence of the young and noble Persius run through the minds of men since he died on the Appian Way in November, A.D. 62; has not Quintilian dominated the processes of European education for more than eighteen hundred years; and did not Martial complete for all time the form of the epigram that Simonides of Ceos invented?

In some ways a Silver world owes perhaps more to the Silver than to the Golden Age, despite the facts that Virgil was rightly deified and Cicero dominated the Renaissance. There are political parallels again and again in European history to the period of the Silver Age, an epoch which was apparently moribund despite the great period that was to follow. The Silver Age was a complex period so far as the population of Rome was concerned. It was an age in that respect which many a mediæval and renaissance and modern city was to reflect, and the literature of the Silver Age had necessarily direct influence on literary forms and, indeed, literary aspirations. We know, as Professor Wight Duff makes clear, a great deal of the inner history of that age in Rome, and we see quite plainly that it laid the foundations of many of our modern institutions. It gave us our educational organisation, it invented or rather expanded the encyclopædic method of knowledge; it made literary art a national possession in an age of tyranny and bequeathed that art in an infinite number of forms to all posterity. It brought into a living force the voice of provincial Rome as well as the purest religious forces that underlay an apparently corrupt and hopeless period.

> The wonderful variety of the Silver literature depends on the intermingling of such currents of influence, old and new. Tradition and inheritance, both Greek and Roman, operate side by side with fresh problems and interests. It was no age of stagnation . . . the Silver Age does, by a natural process of literary evolution continue tendencies already present in Augustan times. There is in Horace an artificiality which in some measure anticipates Persius and Statius; there are in Ovid ingenuities prophetic of Seneca and Lucan; and in Sallust and Livy aspects of prose which foreshadow Tacitus. There was no violent break; but in time, if only by reason of a gradual and apparently cyclic exhaustion of genius, the changes become too obvious to miss. . . . The main clue to the literary qualities of Silver Latin is to be found in education, and particularly in rhetorical education.

The Silver Age has lessons for us. We seem to-day to be at the tail-end of a Silver Age, and much depends on education: are we to drift into literary decadence or are we to come again into a Golden Age? It is possible in these lucid pages to study the causes that made the Silver Age possible and ensured its decay. History does not repeat itself, but there are lessons and principles to be learnt from history, and especially the history of a great literary epoch. That is one of the chief values of Professor Wight Duff's learned and detailed work. It points lessons without urging them, and from that point of view those who are concerned about the future of English literature should closely study it.

J.E.G. DE M.

* * *

MUSCLES AND NERVES.*

This remarkable and delightful book, though delivered to the so-called "juvenile auditory" at the Royal Institution, can hardly be called a book for children. To be frank, it is stiff reading, though Professor A. V. Hill's own children played their part as experimental subjects with "unfailing zeal and co-operation." Professor Hill first showed his audience the way in which a nerve works, and went on to show or explain, "so far as it is possible at present, the way in which the parts of the body *work*." The growth of the body is another form of work, but this is only dealt with as illustrating regeneration and recovery from injury. The reader is given some definitions to work from. What is a nerve-cell, what is nerve-fibre, what is a nerve? Those sad persons who are suffering from "nerves" should study this chapter of definitions. A nerve is an objective thing made up of hundreds of long and very fine fibres "each about one-tenth as thick as a human hair." Each fibre runs "the whole way along the nerve, from the place where it starts inside the spinal column to the place where it ends in the muscle or on the surface of the body." Each fibre is a branch of a living cell in the spinal cord or in its complex continuation inside the skull.

> These nerve cells communicate with each other in all directions: they receive and transmit messages from the outside or the inside; they send messages to the muscles, along the nerve fibres which form part of them; they are separate living things, but they dwell in very close community with one another and go to make up the army of cells which we know as an "animal" . . . in a nerve,

* *Living Machinery: Six Lectures delivered before a "juvenile auditory" at the Royal Institution, Christmas*, 1926. By A. V. Hill. G. Bell & Sons. 7s. 6d. net.

> a wave travels, but a wave of nothing material, just a *wave of change* occurring in the substance of the nerve. . . . These nerve-fibres are arranged in just the same way as the wires of a telephone system, and each little muscle-fibre, each little sensory organ by which we feel is connected with its own nerve-fibre, just as we in our houses are supplied each with a single telephone line. Fig. 2, for example, shows certain end-organs in the skin, each connected to its own nerve-fibre, and the various sensations that they arouse . . . in general, each kind of stimulus excites only its particular end-organ. If it be excessive it may excite others . . . every part of the body is not *directly* connected to every other part, just as subscribers are not all *directly* connected together by their telephone wires; there is a system of " exchanges " by which any subscriber can be put through to any other. In the case of the body these " exchanges " are in what we call the " nervous system "—that is, in the brain and spinal cord . . . the cord is made up of two parts—an inner portion of " grey " matter, which consists of the nerve-cells, and an outer portion of white matter, which consists of the nerve-fibres running up and down. Messages are transmitted in the outer " white " portion; the " exchanges " are in the inner " grey " portion.

A flash of light strikes the eye, the white nerve-fibre carries the impulse, or wave of electro-chemical change, still imperfectly understood, to the series of exchanges, and " in a few thousandths of a second " the muscle is rung up that makes the eye blink. The gradual development and improvement of these exchanges

> " have led finally to the human nervous system and the human brain, which are the most complicated, beautiful and wonderful objects in the world. They are still largely automatic, like the automatic telephones, but they have come to possess, in the course of evolution, other faculties more complicated, more admirable, and more important than simple automatic action, namely, consciousness, intelligence, and free will. All the same, however, they started as telephone exchanges, and it would be a bad day for us if they ceased to possess the power of doing most things automatically, without needing orders or asking advice.

Perhaps, without venturing to argue with Professor Hill, it may be suggested that these amazing exchanges have constructed a home for Personality, in which self-consciousness and intelligence have become possible in very limited surroundings, and that the exchanges are not the sources or creative forces of Personality or of Free Will. This view does not seem at all inconsistent with the scientific explanation of the living machinery of which Professor Hill is so outstanding an exponent. Suppose that a self-conscious Creative Force, external to the temporal series, wills that a Personality or an unlimited series of personalities endowed with free will should operate within the temporal series. In that event Personality could only operate through evolving machinery that could gradually, in accordance with the will to survive of each Personality, provide ever fuller means of self-manifestation.

The mysterious impulse carried to the muscle reminds us that " all our movements are carried out by means of muscles " which fall into two classes: those that can be and those that cannot be directed by the Will, and the latter " work our vital organs, such as our digestive apparatus." The heart muscle is *sui generis*. We cannot regulate it by our will, but it " responds very quickly to our needs and activities." It is, in fact, a pump circulating blood around the body. The muscle, the red meat, " consists of thousands of muscle-fibres," long, thin, jelly-like threads, and " lies inside a thin transparent covering which ends in the tendon by which it is connected to the bone, or other object, which it moves." Each fibre

> consists of a large number of fibrils lying in a semi-fluid medium, the " sarcoplasm," and bound together by the " sarcolemma " which surrounds the fibre. The fibrils are probably the actual units of the contractile machine. The mass of fibres is intersected in all directions by a maze of blood-vessels, which supply each individual fibre with the food and oxygen which it requires.

When a muscle is excited it is electrically active in the same way as a nerve. It is subject to fatigue, but the supply of blood is designed to avoid fatigue. The muscle is a chemical machine, but the dimensions of the machinery are molecular, and " it is this molecular smallness of the mechanism underlying all movements in animals which makes the problem so difficult." The machinery is chemical and it stores and uses glycogen for its work. Now glycogen is restored from sugar supplied by blood to the muscle fibre. But during the course of the work lactic acid is formed in the inside of the muscle-fibres, and this causes the fatigue which oxygen can remove.

These very efficient machines Professor Hill describes, and we see experiments which illustrate in an amazing way the theory of the machines. That there are still mysteries hid even from Professor Hill is true. Muscular stiffness has not yet been explained, but " I am fairly sure that embrocation, as such, will not cure it." Stiffness or soreness of any kind as the result of exercise does not affect a healthy man in training. But Professor Hill also confesses that he does not actually know what happens to the body in training and suggests, after indicating certain factors that may be at work, that some one should investigate the matter. He enters into the great subject of fatigue and the speed of the recovering process, a theme that has vast economic implications, and points out what is often forgotten, at any rate in some factories, that during long-continued exercise recovery is taking place all the time, and that if the process of work or exercise is to keep up recovery must be able to keep pace with the breakdown processes. In severe physical work

unduly prolonged rest-pauses are only waste of time. The main part of the recovery is complete in two or three minutes. What about mental work?

The living machine is never really at rest. It requires for its latent activities oxygen, energy and food. There is a normal oxygen consumption, and measurable work done consumes additional oxygen. In walking fast we save time but lose energy. Professor Hill, from his own case, finds that trotting a mile in eight or nine minutes requires only as much energy as walking it in twelve, "which shows that if one is really in a great hurry to catch a train it is more economical (and it is certainly more comfortable) to run." The ingenuity of all these measurements of the activities of the living machinery is amazing as well as practical. Trotting is certainly easier than walking, and the wonder is why man ever walks at all, why the machine tolerates this waste of power. Probably self-consciousness controls the exchanges. But the mechanism of nerves and muscles is not fully understood even yet, though Professor Hill in these lectures, which should have a very large circulation, makes the general principle and numberless applications of principles clear and fascinating.

* * *

ENGLISH HYMNODY.*

Mr. Gillman has produced in this book a very interesting and comprehensive study of the English Hymn from the earliest Christian times. Sir H. Walford Davies writes the Foreword, and in a few sentences in his delightful, unique way, gives the clue to the right reading and due understanding of the moving force of music and melody.

To those who have the sense of music—a sense that the untrained mind cannot grasp—music and melody must mean almost the highest expression of worship, a pouring out of the spirit into the unseen to be caught up and carried on the waves of praise and thanksgiving from the finite to the infinite. It has neither speech nor language but its sound goes out, and does not return void, for it sets up a communion with the Highest, which is worship in its truest sense.

Browning knew the need of music to the human soul, not as an aid

* *The Evolution of the English Hymnody.* By Frederick John Gillman. George Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d. net.

to devotion, but as a concomitant of it, both individually and collectively.

"Thy voice's praise seemed weak; it dropped—
Creation's chorus stopped!"

There was a need for such a book as Mr. Gillman has published, for there is much lay ignorance of the hymns sung daily in our Churches. We take them, as we take many other good things, as a mere matter of course, but few trouble themselves as to the origin or evolution of the hymn whether ancient or modern. Mr. Gillman traces the ancestry of our English hymns from the first century. Many of them are translations from the Latin, and were born in the cloister. The hymn book of the Primitive Church was, without doubt, the Book of Psalms. Mr. Gillman notes that there is little mention of singing in the Gospels, if we omit the Canticles of St. Luke's Gospel. The Acts, and the Epistles of the New Testament abound in joy, which necessarily breaks forth into "Psalms and hymns, making melody in your hearts to the Lord." Christ's life among men was a life of proclaiming and teaching, and his followers were listeners, not givers of praise, except on occasions like the Entry into Jerusalem or when on the last night they sang a hymn—most likely part of the Passover Service which they were celebrating. The early Christians were inheritors of the Hebrew Temple and Synagogue, and they naturally incorporated much of the service and ritual to which they were accustomed into their new faith, which was but a fulfilment of the old. Pliny the younger, in the second century, and Eusebius, the third century Bishop of Cæsarea, both give interesting information as to psalms and hymns being "*written by the faithful brethren from the beginning*" and the Christians sang hymns, antiphonally, to Christ as God. "This is good evidence that psalm writing and singing were practised by the early Christians," but whether their psalms and hymns were used in public worship is doubtful. It is thought that the Psalms of David and New Testament hymns were the sole sources of praise until the fourth century.

From the monasteries there flowed a continuous flood of song which culminated "in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with the two groups of writers who gathered round Bernard of Clairvaux and Francis of Assisi. After that time a decline set in, and the grand note was missing until Luther came to resound it." Mr. Gillman has spared himself no pains in showing how the hymns evolved and developed with the centuries. The attitude of George Fox and the Quakers against the singing of hymns in their worship was due to the feeling that singing detracted from the quiet and silent communion with God for which they strove, and by it the "Inner Light" was dimmed. Be that as it may, they have of late intro-

duced music into their services, feeling and finding that the heart of humanity must express itself in form, as freely and fully as when David, the sweet singer of Israel, discerned it breaking forth in praise and thanksgiving in all nature, animate and inanimate alike.

The conclusion of the whole matter shows the necessity of revision of the Church's hymnody, a revision which would retain the grand ancient hymns, weeding out those of a worn-out theology, and replacing them with some of the inspiring songs or invocations of our own time, such as was heard lately in a London Church, " Strong Son of God, Immortal Love." A good deal of ignorance of the authorship and date of " Hymns Ancient and Modern " is due to the failure to add the name of the author or its date at the end of the hymn. Both are fully given in the index, with the tune, but during service it is not to be expected that children in the congregation, or adults, should search for the author of the hymn in question. Many hymnals—and more especially in the Free Churches—print the name of the author at the end of each hymn. The association of name and hymn greatly aid the memory. Mr. Gillman's ample treatise on the subject of the English hymn will be welcomed by all interested in the service of praise and thanksgiving. S. DE M.

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TELEMACHUS.*

For those who are weary of fiction dealing with crooks and other abnormalities, Mr. Maurice's posthumous romance will provide novelty in both subject and setting. The tale is laid in the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century, when Christianity was still trying to free itself from the shackles of paganism, and the Church was disputing hotly over words and symbols; when, beside saints and martyrs, there were turbulent bishops who used their bishoprics as if they were military consulships, and the Roman Empire was depending on barbarian valour to defend the frontiers. The Goths had won and lost in the great battles round Adrianople and were still struggling to preserve their national independence, which was threatened by the Huns from the north-east, and feared and crushed by Rome when possible at every point.

It was amid such circumstances that Telemachus played his part. An obscure Alexandrian monk, he might have been quite forgotten in the modern world but for Gibbon's slighting allusion to him as " the only monk who died a martyr in the cause of humanity." But this allusion inspired Tennyson to write his poem " St. Telemachus " and Mr. Maurice to pen this story, in which he imagines and constructs the chain of circumstances which drew his hero from a monastery in the Nitrian Desert to a cruel death at the hands of a Roman mob.

* *Telemachus.* By C. Edmund Maurice. The Independent Press Ltd. 6s. net.

The leading motive of the book is the friendship of Telemachus for a young Goth, Eric, who, impatient of monastic life, is impelled to go and join the army of Alaric fighting for Gothic freedom. Seven years later, on a pretext of heresy, an arrogant bishop raids the Nitrian monastery and expels all the monks in their turn.

Telemachus finds his way to Constantinople and seeks the protection of the bishop there—the saintly Chrysostom, whose sympathy with the Goths forms a bond of union between him and Telemachus. Eric's betrothed has fallen into the hands of a slave-dealer, and this young girl is ransomed by Telemachus aided by Chrysostom. To save her from the persecution of a wealthy voluptuary, she is sent in the charge of Telemachus to Italy. Here Eric is found a prisoner in the camp of Stilicho. News that his betrothed is safe makes Eric long for life, and he accepts the offer to become a gladiator—a fate worse than death to Telemachus. After witnessing the triumphal procession of Stilicho and Honorius with the Gothic captives, Telemachus determines what to do and so we see him entering the Colosseum amid the jeers of the unbelievers and the scorn of his Christian friends and waiting until Eric begins his duel: he leaps into the arena and stops the fight, but falls himself before the fury of the spectators. He saves his friend, who is freed and united to his betrothed, and the Emperor issues the edict which stops in Rome for ever the gladiatorial shows. It is a moving tale and in an historical setting of unusual veracity. A better title for the book would have been " The Greater Love."

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STÉPHANE MALLARMÉ.*

Stéphane Mallarmé was born in Paris on March 18th, 1842. He died suddenly at Valvins near Fontainebleau on September 9th, 1898. He was educated at Auteuil and at the Lycée of Sens and, before joining the French State Educational Service, at that date almost exclusively denominational, he studied in England and acquired a perfect knowledge of English and a passion for the English romantic poets Keats, Shelley, and Wordsworth. He was a teacher of English from 1863 to 1870 in provincial France and from 1871 to 1894 (when he retired on a pension) in Paris. He was essentially attracted by the philosophy that lies beneath Wordsworth's poems, and, indeed, by a curious combination of English

* *Stéphane Mallarmé in English Verse.* By Arthur Ellis. With an Introduction by G. Turquet-Milnes. Jonathan Cape. 5s. net.

and German philosophy which resulted in a Platonism which was affected alternately by Hegel and Berkeley. His horror of "nothingness" threw him into the arms of Berkeley, his sense of orderliness flung him back to Hegel. As a poet, revealed by Mr. Arthur Ellis' exquisite if somewhat precious translations, Mallarmé recalls much of Shelley but strangely enough a great deal of Blake—Blake the master of mystic poetry but not of poetic form. Madame Turquet-Milnes in her admirable appreciation, showing the deepest knowledge of philosophy applied to poetry, says quite plainly that Mallarmé could not compose a perfect poem such as Racine gave us but "after all, is a composer of admirable lines or distiches." His mysticism, however, gives him a vagueness and yet an intensity that is perhaps akin to Carlyle, and as he became dominated by painters like Degas and Manet and then by the ideas of pure music and pure movement we find that he is becoming rather a philosopher than a poet, and, whether philosopher or poet, or both, extremely hard to understand.

It is true that the classical critic "is bound to find Mallarmé too English, too individual." But it is difficult for even an Englishman devoted to poetry to find parallels in English poetry other than Blake and Shelley and, to be frank, these poets are not read so much as they ought to be read by reason of the sheer difficulty of their philosophy. Shelley lives by his pure poetry and his power of producing a perfect poem, and this is not the gift of Mallarmé. But perhaps the special difficulty with Mallarmé is that he is all the while so thoroughly French, and the struggle between the French logical mind and tongue and philosophical ideas that will not yield to logic is difficult to appreciate. M. Charles Maurras reproaches Mallarmé with writing "obscurities which, once penetrated, are not worth the trouble to which we have been put." Mr. Ellis meets that charge, perhaps, in his translations, but even in the English versions there is some doubt as to whether the discovery is after all, despite beautiful phrasing, philosophically worth the trouble. The truth is philosophers should write in prose if they have any new message to give the world since the message must be put into prose by someone.

But special lines and phrases haunt the fancy, such as "the tender blue of pale October's lucency." The picture of St. Cecilia is noteworthy:

In window ever minishing
The sandalwood, that dims its gold,
Of ancient cithern glittering
With lyre and flute in days of old,
Is Saint Cecilia opening
The ancient book, where, glow'd unroll'd
The Psalm of Even shimmering
At Evensong in days of old—.

While it is impossible not to quote this "Little Air":

Stagnant waters' solitude
Neither swan nor mooring there—
Mirroreth its wistful mood
In tir'd eyes whose looks forswear
Your vain glory, cloud fires glowing,
Far above my reach a-wing,
Oft whereon the skies are strowing
Dappled gold of evening.
But up glideth, graceful, tender,
White as linen flung aside,
That elusive swan—in splendour
Swift if diveth in the tide,
That thy raptures now possess,
Thine exultant nakedness.

The mystic sense of evening lights at sunset thrown on the pool with its mysterious swan is brought out with curious force: but the poem is difficult to grasp if it is a love song, and still more difficult if it is an ode to the spirit of philosophy.

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SECONDARY SCHOOLS FOR GIRLS.*

The remarkable movement for the provision of secondary schools for girls which has been growing in impetus for half a century is well illustrated by this history of a particular seminary, the Blackheath High School, which was founded by the Girls' Public Day School Company in 1879 on the initiative of that eminent scholar and schoolmaster, Edward Wilton South—who died at a great age last year. The school opened at the beginning of 1880 with 68 pupils on the register. In 1886 there were 307 pupils, in 1904 467, and to-day there are 448 pupils arranged in eighteen forms, with twenty-eight full-time assistant mistresses and ten visiting mistresses. In 1926 there were twenty-one head mistresses and two principals of training colleges who had been educated at the school, and the long association of this school with Girton has been crowned by the fact that the new Mistress of Girton College was once on the staff at Blackheath. The régime of Miss Gadesden as Headmistress lasted from 1886 until 1919, and the impress of her genius is written on the whole life of the school. A long series of University successes in almost every subject was only one aspect of her influence. Her sixth forms inspired every side of school life, and the development of post-school classes was only one more of Miss Gadesden's many contributions to the development of education for girls in England.

The school is, however, only an illustration of what is going on all over England, Scotland and Northern Ireland, and the general value

* *The Book of the Blackheath High School.* Edited by Mary Charlotte Malim and Henrietta Caroline Escreet. The Blackheath Press, London, S.E.3.

of the book, that two distinguished " old girls " of the school have edited and which has been written for the most part by other former pupils of distinction, is that it provides an admirable account of the evolution of the woman's movement in education from the days when the examinations of the College of Preceptors in 1855 and the Cambridge local examinations in 1865 were thrown open to girls. This was the first stage of a movement that began at University College, Gower Street, many years before 1855. The schools that the College of Preceptors catered for were private schools of very varying quality, but it has to be said that the main aspect of the new movement sprang from voluntary and adventurous efforts in education. It is true that from the days of the Schools Inquiry Commission of 1864, adorned by Matthew Arnold, Joshua Fitch and James Bryce, great developments in education for girls were destined to spring from the numerous endowments that had hitherto for the most part been applied to the education of boys, but before this new movement gathered force voluntary effort was actively at work. Miss Clough, the sister of the poet, in 1866 was proposing central day schools to work in collaboration with the private schools, and the next year Miss Davies proposed that a woman's college should be founded at Cambridge. In 1867 a college was actually founded at Hitchin under Miss Davies, which was transferred to Girton in 1871, and almost at the same time Miss Clough founded at Cambridge a college which was destined to become Newnham College. In 1872 the Girls' Public Day School Company was incorporated with the assistance of Princess Louise and others, and in 1883 the Church Schools' Company was founded, with denominational religious instruction as one of its goals.

While this pioneer work was in active progress the foundation of endowed schools for girls, under the provisions of the Endowed Schools Act, 1869, began to take active form. In many cases it was clear enough that the endowments were not merely for boys but for children including girls, and long before the Act of 1869 the Court of Chancery were acting on this principle and were applying it in certain cases. Curiously enough, in the area to be served by the Blackheath School the Court of Chancery, as early as 1814, applied part of the funds of the Roan Trust in Greenwich to the education of girls, and the Roan Secondary School for Girls, which was founded in 1878 under a scheme of the Charity Commissioners and is now celebrating its jubilee, dates back in its essential principle to the year of the battle of Waterloo. These secondary endowed schools were, to a great extent, stimulated by the existence of the new Trust Schools and other private or semi-private schools of the same type and, of course, by the non-local public schools for girls, of

which the Cheltenham Ladies' College, which still bears the noble impress of Miss Beale's personality, is an outstanding example.

Modern education for girls had thus the good fortune to have both a voluntary and an endowed source, and these two classes of schools have had a continuous reaction upon one another in methods of school government, educational ideals, and curricula. The Board of Education since its creation in 1899 has taken very special interest in the development of education for girls, and for the most part the endowed schools have the benefit not only of their endowments but of grants from the Board of Education and the local Education Authorities in return for the attainment of certain educational standards and the provision of school places for scholarship-holders from the elementary schools. All the various Trust Schools are gradually coming within the net of the Board of Education in some form or another, whether it be by the provision of grants on the condition of taking scholarship-holders or the inclusion of the staff in the State pension system for teachers. There is little fear that the benefits of freedom will be lost by taking part in a national system of education and the provision of secondary school benefits of the highest order to scholarship-holders from the elementary school. This point is apparently not dealt with in Miss Malim's book, but it must not be forgotten. Freedom of educational experiment is, however, a very important aspect of the quasi-private or independent school, and it should be closely safeguarded.

It is difficult to envisage the future of English secondary schools for girls. It was recently discussed in detail at the New Year Educational Conferences, and certain conclusions seem to emerge from those discussions. One criticism of these schools of all types is that they have too closely followed, in organisation and curricula, the similar schools for boys. But if that is so, comparatively small changes, some of which Miss Gadesden introduced at Blackheath, will ensure that broad and deep basis of a liberal education that is at least as necessary for girls as for boys, while providing, for those elder girls who are not thinking of a University or teaching career, an approach to suitable vocational training whether it be for home life —the greatest vocation of all—or other technical work. But what is clear is the need for insisting on as high an intellectual standard as is provided in the case of boys in the first and second school examinations. The proposal to have a different examination altogether for girls has nothing to be said for it, since these examinations provide in both cases the necessary basis for a liberal-minded and intellectual life. There should be special optional subjects in the case both of boys and girls, so as to admit a curriculum differentiated in some respects from the curriculum in boys' schools. The report of the Consultative Committee on this subject should be met to

this extent. But the same standard for both sexes is essential in days when adult franchise is about to become universal. The weakness of the endowed secondary school for girls, and indeed for boys to-day, is that the scholarship-holders from the elementary schools are selected after a process of cramming in the elementary school, and in many cases are not capable of coping with a stern secondary curriculum. The result is to lower the standard of the secondary school, with the consequent demand for a lower standard of school certificate examination. At all costs the secondary school for girls must keep a standard in which it is possible to have sixth forms doing thoroughly advanced work.

J. E. G. DE M.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

The Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge has recently published a set of essays of which the first, *The Way of Modernism,** gives the title to the volume. The book can be confidently commended to all those who are concerned with the relations of Christian Theology to recent Science and the modern mind. All the essays have been used as lectures or addresses. They are therefore brief and comparatively slight. Yet, as might be expected of the author, they are reverent in spirit, lucid in treatment, and based upon competent scholarship. They are not merely critical, but, within their limits, constructive. Moreover, the author's endeavour to preserve the essential context of the Christian Faith shows how much of religious and reasonable modernism may be consonant with truly Evangelical and Catholic Theology. This, at least, is the impression created by these papers, though the lines of thought pursued and the conclusions reached are valuable as an informing sketch, and not as a complete and thoroughly reasoned treatise. Yet they are well worth reading as indicating a point of view and a line of approach which, even if inadequate at points, are suggestive and useful both in themselves and as marked by characteristically British restraint in seeking to explain, without explaining away, the verities of the Christian Faith.

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That his *New Studies in Mystical Religion*† are delightful reading, may be taken for granted by all who are acquainted with the work of Professor Rufus M. Jones. He is not only a master of the subject of Mystical Religion in itself, but has the equipment of philosophical, psychological and historic knowledge that is essential to a sane and satisfactory treatment alike of the characteristics, the objective validity and the limitations of mystical experience. By clearing this experience of the abstract negativity and the pathological elements that have sometimes disfigured it, Professor Rufus Jones is enabled to present its

* *The Way of Modernism and Other Essays.* By J. F. Bethune-Baker, D.D., F.B.A. Cambridge University Press. 6s. net.

† *New Studies in Mystical Religion.* By Professor Rufus M. Jones. Macmillan. 7s. 6d. net.

noble and normal features in an attractive and convincing way. While seeking to enforce mysticism as the highest and most vital experience of Religion and to assert the importance of mystical fellowship over against formal theology and institutional organisation, the author is at once too rational in his outlook and too broad in his sympathies to overlook, in criticising them, the subordinate services that both of these have rendered. Hence his work is constructive, rather than destructive. He seeks to preserve and stimulate what is, or may become, organic in Christian thought and life, as against the abstract and, in truth, secular drawbacks to both that are involved in excessive and mere organisation. His whole treatment is profound and yet in the best sense popular. It is, therefore, to be hoped that this volume may be widely read, in order that the vital and universal import of what appears, at first sight, to be partial and peculiar in mysticism may be better appreciated.

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In *Further Forensic Fables** the author who writes under the pseudonym " O " has given to a public by no means restricted to the legal profession a second series of the Fables delightfully illustrated by his, or her, pen that instructed and amused so many people when the original fables were issued in 1926. This volume, as was the case with its predecessor, is furnished with a preface, a table of cases cited, a table of statutes, and an index, which in themselves are a joyous parody of any dreadful law book of the first rank. The errors, acknowledged in the preface, seem to indicate that the author does not practice in the Police Courts, and this is some evidence that the writer is not a woman, and slightly strengthens the case in favour of a Scottish lawyer or an ex-Lord Chancellor out of work. In the notice of the earlier volume the problem of the authorship was discussed, and the solution is still indeterminate, though the latest view is that " O " is a woman who in order to hide her identity pretends that she is ignorant of the Licensing Acts. There are thirty fables in all in the new volume, and it is difficult to choose between them for kindly and pungent wit. " The Real Property Lawyer and the Surly Gamekeeper " by its very title must remind men who have made immense fortunes at the Chancery Bar that the law of land in practice is not contained in its entirety in the late Mr. Joshua Williams' work. " The Kindly Judge and the Lady Barrister " will teach certain judges that all that glitters is not gold. " Beefy Thomas and Anæmic Henry " will remind the Bar that some people stayed at home during the war and did rather well, while " the Emeritus Professor of International Law, and the Police Court Brief " will readily convince both the public and the magistracy that much learning is a weariness to the flesh. The illustration to the latter Fable makes the reader wonder who the Professor was and who the Magistrate. " The Judge Whose Appearance Terrified the Public " should be read by all judges who pride themselves on their professional appearance. The whole book is excellent fun. Miss " O " fears that she has disregarded the maxim *Nemo debet bis vexari.* On the contrary, *laete dat quae bis dat.*

* Butterworth. 3s. 6d. net.

In *Law in the Making** Mr. Carleton Kemp Allen gives the public the substance of his Tagore Lectures for 1926 delivered under the title "The Sources of Law." As a text-book for advanced law students it should have a wide vogue, since it brings together in very convenient and well-written form the history of opinion and of practice in relation to custom, precedent, equity and legislation. In the course of the various discussions Mr. Allen re-fights on his excellent stage the more arduous juristic battles of the centuries and shows the student, and indeed many teachers of law, the successive orientations of juridical thought. Mr. Allen is quite clear as to the much-disputed view that "the custom does not derive its validity from the authority of the Court; even the 'sanction' of the Court amounts only to formal recognition in case of dispute." On the other hand, Mr. Allen submits that it is "a mistake to represent modern judges as exercising anything like a critical creative faculty with regard to established usages." However that may be, modern judges in extending a rule of law to new fields to meet new emergencies are quite conscious that they are, in effect, legislating. Mr. Allen does not agree with this view, and quotes in his favour Lord Esher and the more recent decision of Lord Justice Farwell, who said in 1912 "it is in my opinion impossible for us now to create any new doctrine of the Common Law." But this depends upon what is meant by "new doctrine." The Courts will have to deal with many problems in connection with the law relating to private international relations, to air-spaces and to wireless telegraphy that will no doubt be an extension of old doctrines, but will be new doctrines in the sense that there are no prevailing rules of law in certain aspects of these regions. Moreover, modern scientific discoveries may well so whittle away old doctrines suited to other times that new doctrines will appear. How long will the rule of law that there is no right of prospect stand? It is gradually becoming more and more absurd. Moreover, there is room for new doctrine in private international law, and it looks very much as if the Ogden case struck a shrewd blow at the rule that a wife must be presumed to have the same domicile as her husband. The principle underlying that doctrine has indeed largely disappeared in cases to which the Ogden case gave birth. Strong judges, to meet great difficulties and injustices, still exercise what are in effect legislative powers. The Swiss Code frankly recognises the fact, and English jurists might be content to do the same. How the processes of precedent will be affected in the long run by the process of codification is another matter. Some weighty judicial thinkers seem troubled by the prospect; but after all, so long as the power of interpretation survives, the growth of law by means of the principle of binding precedents will follow, as the rather amusing story of the French Code Civil shows. But interpretation of legislation in England is almost a subject of despair. Mr. Allen gives many instances. The Legislature renders meaningless the best-planned efforts of draftsmen. In fact, however, the Law of Property Acts that came into force on January 1st, 1926, are working well. They were carefully revised by a very experienced judge and were not tampered with in the Legislature.

* Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 21s. net.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

It is a pleasure to record the appearance of a third edition of Dr. William Miller's well-known volume, "The Ottoman Empire and its Successors."* The most valuable addition is the narrative of recent events in Greece, of which, as the author reminds us in his preface, he has been an eye-witness since 1923. The bibliography is extraordinarily full and valuable, and the author's knowledge is not more conspicuous than his balanced judgment of men and events. "No unbiassed observer," he concludes, "can doubt that the emancipation of the Eastern Christians from Ottoman rule has been a blessing. Western politicians, disregarding the fact that these races stepped straight out of the Middle Ages, after a long night of Turkish rule, into the full blaze of modern civilisation, seldom make allowance for the difficulty of rapid adaptation to the new and strange conditions. Nothing is more unfair than to compare them with other and old-established countries, slowly and gradually evolved. The wonder is that the Christian States of the Near East have achieved so much in so comparatively short a time."

* * *

The new and cheaper edition of Sir Herbert George Fordham's excellent book, "Maps, their History, Characteristics and Uses"† is to be welcomed. It is "a Handbook for Teachers," but will be of interest and use to anybody who is interested (as who is not to-day?) in maps. The book is the text of a series of lectures delivered to teachers of the County of Cambridge in 1920. In the first part the elementary ideas, the technical basis and the essential and technical elements of map-making and of maps, are set forth. In Sir Herbert's practical suggestions the idea (when a due basis of thought and theory has been laid) of map construction on the surface of the playground itself is a striking one. The history of the subject, well taught, will stimulate not only the interest but the idealism of the pupil, while the practical training may take a larger range in the modern practice of regional surveys. This admirable book should be in the hands of all teachers. It contains in compact and unique form a great range of material.

* * *

Four volumes of the third edition (edited by Mr. H. C. Colles) of "Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians"‡ have appeared, and the fifth and last is now due. The first instalment of Sir George Grove's famous book was issued in 1878, almost half a century ago. It was intended "for the general reader as much as for the musician" and that fact played a great part in the popularity of the work. In the new edition "every article in the Dictionary has been reconsidered and its contents viewed as material to be accepted or rejected as the case may be, but in any case to be remodelled at discretion in accordance with a definite plan of arrangement." The substantial changes involved in this very necessary process are indicated by the words "with additions" while their reshaping is noted by the word "revised." In the case of the greater articles the editing is done principally by means of footnote annotations. The new edition is indispensable and should find a place in all reference libraries.

* Cambridge University Press. 16s.
† Cambridge University Press. 6s. net.
‡ Macmillan. 30s. net each volume.

Dr. L. A. Waddell in his work entitled "The Aryan Origin of the Alphabet disclosing the Sumeric-Phœnician Parentage of our Letters Ancient and Modern "* sets forth, with the help of many plates and illustrations, his theory that the Sumerian language is radically Aryan in vocabulary and structure and applies it to the problem of the origin of the Alphabet. The view set forth is that "all the chief Alphabets, ancient and modern, together with their sound and values, had their parent in the Sumerian picture-writing. . . . That alphabetic letters were not invented in Egypt is clear, as we have seen, from the fact that true alphabetic writing is not found in Egypt, except amongst Phœnician and other foreign colonists in the post-Cadmean period." The theory of Dr. Waddell will doubtless give rise to a good deal of discussion and criticism. If the theory, or anything like it, is finally established it marks a substantial step forward.

* * *

Major R. B. Parfiter and Major H. G. Eady in their volume for the use of students of military history entitled "The Army and Sea-Power: A Historical Outline "† trace the theme from the late fifteenth century, when the significance of sea-power was known to the Portuguese, to our own time. We miss a reference to Cardinal Wolsey, who fully understood the meaning of co-ordinating military and naval forces and sent to France an expedition unequalled in completion of equipment until the late war. No doubt Cromwell's Imperialism laid the foundation of a separate navy intended to safeguard trade routes and secure bases of operation in far seas. But he owed a good deal to his predecessors. These authors trace the course of the eighteenth-century duel between England and France and so bring the student into gradual touch with modern problems.

* * *

In "Disraeli: A Picture of the Victorian Age "‡ M. André Maurois makes the life of Benjamin Disraeli the framework for a dissertation on and a picture of the nineteenth century in England from the accession of Queen Victoria. Disraeli was elected to Parliament for Maidstone in the great Queen's first Parliament. From that date till his death in 1881 he dominated the scene in some fashion or another, and during the rest of the reign the prestige of his tremendous personality reflected an aspect, and perhaps in some ways the best aspect, of the age. He fully realised the significance of democracy and strove to make it a conservative and self-protective imperial fact. M. Maurois concludes his attractive book, excellently translated by Mr. Hamish Miles, by likening the great statesman to "some old spirit of spring, ever vanquished and ever alive," "a symbol of what can be accomplished, in a cold and hostile universe, by a long youthfulness of heart."

* Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russell Street. 7s. 6d. net.
† Ernest Benn. 10s. 6d.
‡ John Lane, The Bodley Head. 12s. 6d. net.

HAIG.

". . . . A man
Who in simplicity and sheer good faith
Strove but to serve his country. Rest be to him."
THOMAS HARDY.

IT is not my purpose to discuss the Field-Marshal's conduct of the Great War and enter into the controversies which inevitably arise therefrom. He himself was silent on the subject, and refused to defend himself against the many criticisms which were levelled at him; he never issued any statement to justify himself and was prepared to leave the judgment of his actions to history and posterity. That this was a difficult, but yet a correct course to pursue, no one will deny. The true value of great soldiers and great statesmen has rarely been correctly assessed by contemporaries; it is usually to posterity that we have to look for a true appreciation, when all the facts are known, when there is an absence of heated controversy and prejudice, and when there is an atmosphere of cool judgment and accurate perspective. The Prime Minister speaking in the Commons on the occasion of a motion for the erection of a memorial to Lord Haig, referred in this connection to the examples of Abraham Lincoln, Stonewall Jackson, and Sir John Moore, all great men, but none of whom was appreciated at his true value until after the lapse of many years.

Lord Haig kept a detailed diary, and wrote a full statement of the events in France, their causes and effects, but these documents by his definite instructions are to remain sealed for several years to come.

So I will confine myself in this note to a brief study of the character of a very remarkable man, a character which has been recognised in the last few weeks as being an inspiration to his country, and one whose fame must inevitably grow as the years go by.

I had been for some years closely and even intimately associated with him and was therefore able to observe the effects of the severe strain to which he was being constantly subjected. One could not help reaching the conclusion that he had systematically schooled and disciplined a character which was naturally direct, straightforward, and honourable. There were occasions when honours and praise were heaped upon him and again other occasions when criticism and sometimes violent abuse were being launched against him from every quarter. He never lost his head or became in the least perturbed under any conditions, never elated and never depressed. He invariably retained that poise, that calm and sane outlook which enabled him to balance the many conflicting factors which were always present. The expression "poise" seems

admirably adapted to Lord Haig's character, and describes the sense of brooding serenity, the calmness and often detached outlook that he possessed under all manner of stress and strain.

I never saw him lose his temper on any occasion. Nor did he ever indulge in much praise. Nevertheless a few measured words on his part, coupled with a peculiar way of showing his cold disapproval, would always have the desired effect, and no further admonition was necessary. On the other hand, his manner of showing approval and gratitude was peculiarly winning, coming from a man whose nature was reserved.

He never had a nickname, and never encouraged or inspired familiarity. To those who knew him best, he was always known—behind his back—as " D.H." There is a virtue in avoiding familiarity, especially in those who hold or are destined to hold high and responsible positions of command, and this was evidently recognised by him. Notwithstanding the atmosphere of aloofness and imperturbability which surrounded the man, it is impossible to imagine anyone of a more affectionate, even soft hearted, disposition. It was his one weak spot, if it could be described as such—and obvious to those who were permitted to penetrate within the outer walls of his character. It was probably the cause, in part, of the retention of the same men around him to whom he had become deeply attached. It was also no doubt the reason of his acute distress on visiting casualty clearing stations and field hospitals after an action. It inevitably caused him on the termination of the war to take up the cause of the ex-Service men who had served so well and suffered so much.

There is a type of mind that clouds and even becomes paralysed in times of extreme danger, stress, and anxiety; his, on the contrary, under such conditions became crystal clear. I had the privilege of remaining practically alone with him during the whole of that Sunday, March 24th, 1918, when the right flank of the British Army had been driven back along a wide front, and there were practically no reserves available. The situation was one of grave anxiety. The Field-Marshal was a model of coolness of judgment, lucidity of thought, inflexibility of purpose and faith. On another occasion in the spring of 1918 during an extremely critical period he wrote with his own pen that note of inspiration to the whole Army known as the " Backs to the wall " order, words which characterised the man, and went straight to the hearts of all his fellowcountrymen.

I have heard on more than one occasion Lord Haig's intellectual powers called in question, and this may be traced entirely to the fact that he was not a facile speaker. Such hesitancy in speech is not infrequently to be found in men of action such as he was,

and by no means implies any lack of ability. On the contrary, he was possessed of that long vision in great matters which is a sure sign of statesmanship, and of that clear vision which enabled him to convert his thoughts into action. Moreover, he had an exceptional facility for setting any case on paper with extreme lucidity. Lord Haldane, an authority on such matters, who had worked closely with Lord Haig for many years, paid a great tribute in the House of Lords to his ability; he referred to him as a military thinker of a very high order, as a master in the conception of the objects of a battle and in the clear idea of how to use his troops, and attributed to him more than to any other the efficiency of the British Army prior to the outbreak of the Great War. It was Haig who was responsible for the regulations for the organisation and training of the Army, and it was he who at Aldershot actually trained a large part of the troops which took the field in 1914.

One of the characteristics which stood out most clearly and which have made so deep an impression on everyone was his acute sense of loyalty and the value of team work. It was he who trained his regimental polo team and led them to victory. He was always ready to place his own interests in the background for the benefit of the " side," and he expected the same of everyone else. This sense of loyalty became more notable during the War, especially during the later stages. A British Commander-in-Chief is normally responsible for the safety of the Army, but when he and the Army were placed under a French Generalissimo, naturally the responsibility was transferred to the British Cabinet. This created an impossible position, and on occasions the Gilbertian situation in which Haig received orders from Foch and at the same time protests from his own Government against carrying out those very orders. To meet such a position it was necessary to possess loyalty in a high degree, tact, and good temper, and to accept a heavy responsibility which rightly rested on other shoulders. In this connection many a story could be told and will some day be told which will redound to the credit of the Field-Marshal, and prove his loyalty to have been of the highest and most unselfish order.

It was Lord Haig himself who suggested that he should be placed under the orders of Foch for the benefit of the common cause. Haig was loyal throughout to everyone with whom he served from the highest to the lowest, to the Allies, and to the Civil governing authority at home.

Of his constancy, steadfastness and integrity little need be said. His inflexible resolution, his high and courageous moral character, were so pronounced that they created a spirit of confidence throughout the Army. His appearance on the Menin Road on horseback in 1914 stemmed the tide, his determination in the succeeding years

encouraged his armies to face the storm. Nothing could divert him from his purpose and his aim. These traits of constancy and steadfastness doubtless descended to him through his forbears of Bemersyde, the tradition and legacy of his Border race; and it was these qualities which made him a great servant of his country and restored to him the home of his ancestors.

> " Tide betyde, whate'er betide
> There'll aye be Haigs of Bemersyde."

He was a typical Border Scot of the best type, and there was nothing he loved so much as to hear of the prowess of a Border Regiment.

A small detail, but one typical of his character, was his own self-discipline. He made a business of keeping himself fit in body and mind; he was a great believer in " Mens sana in corpore sano," and regulated his life accordingly. As was to be expected, he applied this theory to all those in his immediate entourage.

When he laid aside his command on the conclusion of hostilities, he set himself to the great task of alleviating so far as lay in his power the distress and hardship which resulted from the war. He voluntarily became the servant of those whom he had formerly commanded. His activities then centred in the British Legion, the British Empire Service League and the King's Roll, and he maintained those interests right up to the day of his death. I have a letter from him dated January 19th of this year protesting that the number of disabled unemployed was still far too large, and urging the King's Roll National Council of which he was Chairman to measures which would reduce the number. That letter still remains unanswered, but the work to which he was devoted will be carried on with renewed vigour.

Throughout his life he served his country with unswerving devotion—in India, Egypt, in South Africa, and in France and Flanders. His valuable advice on military affairs was sought by his country up to the time of his death. He leaves behind him a tradition which the British Army and the Empire will cherish for many a year to come. There could be no better summing-up than those words written by Lady Haig which appeared in the Press on February 8th :

> " May his memory inspire us to follow his example and cherish as faithfully as he did the same simple, true and honest virtues—goodwill, good fellowship, good citizenship, loyal to King and Country, patriotism, pride in the high traditions of our race and land, and, above all, comradeship."

JOHN H. DAVIDSON, MAJOR-GENERAL.

THE LIBERAL INDUSTRIAL REPORT.

THE Liberal Industrial Report is a typically British product. It was not initiated by any Government action, or by any University, or by any Foundation, such as might have undertaken it in America, or even by the official organisation of any political party. A group of men, with experience in economics, politics and industry, feeling that there was need for a fresh survey of the industrial conditions of the country, and for the formulation of reforms on the general lines of Liberal policy, came together, enlisted technical help, spent more than a year in inquiry and discussion, and have now presented these conclusions. On their own responsibility they have published this book, *Britain's Industrial Future*.*

The Liberal Party is likely to include the proposals, or many of them, as part of its programme; if they are of service to other parties also, those who have formulated them will be all the better pleased.

And the book is essentially British in its reasoning. Its ideas are built up from facts, are based upon experience. Its method is inductive. It is sceptical of broad generalisations. It recognises that *laissez-faire* is dead, and holds that Socialism was still-born.

There is a sentence in a little-known letter from John Stuart Mill to Carlyle which shows that, already in 1833, Mill foresaw that *laissez-faire* could only be a passing phase in political development. " That principle," he wrote, " like other negative ones, has work to do yet, work namely of a destroying kind; and I am glad to think it has strength left to finish that, after which it must soon expire, for I doubt much if it will reach the resurrection."

As for the opposite generalisation, the writers feel convinced that Socialism has been shown, by fifty years of criticism, to be a crude and flimsy attempt to apply a single rule to a system which is varied, immensely complicated, permeated by a vigorous, independent life in its several parts. You cannot apply a pattern to a forest.

A third general idea, on a different plane, is also rejected—the idea that industry is to be regenerated through protective tariffs. The Report does not stay to argue the case in detail; it declares itself opposed.

The way being cleared by these negations, the lines of positive action are open. And first, reasons are given why positive action is imperative. A survey of the present condition of the staple industries of Great Britain shows only too clearly that they are hard pressed. The natural advantages of this country in its competition with others are few. The advantage of priority, of having

* Published by Benn. Cloth 5s., paper 2s. 6d.

been first in the field in many industries, diminishes as time goes on, and disappears. Future prospects are obscure. Trade recovery may come, but there is no certainty. And in any event, even if the pre-war position were regained, that would be too low a level. A fully civilised nation cannot tolerate the social conditions, even at their best, which have prevailed hitherto; there is need for an intensive industrial effort in order to furnish the material basis for higher human standards.

On this foundation—that an improvement in social conditions is essential and that this depends upon industrial success—we, who have been engaged in the writing of the Report, have constructed a framework of principles to which all our many proposals are attached. Stated in their simplest terms they are these: the success of industries obviously depends upon efficiency and low cost of production; these depend in turn upon—first, capable management; second, cordial co-operation between employers and employed; third, a good national equipment in communications, systems of education and other matters; and fourth, the reduction to a minimum of dead-weight fiscal burdens.

Industrial Peace and Social Justice.

It is for industry to develop its own good management. We are convinced that it can only emanate from personal initiative working within a system which remains predominantly a system of private enterprise. There is a chapter on Business Efficiency, in which we have some suggestions to make; notably the foundation of an Institute of Management, with certain definite functions, through the joint action of the State, the industrialists and the Labour organisations. But in the main good management can only be the product of the innate forces of the industrial body itself.

To some extent this is true also of the measures necessary for promoting close co-operation between employers and employed. But it is true to a much less extent. To go up and down the country "ingeminating peace," emphasising the harm done to trade by labour stoppages, admonishing the working-classes that disputes injure the whole nation and themselves not least, and then to stop at that, is a policy which causes more irritation than it allays. In the main it is the course of the present administration and their supporters. It will lead to nothing.

It is essential to probe the causes of discontent and, so far as may be, to remove them. The chief causes are notorious enough. They are several. The worker feels that he often does not receive a fair share of the product of industry. He has no proper status; the old idea of "master" and "servant" still prevails too widely. His livelihood is precarious; through no fault of his own he may lose his work and be brought to destitution. And it is he who is the

chief sufferer from the inadequate equipment of the country—in housing, urban conditions generally, facilities for education; in the organisation of the mines and other industries; in the use of the land and of the national resources as a whole—in all these things there is much that has been left undone. The working-classes lose the most from the neglect.

The Report endeavours to come to close quarters with all these problems, vast and varied as they are; analyses them into their elements; proposes such solutions as seem practicable in the light of our present knowledge, and within the powers of the machinery already at our command or that can now be devised.

The Workers' Remuneration.

It is to the interest of the employers, in the long run, that wages should be high and costs low. The two are not incompatible, as many instances show. The interest of the workers is the same. Industry is not a see-saw—when the employers are up the workers must be down, and the workers can only rise when the employers sink. There is a community of interest, and it is vital that both parties should recognise it; the managers realising that it is not less the purpose of all their activities to maintain good wages than to maintain good dividends, the workers realising that it is not less the purpose of their work to produce the maximum output than to obtain the maximum pay.

The Report sees in collective bargaining the right method of fixing the wage-rates. It is neither practicable nor desirable for the State to enforce compulsory arbitration. Nor can it enforce by statute a minimum wage that shall be universal. But the present machinery of collective bargaining through Trade Boards and Joint Industrial Councils can be greatly improved and strengthened. The amendments that are needed are too detailed and technical to be set out here. They will be found fully stated in the Report. Their adoption would go some way towards remedying the workers' grievances in relation to wages.

More important would be a wide extension of the principle of profit-sharing—which becomes "ownership-sharing" when the distributed profit is re-invested in the business. Some 250 firms in this country have so far adopted profit-sharing schemes of one kind or another. A remarkable example is the woollen manufacturing company of Batley, Messrs. Taylor, where for very many years it has been the established rule, after providing a 5 per cent. interest on the capital engaged, to apportion the remainder of the profits in an agreed ratio between capital and labour. The bonus takes the form of fully-paid shares in the company, carrying, however, no power of control. The workpeople have received under

this scheme over £600,000, and own more than half of the capital of the company.

The Report suggests that, where an industry has been concentrated into so few hands that it has become a monopoly or quasi-monopoly, special conditions should apply. Concerns which are on a scale large enough to supply perhaps half the total output of the country, or have assets of more than, say, £1,000,000, should be placed in a special category, under the style of Public Corporations. They should be subject to such supervision as may be thought desirable in the public interest; they should be required to observe special rules of publicity with regard to their operations; and, among the conditions to be applied to them, should be the requirement that they frame and adopt schemes of profit-sharing.

The example of these great concerns may be expected to influence the world of industry in general. But the extension of profit-sharing could be aided by the influence and assistance of the State. To apply compulsion to the vast number of infinitely varied private concerns is not practicable. But the proper Department of State could draw up model profit-sharing schemes of various types; it could urge the Joint Industrial Councils and other negotiating bodies to adopt, to recommend, and possibly to enforce, in proper cases, such schemes as may be found suitable for their several trades.

The Workers' Status.

Trade Unionism has been intent upon whole trades or whole districts; it aims at the adoption of wage-rates or working-rules over the widest practicable area; it has usually paid little attention to the single establishment. The result is that, while a great change has been brought about during the last fifty or sixty years in the relation of the body of workers of a whole trade or district with the body of employers, a similar change has not been effected in the relation of each set of workers with their particular employer. And Trade Unionism still makes no active move in this direction—partly because, in many industries, a number of different Unions have groups of members in each establishment, and co-operation between them is not always easy.

The Report strongly urges that this defect should be made good. It recommends that the practice, already adopted by some of the best-managed concerns in the country, should be made universal, and that Works Councils should be set up in all factories or distributive businesses employing more than fifty persons. Similar Councils, under the title of Pit Committees, should be established at every mine. Those bodies would be representative of the management and of every important group of workers; they would have the function of discussing and making recommendations on matters

of common interest, and particularly on those that relate to the conditions of employment. They would not intervene on the commercial side of businesses. There a joint or a divided responsibility would be fatal to efficiency. Nor would they deal with affairs, such as wage rates, that affect the trade or district as a whole. But through such a Council the employer would be able to keep in close touch with his own work-people; to give them, from time to time, such information, not of a confidential character, as would enable them to take an intelligent interest in the conditions of the trade in general and of his own undertaking in particular; and to stimulate by these means a spirit of real co-operation in the business upon which his livelihood and theirs equally depend. By such means, and only by such means, will it be possible to remove one of the principal grievances of our time—that sense of exclusion from the settlement of matters that touch closely their own daily lives, of being regarded merely as the tools of industry and not as an integral element, which is among the chief causes of the indifference, and even the antagonism, that mark the attitude of a large proportion of the workers towards the governing powers in the world of industry. It is useless to appeal for a spirit of partnership to be shown by the one side unless the realities of partnership, in money and in status, are conceded by the other.

The Workers' Security.

So also with regard to dismissals. There are cases of arbitrary dismissal at the will of a foreman. The exercise of autocratic power is resented most of all when it is in the hands, not of the general or the colonel, but of the sergeant or the corporal. The Report makes proposals for securing to the individual workman, who has been for some time in his employment, the right of a fair hearing before he is discharged from it. And this can be granted without impairing the legitimate authority of the management, which is essential to discipline and therefore to efficiency.

But the protection of the workers from unemployment is not, of course, a matter chiefly, or even largely, of individual treatment. It depends upon the broad movements of trade, upon the stability of the labour market. And here the group of questions which relate to the workers' grievances is linked with another group which relate to the development of the national resources. In this sphere, the Report proposes a large programme of action and a financial scheme to support it. There is a double purpose in view—to increase the economic strength of the country, and to enlarge the demand for labour. And not merely to enlarge. The intention is also to regulate and to equalise; for many of the undertakings that are

proposed can be promoted more actively at one time and less actively at another, they can expand when trade in general contracts, and contract when it expands. In the economic system of the country they will be buffer employments.

The undertakings that we have had in mind are chiefly these—a further large programme of construction and improvement of highways; afforestation, land reclamation and drainage; electrification; the development of canals, docks and harbours; slum clearance, town planning and assistance in the building of garden cities. Hitherto it has been no one's business to survey these matters as a whole, and to examine particular schemes on their merits and in their relation to one another. We suggest that this should be done by a Committee of the Privy Council on National Development, working directly under the Prime Minister. And we suggest that the financial resources should be provided by inviting the savings of the people, through a re-invigoration of the Savings Banks and through a central Board of National Investment.

The Diffusion of Property.

If a policy is to be coherent all of its parts must link with one another; and here again the plan of stimulating popular savings connects, on the one side with the scheme of National Development and so with one of the remedies for unemployment, and on the other side with a large policy for the more equal diffusion of property. The present distribution of wealth cannot be defended. It conflicts with the sense of justice; it is a source of legitimate resentment; it is therefore a hindrance to the efficiency of industry and a danger to the stability of the nation. That one-fiftieth of the population should own two-thirds of the country's wealth is not a state of affairs that will be allowed to continue indefinitely.

Here is another point at which the paths of Liberalism and Socialism diverge. Socialists see the remedy in public ownership, in an ultimate transfer of the nation's capital to the State, or to other organs of the community. Liberals reject this, for the reason, among others, that they believe it would injure the efficiency of production and so make social conditions worse even than they are. They see the remedy, not in public ownership, but in popular ownership; not in a nation of people poor but living in civic magnificence, but in a nation of people individually prosperous. Walt Whitman, that stout democrat, wrote this: "Democracy looks with ill-satisfied eye upon the very poor and on those out of business," and asks for men and women "well off, owners of houses and acres, and with cash in the bank." On the economic side, this (with some qualification as to the acres) is the ideal to be kept in view. The road to it is through high wages, profit-sharing, relief from dead-

weight taxation, the encouragement of savings and facility for their wise investment; through such measures also as may be practicable to secure the better distribution of inheritance. The goal in fact is, in the words of the Report, a society "in which everybody will be a capitalist, and everybody a worker, as everybody is a citizen."

The National Equipment.

A country, viewed in its industrial aspect, needs its proper equipment, just as a factory or a mine needs its equipment. And this is not only a matter of roads and railways, canals and docks; it is a matter also of public sanitation, and schools, and scientific research, and the right organisation of the trades as units, and a well-devised system of public finance, and an intelligent supervision at the centre of the national activities as a whole. The Report has much to say on most of these affairs, and many suggestions to make. I can do no more here than present a mere list of some of the principal conclusions and recommendations, referring the reader to the Report itself for their details and for the arguments that support them.

Between a one-man business at one end of the scale and a State service, such as the Post Office, at the other, there is now a gradation of units of production of very varied types. A great section of industry is already under public or semi-public controls of various kinds. We have termed this section the Public Concern. Our commercial laws and customs should recognise this new fact and its consequences; much attention should be devoted to securing the best organisation of these many industrial societies, public boards, corporations, and great industrial combines.

The mining industry is in urgent need of re-organisation and development, along the lines proposed by the Royal Commission of 1925-6. Many measures are possible to promote the revival of agriculture—particularly in connection with land tenure, the marketing of products and financial credits.

The trades should be encouraged to consider their problems as organised units. To this end Trade Associations, the voluntary combinations of industrialists, should be given a corporate status, be invited to undertake certain necessary functions, and be accorded the powers needed to fulfil them. The modern Trade Associations may come to take the place of the old Trade Guilds, reviving their many utilities, avoiding, let us hope, their mistakes, and performing the fresh duties required by the conditions of a later age.

A Ministry of Industry, ranking as a Department of the first class, should take over the functions of the present Ministry of Labour, of the Department of Mines, and of certain sections of the Home Office and the Board of Trade; it would add to them the

additional duties and powers required by the new measures that are proposed. The Minister would be advised by a standing Council of Industry, consisting, it is suggested, of nine representative employers and nine representative spokesmen of Labour.

Watching industrial developments, and proposing in good time such action as may be needed in relation to particular problems, there should be an Economic General Staff. It would work in the closest co-operation with a Committee of the Cabinet, consisting of the Ministers directly concerned with these aspects of the nation's life.

Extensions are proposed in the system of education. Reforms, of wide importance, are suggested in our financial methods. In particular it is urged that the form of the national accounts should be re-cast, so as to draw a clear distinction between expenditures that are in the nature of investment or otherwise remunerative, and those which are dead-weight burdens. Large changes in the system of local taxation are strongly advocated, so as to relieve the oppressive and unequal burden of the rates.

Measures are supported by which Imperial development may be promoted, while not injuring, by the imposition of restrictive tariffs, the two-thirds of our trade which is conducted with countries outside the Empire.

So it is hoped, through this wide programme of activities—not in a single year or a single Parliament, but over a long period of time; not through a single principle or a single nostrum, but through a variety of measures framed to meet a variety of problems —to attain a larger degree of industrial efficiency, and thereby a higher level of general prosperity; to establish also a fuller social justice, and thereby a more stable industrial peace.

HERBERT SAMUEL.

SAZONOFF.

THE news that S. D. Sazonoff died, of heart failure, in Nice on December 24th last, was a most painful surprise for me, whose friend, secretary and ultimately Chief he had been in the course of more than thirty years. I remember him when he graduated from the Imperial Alexander Lyceum of St. Petersburg in 1883, eight years after Isvolsky and myself. He entered our Foreign Office at once and was in those days a quiet, studious, elegant youth, very sociable and amiable but no friend of noisy amusement. He was thoroughly Russian in character and breeding, a friend of the Slavonic cause, and a faithful son of the Russian Greek-Orthodox Church. At the same time he considered Russia a European State, as he said in one of his speeches in the Duma. And this particularly happy blend of national Russian and high-class Western culture became one of his chief personal characteristics. His father was a wealthy landed proprietor of Kazan, and his elder brother, whom I also knew, was some time Marshal of the Nobility of the district.

Fourteen years later, when I was appointed Minister-Resident to the Court of Pope Leo XIII, I found Sazonoff in Rome, as Secretary of our Legation. He had been there for three years with Isvolsky. By that time he had ripened into a distinguished diplomatist, who had gained a great deal of experience through working with, and sometimes against, the ablest diplomacy of the world, that of the Vatican. He wrote with ease perfect French and Russian, and had an admirable knowledge of English, Italian and German. He drew up for me a very interesting memorandum on the situation of the Roman Catholic Church in Latin America, which duly appeared among the chosen Consular Reports published by our Foreign Office.

In Rome, Sazonoff married a charming young lady of Moscow, Miss Anna B. Neidhardt, whose elder sister was the wife of our future parliamentary Prime Minister, Stolypin. About that time I was glad to assist Sazonoff, as his chief, in becoming Chamberlain of the Imperial Court.

In 1900 I was transferred to Belgrade, and Sazonoff was soon promoted First Secretary at our London Embassy, where he remained six years. He was Chargé d'Affaires during the dangerous Dogger Bank incident of 1904 between the outward-bound fleet of Admiral Rojdestvensky and certain British trawlers, which nearly changed Russia's war with Japan into a war also with Great Britain. Sazonoff showed already on this occasion the calm moderation, tact and loyal straightforwardness of later years in helping to direct this conflict into the peaceful channels of an Inter-

national Commission of Inquiry, such as had been fortunately instituted by the Hague Peace Conference.

From London instead of being sent, as he hoped and wished, to some new post in the Near or the Far East, Sazonoff had to return, though with the rank of Minister, to Rome and the Holy See. This proved a misfortune for him and later for Russia, for it prevented his working in other countries, gaining there wider knowledge and experience, making the personal acquaintance of statesmen and diplomatists and acquiring their confidence and friendship, all of which becomes more and more valuable as one advances in the service. Now, without these advantages, he was called straight from Rome to St. Petersburg in the spring of 1909, to the post of Assistant-Minister of Foreign Affairs.

This happened, as Sazonoff states in his Reminiscences,* because I was then advanced from the post of Assistant-Minister to that of Ambassador in Constantinople. I can complete what he says by mentioning that when Isvolsky and I discussed the choice of my successor, we both could point only to Sazonoff, whom we had known so well in Rome, as the best candidate in all respects whom the Minister could submit to the sanction of the Emperor and the approval of his Cabinet colleagues.

The Emperor had accepted in principle Isvolsky's resignation in 1908, after the miscarriage of his scheme for a European Conference concerning the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary. When I went to see Isvolsky in the summer of 1910 at his sanatorium for diabetes in Frankfort, being then in Switzerland on leave from Constantinople, he told me of his approaching transfer to Paris and that he was doing his best to persuade the Emperor to accept Sazonoff as his successor. We both greatly hoped this would be accepted. And so it happened. In fact, Sazonoff made his entrance upon the scene of high politics even before being formally appointed Minister; for he accompanied the Emperor to Potsdam in October, 1910, as Acting Minister. This *début* proved for him a great personal success. Besides what he himself says about it in his Reminiscences I know that the German Emperor and his Ministers were deeply impressed by his simple, unassuming and straightforward demeanour, inaccessible to flattery or diplomatic tinsel, and interested only in the furthering of his country's fortunes. I quite understand what the Emperor William II then said to him: "It will not be difficult for us Germans to live in peace and good understanding with a nationally minded (Russian) Minister." All the three predecessors of Sazonoff had for thirteen years displeased and vexed His Majesty. Mouravieff (1897-1900) was simply hated by him, probably for some of his vitriolic witticisms; Lamsdorff (1900-1906) wrecked the Emperor's Björko plan of a treaty with Russia and France against England; and Isvolsky (1906-1910) appeared to him too partial towards Great Britain, and had concluded with the latter the Persian agreement of 1907.

* Fortunately Sazonoff lived to see them in print, a few months before his demise.

Sazonoff became *persona grata* in Berlin also because of the economic advantages in Central Asia he wisely conceded to Germany. I am aware, however, that a considerable part of these advantages lay ready in Isvolsky's portfolio when he stopped in Berlin in October, 1908, on his way back from his European tour concerned with the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. But William II was then so angry with him that he purposely avoided speaking of politics during a whole hour's audience, and thus lost an excellent occasion of advancing Germany's interests in the Middle East.

Some time after this, Sazonoff fell dangerously ill and had to spend six months in Davos, resuming his duties only in October, 1911. This again was a piece of ill luck for the Emperor Nicholas II and for our Foreign Office, which needed more than ever a clear head and a firm hand at the helm. I also suffered, because Sazonoff's absence handicapped the confidential negotiations I had begun in Constantinople concerning Russia's special interests in the Black Sea Straits. It is no secret that this question was one of those to be settled at the European Conference planned in 1908 by Isvolsky in connection with the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary. In Italy, Paris and London he had then succeeded in obtaining in this respect full approval, and in London a limited consent from the British Government, set down in the protocol of Sir Edward Grey in 1908. When the Conference fell through, I began, as Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, a direct Russo-Turkish negotiation concerning the Straits with the Ottoman Ambassador in St. Petersburg, Turkhan Pasha. I renewed the negotiations in the autumn of 1911 as Ambassador in Constantinople, on my own initiative but with positive instructions from the Foreign Office, given unfortunately in the absence of Sazonoff, who was on sick leave. When the Minister resumed his functions he decided, as was his right and duty, that under the then existing circumstances the negotiation should not be proceeded with. And as I had voluntarily acted on my personal responsibility so as to shield my Government in case of unsuccess, I was naturally recalled from Constantinople in March, 1912, and appointed Senator. Three years later, however, during the second period of the Great War, Sazonoff raised the question once more and concluded with Great Britain and France the well-known Tripartite Agreement of 1915 about the Straits and Constantinople. This

agreement was, to my mind, too vast to be practicable and ought not to have included the annexation of Constantinople, which Sazonoff himself did not wish and which was favoured by Bismarck, and was, for reasons that cannot be discussed here, always considered by the sovereigns and rulers of Russia as dangerous and harmful for her.

My recall did not change in any way the personal friendly relations between Sazonoff and myself, and it was with sincere sorrow that I learned of his failure in 1913 to prevent the second Balkan War, that of Bulgaria with Serbia. I am sure that had both these countries known Sazonoff better, they would not have wished to avoid the Russian arbitration which was to have settled their differences concerning Macedonia. All his friends applauded his great diplomatic success of 1914 when, for the first time in history, Russia entered upon a great war, involving a settlement of the Eastern Question, having both Great Britain and France, and even Japan and, later, Italy, for her allies.

The foreign and domestic situation of Russia during the Great War is fully described in Sazonoff's Reminiscences, which make it quite clear why, in the midst of that war, in 1916, he was dismissed with all the other Ministers who had incurred the displeasure of the Court reactionary party by their advocacy of a more liberal policy which might have saved Russia from the revolution of 1917. The Provisional Government of Prince Lvoff appointed him Ambassador to London, but proved unable to put this appointment through. During the efforts of the Voluntary Army to reconquer Russia from the Bolsheviks, Sazonoff acted as Diplomatic Counsellor in Ekaterinodar. On the failure of these attempts he spent a year in Prague, and then settled in France, where the sale of a small estate which he had bought near Grodno and which became Polish territory gave him sufficient means to live on the brink of actual poverty.

Sazonoff's health, which had never been strong, was broken by the terrible experiences of these later years. And so it was that at the age of sixty-seven there passed away a diplomatist and statesman of whom it has been said " il était plus droit qu'adroit," who was a true friend of England, a sincere patriot, and an honest man.

N. V. TCHARYKOW.
(Former Russian Ambassador in Constantinople.)

SECURITY, DISARMAMENT AND—AMERICA.

EIGHT years have gone since, in the Paris Peace Treaty, we promised that, along with our Allies in the War, we would reduce our armaments to the lowest possible limit consistent with national safety and the discharge of international obligations; eight years have passed since we assured Germany that her disarmament would be but preliminary to general disarmament. Yet, collectively, little has been done to redeem those promises to which we are all so solemnly and doubly bound. There has been much talk of doing, but little done. And, meantime, Europe drifts back to the pre-war condition of each country arming for its own defence because there is no general agreement for the protection of each through the power of all. " International obligations " has remained just a phrase in a document and, while so regarded, disarmament hangs fire. There is no sense of security.

Why is the phrase not made into a reality? It is true that efforts have been made to translate it into binding agreement. A Commission made some tentative proposals as early as 1920; afterwards there was the Draft Treaty of mutual assistance and, when that had been rejected by our Government, there came another brief spell of hope—and even of expectation—when the Assembly of 1924 adopted what has come to be spoken of as the Protocol. But this also was rejected by the British Government, although accepted by France and many other nations, so that eight years of conferences and commissions have left us where we were except for certain sectional pacts which, however good within their limits, have led to no appreciable diminution of armaments over the whole field. And now new dangers have come into view. Poland, having broken over the border assigned to her in 1919, has created fresh animosities; Roumania, given territory at the expense of Russia, finds that country casting envious eyes on it. And the new or reconstituted countries, generally, have exhibited a spirit of aggressiveness and a lack of sense of responsibility which does not make for peace.

In view, then, of the growing urgency of the matter, surely the time has come to probe for possible unrevealed causes of failure. A contributory cause lies, no doubt, in the fact of Russia and the United States of America being outside the League of Nations, but, if disarmament is to wait for their inclusion, then we might as well abandon hope, for neither of them shows the least inclination to apply for membership. Nor is the main cause of failure to be found in their non-membership. I believe that the main cause is to be found in a feeling, on the part of responsible British advisers, that there would be complications with America if Great Britain

were ever called upon to take its part in enforcing the terms of a general League pact upon a recalcitrant nation. Such nation would, of course, be outlawed and nations which are not in the League might want to protect trade with her. This might become a very serious matter, especially for this country because of its naval strength in the League, and because of existing sea-law which has been largely built up on British supremacy at sea. That, I feel sure, is at the bottom of the hesitation of successive British Governments to associate this country in such a general pooling of forces as would afford a means of security and so lead to disarmament. And it might be freely admitted that, if the complications and risks which are above adumbrated could only arise as the result of a new general pact, then there would be some grounds for the British Government withholding assent to it. But is any new risk revealed in this survey of possibilities? Only, I maintain, if a new commitment in a new general pact were something different from and additional to our present commitments under the Covenant of the League. And I submit further that no proposal has been made by any responsible authority which would have carried with it any fresh commitment if present commitments are interpreted in a literal sense. We are already under obligations, by Article 16 of the Covenant, to prevent "all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the Nationals of the Covenant-breaking State and the Nationals of any other State, whether a member of the League or not."

If we intend to honour that bond, neither the 1924 Protocol, nor any similar instrument, would make any difference in regard to the possibilities of trouble with America except in a limiting sense. For, whereas the terms of the obligation are set out in the Covenant as applying unconditionally to each signatory, there is the provision in the protocol for collective action, and the obligations of the signatories are defined.

But let us now consider the matter in another aspect. The possible trouble lurking in a general pact now lies in our clinging to the right to wage private war. Suppose we were to get involved in a quarrel, and the conciliatory machinery of the League were exhausted without having composed it? After three months we should, under the terms of the Covenant, be free to go to war. I do not suppose for a moment that we should do so, for passions would have cooled in delay and the public opinion of the world would have had time to make its influence felt. But it is just this shadowy right to which British Governments have persistently clung, it is just this wretched remaining remnant of the right to wage private war which has stood in the way of a general scheme of arbitration. And the first effect of exercising the right would be to bring us face to face with that very conflict of viewpoint with America, the fear of which—in my sup-

position—has been, so far, the cause of our having withheld consent to a general pact. For if we went to war, one of our first acts would be to stop the trade of the enemy. The danger of conflict with America is, therefore, inherent in the present position.

What, then, is the way out? Obviously it lies in an arrangement with America in regard to the rights of neutrals during a war. A chance of coming to such an arrangement might have been found at the recent Naval Conference at Geneva, which broke up on technicalities instead of tackling these large principles. I am not throwing blame at the delegates. They were tied down to acceptance of existing conditions. The agenda might, however, have been widened by previous arrangement and it was because this had not been done that a chance was lost. But it may come again. There is a significant passage in the recent address to Congress of President Coolidge, which may have been intended to have a special significance for this country. In that passage the President said that the American naval programme might be held up in the event of another Conference being held. The way would therefore seem to be open to us for making proposals as to the conditions on which both countries could again confer. But it should be on a sufficiently wide agenda to admit of discussing how to dispense with cruisers as a means of lessening the number of ships of war.

It seems to me that there is room for mutual accommodation with credit to both sides. Each might make a move now and so pave the way for useful action later on. I am glad to note that Senator Capper of Kansas intends to introduce a resolution to next Congress that the States should offer a Treaty, an essential feature of which should be the acceptance of the definition of an "aggressive nation" as one which "having agreed to conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement, begins hostilities contrary to such agreement." True, it would only be a gesture and, if adopted, would have to be discussed in detail. The question, for instance, of who should adjudge the aggressor nation would have to be settled if or when the countries got to close quarters. But the logic of it would lead to concurrence of the United States in an international blockade against the aggressor nation. And this would not in any way conflict with the exclusive rights of the American Congress declaring war. An even more important gesture has been made by an official declaration of Mr. Kellogg in reply to the overture of M. Briand for a treaty of peace with France. In effect, Mr. Kellogg says, "let 'em all come." He invites the principal Powers of the world to join in a declaration renouncing war as an instrument of national policy and invites them to agree to "the pacific settlement of international disputes."

But now what of our side? An accommodation, on the part of equals, cannot be all taking and no giving. On the contrary, it is

obvious that if America is to do something we must be prepared to do something as well. I suggest that we frankly offer to accept the second of President Wilson's fourteen points. This ran as follows:

> "Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants."

This was formulated in other days and under other conditions, it was drawn up by its author in the hope and belief that his country would become an integral part of the League of Nations. But it is on record and possibly still open to the world. It will be noted that the proposal of President Wilson is not the old crude idea of freedom of the seas which nearly brought Germany and America together in the early days of the Great War. It does not prevent closing of the seas if such be justified by international need and concurrence, it only bars closing by the *ipse dixit* of any one Power without reference to other Powers.

Let us see now what might flow from these mutual concessions to world needs on the part of the two great sea-Powers. In the first place, it would bring the two branches of the English-speaking peoples together in a common effort to prevent war. That of itself would be a great gain. And one step forward might—probably would—lead to other steps being taken in Anglo-Saxon co-operation. The idea of the British navy being used against the United States or that of the States being used against the navy of this country would soon be ruled out if once the two countries agreed in principle on a peace policy. It is a preposterous assumption. Yet it was an assumption of the recent Conference at Geneva, for it is the application of the argument for protection of commerce by cruisers on its reverse side. If we, for instance, build and maintain seventy cruisers to defend our commerce against the world, then, by so doing, we build and maintain them to fight American cruisers. If such a fight begins, it will be a surrender of our common destiny. A common understanding would rule it out and bring the English-speaking peoples into the position of peace preservers of the world.

Another beneficial result would be to limit the area of any future war—if such there be. Under present conditions a war between two countries would mean stoppage of goods which are contraband. And under modern conditions practically everything is contraband. Bread was contraband in the Great War. A war, therefore, between two countries means stoppage by one combatant of the shipping of the other, and of the shipping of the nations willing to trade with her. This, of course, involves the maintenance of ships which, although called protective cruisers, are really ships of war armed

to fight the cruisers supporting the other side. An agreement to free ships of commerce from raiding or seizure, except in virtue of an international agreement, would mean that cruisers would be dispensed with to a very large extent, and war at sea practically confined to warships pure and simple, built and manned for the purpose of fighting just as regiments of soldiers are trained and armed for war on land.

A third benefit would be the immense saving which would ensue. If ships were built only for fighting and not for raiding commerce, there would be fewer of them needed and the money and labour now spent on them could be applied to other purposes. An immense burden would be lifted from the shoulders of industry.

Finally, there is an aspect of the matter which is of special interest to us in this country. What is the alternative to an arrangement with America? It is, or at all events, may be—and, if some of the jingo folk determine things for us, it will be—competitive armaments. Could we keep that up? We have in these islands about two-fifths of the population of that of the United States of America, and I suppose but a tithe of the wealth. Our area is small and that of America is large. Let us accept the facts of the situation gracefully. Our navy has great traditions of which we are all justly proud. It has kept the seas for freedom: let us now share the duties with the men of our own kith and kin across the sea. The American people are at bottom animated by the same ideas of justice and fair play as animate the people of this country. Moreover, they have nothing to gain by war. Could we not together agree that for the future we should together patrol the seas in the interests of peace?

GEORGE N. BARNES.

ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMAND OF THE SEAS.

COMMAND of the Seas is the converse of Freedom of the Seas—but it is also its complement. Command of the Seas has been a principle of the British policy ever since the institution of the United Kingdom. Freedom of the Seas has been a principle of American policy ever since the independence of the United States. These two policies are distinguished in international law as respectively the rights of belligerents and the rights of neutrals, which looks like a distinction as definite as that between war and peace. Moreover, in defence of these respective policies both countries have engaged in continual controversies and occasional conflicts. And yet there is fundamentally, and in fact, no real difference between the two. They are just different aspects and attitudes. And the argument here advanced is that at the present moment, when Anglo-American naval " insurances " in sea-power approach parity, and their economic interests in sea-power approach par, there is no essential difference in their naval policy, whether as belligerents or as neutrals. In short, this article might as correctly have been headed " Anglo-American Freedom of the Seas."

All our impressions of the antagonism between British and Americans as to the Law of the Seas are based on the controversies of international lawyers and on the collisions between the two countries in crises like the War of Independence, the Napoleonic Wars, the Civil War, and the Great War. But these political issues were ephemeral and there is nothing essential in the ideas of what we call " international Law." Indeed, the history of sea-power shows that the regulation and restriction of war at sea has not been guaranteed by the sanctity or sanctions of any system of codes, customs or cases, or even by a *consensus gentium,* but purely by the policy of the sea-powers, and by their belligerent or neutral pressure. Whenever the pinch has come, belligerent sea-power has ignored " international Law " as to neutral rights, in proportion to its own war necessity and to the menace of war from injured neutral sea-powers.

The lawyer, Mr. Asquith, in announcing (March 1st, 1915) to Parliament the maritime " reprisals " that were in effect an illegal blockade, said : " We are not going to allow our efforts to be strangled in a network of juridical niceties . . . under existing conditions there is no form of economic pressure to which we do not consider ourselves entitled to resort." He thereby merely echoed what, under much the same conditions, the diplomat Queen Elizabeth said to a foreign Ambassador (1597) : " For your part you seem to us to have read many books but yet to have little understanding of politics. For where you so often make mention of the Law of Nations you must know that in time of war between kings it is lawful for the one to intercept aids and succours to the other and to care that no damage accrue to himself."

So much for the derogation or denunciation in war of " juridical niceties " like the Declarations of Paris and London. Nevertheless, in periods of peace, national leaders and international lawyers treat these derogations as exceptions proving the rule, and then turn again to International Law as a means of regulating, restricting, and preventing war. Whereas the assumption that even the Declaration of Paris is " international Law " seems questionable; seeing that it was not approved by progressive opinion of that day; is not signed by America, now one of the leading naval powers; has never been fully applied in any subsequent war; and has now been made obsolete, practically, by new forms of warfare. And where a matter so vital to us as sea-power is concerned we cannot rely on these legal fictions. We must face the facts.

The facts of the case are, first, that regulation of the Seas in war, whether it be called " Freedom " or " Command," is not the result of any system or sanction of international Law, and that the rules as to the rights of neutrals and belligerents are mere makeshifts to meet the political situation. Secondly, that the Great War not only swept away all this system of legal fictions, but also set up a new series of naval facts by extending warfare at sea from surface war into under-water and overhead warfare. Which makes necessary a new set of rules. And, thirdly, that as we excluded from the peace settlement such a revision of these rules as the Americans required, they are now challenging our Command of the Seas and claiming to establish Freedom of the Seas by their own sea-power.

We are, therefore, to-day faced with the following choices. Either we must fight for our supremacy, first in an armaments competition and finally in an armed conflict—as we did in the case of Germany. Or we must let the wealthier Americans outbuild and outbid us in sea-power as we outbuilt and outbid the Dutch. Or we must come to terms with the Americans.

It may shock some that an Anglo-American war should be coolly discussed. But we must face the facts of the past and the facts of the present. One such fact is that our only war with the United States, as an independent State, was on this issue in a far less vital form. Another is that in the last war the United States only fought on our side and not against us for their traditional policy of Freedom of the Seas because German commerce destruction was more disagreeable to them and derogatory to it than the commerce diversion of the British. Another is that this alliance against German sea-piracy ended with the armistice, and that we are now far

advanced in a competition for sea-power between the United Kingdom and the United States. And a final fact is that we are to-day no further off from war with America than we were from war with Germany when the Haldane negotiations for the limitation of Anglo-German naval armaments broke down just as Anglo-American disarmament has done. Indeed, the present situation is even more serious. Germany, our neighbour across the North Sea, our natural ally and associate, and our kindred in race with a common culture, was challenging our supremacy in sea-power and our superiority as carriers, colonisers and capitalists. But Germany was not even aspiring to anything more than equality in economic competition and was accepting inferiority in naval strength. Whereas America will, in ten years, have equality in naval strength and already has superiority as a capitalist. America is our neighbour across the Atlantic, our natural ally and associate and our racial first cousin, and shares with us not only a culture but also a literature and a language. On both sides of the Atlantic hands would be held up in horror at the idea of war. But then so they would have been twenty years ago on both sides of the North Sea at the idea of an Anglo-German war. And what prospect is there that, when it comes to be generally realised that we are being ousted from that command of the seas which we have always been taught was a matter of life and death to us, we shall let it go without a struggle?

Shall we rather not look on Uncle Sam as

> " A cutpurse of the Empire, and the rule
> That from the shelf the precious diadem stole
> And put it in his pocket."

It is useless for the American Government to protest that in its naval programme now before Congress there is no intention of competing with us. They may succeed in getting a Congress to put no time-limit on construction in response to our Government's suspension of the British cruisers, but the Press on both sides has a sound sense of the situation. Says their *World*:

> " this programme challenges in an unmistakable fashion the ancient prerogative of British sea-power. . . . To-day both nations are drifting aimlessly in dangerous waters. Both are without political leaders whose imagination is competent to regulate this difficulty before it becomes unmanageable."

And if the American is bruising our heel of Achilles we are treading on his tenderest toe. His claim to supremacy over the two Americas has no better justification to-day than our claim to rule the two Atlantics. A century ago, when European Empires were all a-blowing and a-growing in the Americas, the Monroe doctrine had a basis and was a bargain. " We keep out of Europe, you keep out of America." " Trespassers will be prosecuted." But to-day

American capital and commerce are even more in control of Europe than of South America. And the imperialistic implications of the Monroe doctrine are as vast and vague as those of our sea-power. At the moment, the United States is penetrating or policing Nicaragua just as we are in China. And that not against a European Empire but against a local popular movement backed by a rival—Mexico; just as our intervention is against the same sort of movement backed by a rival—Russia. The only European Empire that still has a footing in the Americas is ours, and we are next-door neighbours in Canada and the West Indies. The Americans have, in turn, ejected all other European States—the French, the Russians, and quite lately the Spanish, in this last case by war. They have fought the Canadians more than once, and it was only the combination of British sea supremacy and Anglo-Saxon solidarity that has kept the two peoples at peace for a century. If these two links go, Canada and the West Indies will go too, insofar as our imperial sovereignty is concerned, either by war or by some transaction. For the Rush-Bagot agreement will then no longer avail against the Monroe doctrine.

It is useless for us to claim that sea-power is vital to us and trans-Atlantic supremacy not so to the Americans—that our maritime dominance is not imperialist and their Monroe doctrine is. The American rulers are Anglo-Saxons like ourselves with the same capacity for sentimental self-humbug and for cynical self-help.

Moreover, besides these vital issues and national ideals, there are to-day as many rivalries between British and American " interests " as there were between British and German before the war. Take only one example—that burning question of oil. The oil supply of the world, outside the Soviet sources, is now organised in two combines, one British, the other American. Their competition has now come to a crisis in their dispute for the Soviet surplus, and the recent success of the Americans has secured them supremacy in the Asiatic markets, including India. The influence of these combines over governmental policy on both sides of the Atlantic is as obvious as it is obscure. And if this influence contributed, as seems probable, to the recent rupture of British official relations with the Soviet Union, it may well under the conditions now developing contribute to a rupture of relations with the United States. To which might be added, were there space, many other Anglo-American business rivalries that are making to-day the same sort of bad feeling that preceded and prepared our war with Germany. One more example only will be given. Our mercantile marine has had hitherto a monopoly of the carrying trade between India and America. This monopoly the United States Shipping Board are now challenging by running their subsidised vessels on this route

at unremunerative rates. American state trading is thus attacking the shipping interests that hold our Empire together. Which British business thinks unfair. And though competition is no doubt desirable against these oil and shipping combines, yet it is no wonder that Americans are already more anathema to our ruling class than ever Germans were.

Nor is this surprising when you reflect that, in charging us a war-debt annuity of many millions, our American allies are not only making us pay for having driven the German cruisers and carriers off the sea on their behalf, but also for driving our own off the sea at their behest. This effect of the debt settlement is as yet clearly realised only by a few, and those few are all of the political party responsible for that settlement. But a silent resentment is spreading through the British ruling class, all the more dangerous that it is as yet confined to the City, the Clubs, the " petits comités," the Civil Service, the expert Committees—in short, to the extra-constitutional regions in which our British foreign policy is framed before Parliament and public opinion are seized of it. And it is in this region that all our wars have begun. No doubt when the danger became imminent the real relationship between the two people would be expressed by the British workers, even to the point of a passive resistance that would cost the rank and file their employment and their leaders imprisonment under the new Trades Union Penal Act. For they would go farther and faster to stop a war with America than they went in 1919 to stop a war with Russia. Such a war would also possibly be resisted by the American intellectuals of the Eastern States under peril of their persons and property from hundred per cent. compatriots. But would such protests avail against a press propaganda on either side driving the ordinary public into war passion and panic? For both sides would have much more material for an Anglo-American war-" hetze " than there was for the working up of the Anglo-German war-fever.

Therefore, unless we mean to resign command of the sea without an effort, or unless we mean to face a fight which would probably end in our losing that and also our carrying trade and colonies, we must combine with the Americans in a common naval policy. And the preceding pages have shown that this is no difficult matter so far as principle is concerned. For, so far from there being any real difference in principle between Command of the Seas and Freedom of the Seas, the former is the only material " sanction " for the latter, and the latter the only moral sanction for the former. The line between the two, as has been said, shifts with the political situation. Under a balance of sea-power in a period of peace it shifts in favour of Freedom of the Seas and International Law. Under a supremacy of sea-power and in a phase of general war it shifts in

favour of Command of the Seas. But the only security and sanction for an international Law of the Seas is still one or more national navies. There is not yet, and there may never be, a supremacy of sea-power so complete that it can administer a Sovereignty of the Seas as did the Roman Empire. The moral authority of a League of Nations, which will be something between that of the mediæval Papacy and that of an international Prize Court, will not offer sufficient security to a people like ourselves, dependent on the sea for food, fuel, and every form of activity. Those who visualise a League disposing of a naval force are " Leaguist " visionaries who do a disservice to the cause of peace and who expose their country to disaster in war. Those, on the other hand, who would " scrap the navy " and accept in return " scraps of paper " such as all-in judicial arbitration treaties, an international Prize Court, and a Declaration of London, are little better than "legalist" voluptuaries. All these institutions have no doubt an importance for establishing and elaborating a judicature and jurisprudence of the Seas. But the only sanction is and must remain sea-power.

We come, therefore, at last, to the point for which we have been steering since the first page. The only security that we ourselves could accept other than that of our own command of the seas is that of an Anglo-American Agreement to maintain on the High Seas navies of equal strength which in combination could cope with any other possible combination—in short, an " Armed Neutrality." And that secured we could then accept agreements with other States for the Neutralisation of the Narrow Seas that would enable them to reduce their armaments—in short, " Rush-Bagot " agreements.

There are plenty of historic precedents for such a policy in the Naval Leagues and Armed Neutralities of the past. One example is enough. The principle of the Rush-Bagot arrangement, as proclaimed by John Quincey Adams to Congress (56th 1st Sess.) and approved by the Senate, is that disarmament is the only practical preventive of war. What Mr. Adams wrote to Lord Castlereagh a century ago as to Anglo-American armed forces on the Great Lakes is equally true to-day of their antagonism on the High Seas: " It is evident that if each party augments its forces with a view to obtaining an ascendancy over the other vast expense will be incurred and the danger of a collision correspondingly augmented."

What is the proper procedure for seeking peace by the way of an Anglo-American naval agreement open to accession by other sea-powers? In the first place we must now, on our part, loyally accept as the basis of such agreement the American policy of Freedom of the Seas as defined in the second of President Wilson's Fourteen Points. In fact that stone which as peace builders we rejected must become the head of our Anglo-American corner in peace at sea. We

must accept " absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants."

What prospect is there of getting an agreement for an Anglo-American Armed Neutrality that would secure the British a fair insurance in Command of the Seas and the Americans a fair assurance of Freedom of the Seas? The answer seems to be that the principal difficulties of such an agreement in the past are now disappearing. British insistence on naval superiority has had to yield to hard facts. American objections to such accords as being " entangling alliances " or " undesirable commitments " are yielding to force of circumstances. Moreover, such an agreement with us would be only a preliminary to a general agreement for that revision of sea-law that is a canon of American policy. And the guarantee to be given to that new law would be confined to waters accessible to American warships and would carry no commitments to European affairs. Nor is there any infringement of the Senate's constitutional prerogatives in agreements to reduce armaments or arrangements for the revision of international Law. Any legislation that might be required would be in line with the Outlawry of War movement and would be left to Congress. And if an atmosphere of confidence could be substituted for the too angular Anglo-Saxon attitudes hitherto affected on either side, neither Republicans nor Democrats, Conservatives or Labourites, would have much difficulty with partisan opposition or public opinion.

But there would still be difficulties with patriots. The British would have, in the first place, to realise fully that their naval supremacy is gone and recognise frankly that " parity " with America gives them all the security required, whether as belligerents or neutrals. As yet our Admirals represent too large a body of British opinion when they write (*Times*, July 6th, 1927) : " We insist on that number of cruisers. If America insists on building to parity that is her affair. But it would not be an act of goodwill."

Americans on their side must realise that their new command of the seas will make it even more impossible for them to keep out of European wars in the future. As it is, they have been forced into every general European war since their independence ; and their best chance of keeping out of the next is to overcome their secular suspicion of us and to associate with us in an armed neutrality that can keep the peace. But at present their Mayors represent too large a body of American opinion when they talk of " making King George keep his snoot out of Chicago." And, apart from the mollification of such giants, there are still difficulties of policy.

On the British side there is still a strong prejudice against revival of this second of the President's Fourteen Points, and on the American side a strong prejudice against any approach to the League. Now this Second Point was the first pillar of the President's Temple of Peace. Which means that the British will have formally to renounce the right of independent blockade instead of, as now, tacitly recognising that in future it will be impossible to enforce it without American approval. While the Americans will have formally to recognise that Freedom of the Seas and sea law cannot be guaranteed without an Anglo-American Convention which will have to be brought into relation with the Covenant of the League.

That first step taken, the second is naval disarmament. Instead of politicians protesting that an Anglo-American war is unthinkable while their professional advisers are bound to think of nothing else ; instead of Peace Conferences, like that of the Hague in 1907, which exclude naval disarmament—the real road to peace—or Naval Disarmament Conferences which are exploited by experts for juggling over cruiser tonnages and gun elevations as at Geneva in 1927, or for jockeyings with Singapore docks and building programmes as at Washington in 1921, there might be a real disarmament for a real reason as there was of the British war fleet after the defeat of Germany. The basic principle of such a disarmament might then be an Anglo-American parity, not of tonnage, but of annual expenditure, leaving each party to expend its quota as it pleased ; which would eliminate the experts. The third step then becomes the extension of such sea security to other States as would enable them to disarm and thereby allow a further disarmament of the Anglo-American Armed Neutrality. This security could be given them by " Rush-Bagot Agreements " neutralising the Narrow Seas under guarantee of the littoral States and of an "Armed Neutrality" to which they would accede. For example, the Baltic, North Sea, Channel, Black Sea, Ægean, Adriatic, might all thus be closed to all belligerencies. Thereafter the fourth step—the reconstruction of international regulation of war at sea—becomes comparatively simple. And the final stage will be to bring this new conventional and codified international Law under the sanction, not only of the combined fleets but also of the combined States, in a reorganised League to which America could accede.

Each of these stages is a subject for an article in itself. But it is suggested that even thus summarised as a series of assertions they seem to be a logical line of least resistance for getting ourselves out of a very bad fix.

But if we are going to secure an agreement on a basis of equal naval strength there is no time to be lost. The present phase in

which the Americans offer us parity will not last long. It is the result of a balance of power in America between, on the one side, an economist plutocracy and a pacifist public opinion and, on the other side, navalist ideals and imperialist interests. The latter are still immature but are steadily getting stronger. If once they secure supremacy in sea-power they will not again surrender it. Patriotic sentiment, to which Americans are even more susceptible than ourselves, will then cause national policy to become one of Command of the Seas for the establishment and enforcement of Freedom of the Seas. The American Navy will then be praying as does the British to-day that "they may be a security for all such as pass on the Seas upon their lawful occasions"—but as to the legality of those occasions the judge will be the President, not King George.

GEORGE YOUNG.

THE ADEQUACY OF PARLIAMENTS.

II.*

WE have now to consider our second question. How far is the Parliamentary system likely to retain the confidence of the industrial workers?

Such a question was not asked by Mill in 1860, though at that time no industrial worker sat in Parliament, and very few can have possessed the franchise. How, then, can it be reasonably asked now, when the industrial workers have votes and seats and have even formed a Government? If industrial workers were not disposed to challenge the authority of the Parliamentary system when the House of Commons was elected on a bourgeois franchise, how comes it that such a challenge is made when the House is elected on a franchise which enables the industrial workers of the country to return a Labour majority to Parliament and to govern the country?

The answer to this question is the increasing importance of the social problem and of class politics.

The form which Socialist doctrine has taken in this country is not, as on the continent of Europe, revolutionary. The British Socialist is not a man of violent expedients. He wishes, on grounds of economic equity, to see a gradual extension of the functions of Government until the State is in a position to control land and all the instruments of production. He is quite prepared to move slowly towards that end, provided it is clear that every step taken is in the direction of his ideal. The end, however, is clearly envisaged—a vast extension of the activities of the State. Now, he sees that Parliament is already charged with work. He realises that, even as it is, many Bills pass through without adequate consideration, and many more fail to be read a second time or to pass beyond the Second Reading. He suspects, even if he does not know, that the Cabinet has as much upon its hands as it can manage, and yet his theories lead him to propose a vast addition to the tasks of government. The drink trade, the railways, the mines, the shipping, the land, not to speak of the banks and textile industries, are to be State concerns, with responsible Ministers who will be required to give an account of their stewardship to Parliament. How is time to be found? The Parliamentarian knows very well that without a drastic alteration of our present methods time cannot be found.

Another train of contemporary thought leads to the same result. The democratic arithmetic upon which our Parliamentary representation is now based assumes that every man and woman is to count as one, and (with a few trifling exceptions) that no one is to count as more than one. At first sight, no theory could seem to be

* The first part of this article appeared in the February number.

more exactly adapted to the political needs of the working-man. Somehow, however, this political arithmetic, which might have been expected to supply a succession of Socialist governments, is found to work out otherwise. Opinion in Britain, for instance, as tested by the criterion of the polls, appears to the advocate of Socialism to be conservative. Why is this? Because, everybody having the vote and everybody counting as one, there are more votes unconnected with the task of carrying on the vital industries of the country than are engaged upon them. There is a feeling upon the part of those who are concerned with these industries that, under the workings of a purely egalitarian system of politics, they have no adequate Parliamentary safeguard. They say to each other: "Nothing could go on without us. We provide food and fuel and clothing—yet we may be kept at a starvation level by the votes of *rentiers* male and female, who are only enabled to exist by our exertions. If the Parliamentary system cannot provide an adequate minimum of comfort for the miner and the agricultural worker and the cotton operative, the Parliamentary system must be ended or mended."

For this particular form of grievance (whether it be legitimate or illegitimate) the referendum is clearly no remedy, since it provides a direct appeal to that very numerical majority which, *ex hypothesi,* is the source of all evil. The only remedies available are either industrial pressure, exerted through a general strike, or some form of constitutional revolution which will give to the great basic industries a greater weight, and a more immediate and compelling voice in the control of policy, than those which the present egalitarian arithmetic affords them.

The general strike is, of course, the negation of Parliamentary government. Its postulate is that things which cannot be obtained by Parliamentary pressure must be extorted by industrial pressure. It is not a method of government but a method of warfare, the *ultima ratio* in the class struggle to be used against the verdict of the ballot-boxes however democratic the franchise, whenever the moment arrives.

The experiment of disfranchising the upper and middle classes and of lodging all political power in a small Communist Party, proposing to represent the interests of the proletariat, has been carried out in Russia. It is not, however, likely to succeed in any country where the habit of investment is widely spread or the middle class strongly constituted. Even in Germany, where the very nature of government was greatly discredited by the prodigious disaster of an unsuccessful war, the Spartacist risings were easily put down. Still smaller are the chances of a Bolshevist triumph in Britain. In the United States, with its eight million landowners and sixty

million fundholders, the success or even initiation of such a movement is incredible. Nevertheless, the mere fact that a modern Government has been set up in Russia on a non-parliamentary basis and for the more equal distribution of wealth, and that in Italy the reaction from Bolshevism has led to the establishment of a mode of rule, equally dictatorial and not less unparliamentary but directed to an opposite end, has not been without a far-ranging influence upon opinion. Both in Russia and in Italy Parliamentary constitutions have been set aside. It is contended in Russia that they are incapable of wielding social justice; in Italy, that they are inadequate to the protection of the material and spiritual values of the race. These arguments have their repercussion even in countries little disposed towards revolutionary methods. It is recognised that the Parliamentary system may in certain circumstances break down, and that Soviet or Fascist rule provide alternatives. In every country men of extreme opinions and impatient temper are disposed to look for guidance to Moscow or to Rome. The mere fact that Parliamentary rule has not been found all-sufficient in every circumstance leads to a narrower inspection of its credentials in those countries which are not disposed to violent revolution.

The problem is to find some expedient for ensuring the public control of industry without imposing upon Parliament or the executive a burden which they would be unable to carry. Devolution has been often talked of in Britain, but mainly as one of the means for solving the Irish question, or as an inseparable accident of a scheme of Imperial Federation. A few years ago many important statesmen were in favour of some variant of devolution. "Home rule all round" was a cry raised in one quarter, while in the opposite camp there were many who saw in Imperial Federation a scheme which would have the double advantage of uniting the Empire and relieving the congestion of work at Westminster. Such plans have receded somewhat into the background since Ireland has been accorded a full measure of self-government; and as there is no manifestation of enthusiasm either in the Dominions or in England for the wide scheme of constitutional reconstruction which they imply, no political party is at present likely to revive them. Moreover, it is doubtful if the devolution of business to subordinate Parliaments would seriously diminish the burden of the Sovereign Assembly. To break up England into a number of autonomous regions, each independent of the other in such matters as Factories, Mines, Shipping, Education, would be to surrender the great advantage which uniformity of regulations and the insistence on a national minimum bring in their train. But if this is not done, if devolution is merely to consist of the enlargement of the powers and duties of the existing Local Authorities, leaving unchanged the general principles

which govern the relation between local and central government, then we cannot be confident that any sensible alleviation of the burdens at present resting on the Central Authority will ensue. It certainly is not the experience of the country that as local government increases central government falls off. The business appears to swell with a consentaneous motion in the localities and at Whitehall.

We do not, then, expect to find either Home Rule all round, or the sub-division of England into regional parliaments, or any large measure of devolution or Imperial Federation among the victorious political expedients of the future. Nevertheless, the Socialist who faces the consequences of his own doctrine is bound to propose something. He sees that Parliament is already fully charged, some would say greatly overcharged, with work, and his principles lead him to propose a considerable extension of the sphere of government. He notices that our existing constitution was built up at a time when the functions of the State were far more narrowly circumscribed than is now the case, and he asks himself whether the time has not come to overhaul the old building and to suggest appendages and additions. He notes that such a view has been widely taken abroad, that the German constitution of 1919, in addition to providing for the Referendum, the Initiative and the Recall, sets up in its Reichsarbeiterrat and Reichswirtschaftrat two organs for the representation of the workers, manual and professional, of the nation.

The idea of supplementing our present Parliament by the establishment of an Industrial Parliament or Council has found favour in many quarters of Great Britain. The project has taken two shapes. Some, like Lord Milner and Mr. Arthur Henderson, have in mind a national deliberative assembly for industrial and social problems with advisory powers only. Others, like Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, advocate the setting up of a Social Parliament with sovereign authority within its own sphere of action. The supporters of both schemes lay stress upon the unsuitability of our present heavily-charged legislature to deal adequately with the complicated conditions of modern industrial organisation, and upon the necessity of entrusting the task of shaping our industrial and social legislation to persons who are versed in the practical details of industrial life and can speak of them from first-hand knowledge.

The proposal for two parallel Parliaments, one political, the other social, and each sovereign in its own sphere, raises at once a serious difficulty. It is the problem of finance. The Parliament which controls the purse-strings will in effect be the only Parliament which counts in the eyes of the nation. We are advised that under the scheme of two Parliaments an end will be put to that heterogeneity of issues which is the curse of the modern Parliamentary system.

The Electorate will vote for its political Parliament on strictly political issues, and for its Social Parliament on strictly social issues. But can there be such a differentiation? The national Budget is both a political and a social issue. The amount of money which is raised, the modes in which it is raised, the purpose to which it is applied—these are questions alike of first-class political and social importance. Under the proposal the Budget falls to the province of the Social Parliament. It is the Social Parliament which decides how much is to be spent and for what purposes. It is true that the Political Parliament submits an estimate of its requirements for justice, foreign policy, defence, and the dependencies, but the Social Parliament may call upon it to reduce the total, and if agreement cannot be reached, the expedient of a joint session is indicated. Indeed, the authors confess that " a joint session may be the regular way in which the year's estimates are voted, and that it might be necessary to make the Standing Committee on Finance a Standing Joint Committee of the two Parliaments."

If this be so, what considerations will actuate the intelligent elector in casting his vote for a candidate for the Social Parliament? He will say to himself: " This man, if elected, will help to wield the power of the purse, to decide whether we shall have a big navy or a small one, whether we shall have a spirited and costly foreign policy or a tame and inexpensive one, whether the pay of the army should be raised or reduced, whether protective duties should be imposed for the sake of giving a preference to the Colonies "—for all these proposals involve money questions and money questions belong to the Social Parliament. Human nature being what it is, the candidate for the Social Parliament will be involved in all these problems, and only returned if his views upon them meet the opinions of his constituents.

The idea, then, that the two Parliaments can be kept in different compartments of the elector's brain is a chimera. The heterogeneity of issues, stated to be so objectionable under the present system, will persist under the new. All that would happen would be that two national elections, each coloured by the same party controversies, would take the place of one. The constitutional disturbance necessary to effect this change would be enormous, the benefit problematical and minute.

The establishment of an advisory Economic Council is a more practical proposal for which a precedent, in some quarters likely to be regarded as encouraging, is afforded by the Church Assembly. It is possible that such a Council may be set up. It was recommended in 1919 by a body of workmen and employers' representatives summoned " to separate the temporary from the permanent sources of discontent of the time," and the recommendation was cordially

welcomed by the Prime Minister of the day. The idea is popular with Labour leaders, who are inclined to think that legislative proposals affecting industry as a whole should have the advantage of a preliminary scrutiny in a Parliament of employers and workers.

How is such an advisory Parliament to be composed? If it is to be confined to men and women actually engaged either as employers or employed in industry, it will clearly be unable to take a comprehensive view of the problems submitted to it. If, on the other hand, like the German Economic Conference, it comprise representatives of the consumers, of the political Parliament, of municipal enterprise as well as Government nominees, it will not differ very materially from the Lower Chamber as it is now constituted. It is true that as regards the greater part of it, the Assembly will be constituted by the tried representatives of material vested interests. But is this a desirable basis for representation? A system like that of the Soviet, which is based upon trade and professional organisations, may succeed in bringing into one room a greater number of experts than any alternative method of representation can provide, but it also brings into prominence all the latent oppositions in the life of a people. The function of a national legislative assembly is in a sense always arbitral, to furnish the formula which will divide men least. It is no real objection to a legislature that its composition or method of working is unfavourable to creative thought. The originating impulses in policy must always come from outside. The Civil Servant, the Parliamentarian, the Cabinet Minister, work on second-hand knowledge. So does the Judge. So must all people who are called upon to take comprehensive views and to harmonise divergent interests over a wide field.

It is not, then, by any means clear that a national industrial Parliament with advisory powers is the best means of supplementing the deficiencies of our Legislature at Westminster. Let it be duly admitted with Lord Milner that a Parliament elected on a numerical basis is not ideally well-fitted to handle the complicated affairs of industrial policy. Let it be admitted that such a Parliament is likely to be deficient on the side of information and to miss something of that subtle tact in expedients which can only come from inside experience. Let it be admitted that these deficiencies, already noticeable, are likely to be aggravated in the near future. Does it, however, follow that the only way of effectually retrieving the situation lies in the creation of a national Parliament representing trades unions, employers' unions and professional bodies?

Clearly there are other methods by which Parliament may equip itself with expert advice on industrial and social questions. Such advice, indeed, is often sought and given through the medium of lectures and addresses in a committee-room upstairs. A Prelate will explain proposed changes in the Liturgy of the Church of England, a Foreign Secretary will describe the work of a recent Council of the League, an Indian Nationalist will expound the wrongs of Mother India, a banker will lecture on the Gold Standard, or an Air Minister on the progress of Aviation. There is the well-worn device of the Royal Commission, or of such a special body of inquiry as was recently appointed to look into the circumstances of the Coal Trade. There might easily be a standing Council representative of the employing and employed in the Coal Trade or any other of our staple industries to consider the special circumstances of the industry concerned and to press its needs upon the attention of the legislature. And is it not possible that the economic difficulties which are at present weighing on the conscience of the community will be solved by improvements in economic technique, which do not involve any serious alteration in the form of Parliamentary government? Types of such improvements are already furnished by the Port of London Authority and the Whitley Councils, the first, a semi-socialised organ for the administration of a great industry, the second a means of bringing workers and employers into harmonious relations. The establishment of some form of national selling agency in the Coal Trade would be a development of the same nature.

I have said nothing about what is known as the Second Chamber question, because I believe it to be of quite subordinate importance. Second Chambers are in all probability useful institutions, however they may be constituted, and in Britain the House of Lords might be reconstituted in one or other of several alternative modes, any one of which might produce a respectable result; but Second Chambers afford no barrier against the activities of a revolutionary government. The currency may be inflated, the comfortable classes brought to ruin, the army and navy corrupted, without the cumbrous formality of an Act of Parliament. In a revolutionary age it is not the legislature but the executive which inflicts the devastating wounds.

It is possible, however, that the composition of the Second Chamber in Great Britain will be placed before long upon a more democratic basis. From opposite points of view, both parties seem to regard this as desirable, the Tories as likely to give new strength to the Second Chamber, the Liberals and Labourites as calculated to extend the democratic principle. Whatever is done will make little difference to the working of Parliamentary institutions. The new Chamber is not likely to be more efficient than the old, and the country will never for any length of time allow the more popular Chamber to surrender the right (secured to it in the Parliament Act of 1911) to speak the last word in a great national issue.

The chief recommendation of Parliamentary institutions is that they provide a means of settling disputes without recourse to war.

So long, then, as men prefer peace to war, and argument to force, Parliamentary institutions will continue to flourish. In Britain there is no reason to think that the Parliaments of to-day are less efficient, less laborious, or less public-spirited than the Parliaments of a previous generation. There is much evidence to the contrary. On the other hand, there are a large number of social and economic problems unknown to our ancestors, which have been thrust upon the attention of Parliament, and yet with which Parliament is not ideally suited to deal. Our real problem, then, for the future is the provision of appropriate means for settling these controversies outside Parliament, or with as great an economy of Parliamentary intervention as may be contrived. There is no reason to think that this problem is insoluble.

The Russian revolutionist, Leon Trotsky, has published a book with the title *Where is England Going?* To this question he gives the confident answer that England is fast going towards a revolution. "It is not," he writes, "a question of the rivalry of two parties, but of the fate of two classes. When two classes struggle to the death, the question is never decided by counting votes. Never has that been the case at any time in history." Trotsky takes hopes for realities. There are no two classes struggling to the death in Britain. We are far too intelligent and humorous a people to indulge in such forms of fanatical suicide. Moreover, the country is too prosperous. We pay our debts, we maintain our exchange. If some old industries show signs of decline, others are springing up to take their place. The Savings Bank returns do not indicate a society suffering from a mortal economic disease. Since the beginning of this century we have become a nation of investors, of men and women who stand to lose by listening to counsels of force. And so, should violence be resorted to, victory would not go to the sectaries of Communism.

Our conclusion is that in Britain Parliamentary institutions will survive. We may reform the Second Chamber, we may introduce for some purposes the Referendum, we may witness transformations in our party system, we may erect an advisory Economic Council, we may give statutory life to a number of semi-Socialistic industrial enterprises. But we shall continue to be ruled by discussion, and to solve our differences by timely compromise. As education spreads, through the schools, the Universities, the libraries and the Press, through the controversies of the platform or the committee-room, the deficiencies of the new electorate will be to some extent cured. And the more intelligently the two modern alternatives to Parliamentary Government are scrutinised the more inconsistent will they appear to be with that attachment to civil and political liberty which is still, despite the growing acceptance of industrial discipline, a main characteristic of our race.

H. A. L. FISHER.

QUEEN VICTORIA AND MR. GLADSTONE.

THE latest volume of Queen Victoria's letters raises a familiar and difficult problem. Of its value as a whole and of its editor's skill there can be no question. Its political interest is strong. Its human interest is even stronger. And the astonishing candour with which the Queen's mind and temper are revealed to us is the most remarkable quality of the book. And yet, as one reads, it is impossible not to wonder whether the policy of revealing everything, before events have passed into historical perspective, may not at times be carried too far, whether the Queen herself would not have deeply regretted the publication of judgments so hasty and unguarded, of letters so obviously intimate and confidential, as some printed here, whether in fact these particular letters give a fair or an unfair impression of a Sovereign who in the long run generally recognised that her personal feelings must yield to her duty to the State.

It is no new thing to find Queen Victoria expressing her opinions of her Ministers with force and frankness, and it is interesting to notice how often and how completely those opinions altered at different stages of her great career. Peel, in 1839 the "cold, odd man" whom she could not get on with, becomes in 1844 the best, safest, most indispensable of Ministers. "That detestable Mr. Disraeli," of whom in 1846 the House of Commons ought to be ashamed, becomes in 1880 a friend so intimate that he can venture to picture himself to his Sovereign as a "young Valentine" reposing on a sunny bank. Lord Palmerston, so often rebuked as untrustworthy and mischievous, becomes a model which Mr. Gladstone unfortunately showed no inclination to adopt. Mr. Chamberlain, reckoned here one of "the *worst men*" and most dangerous, "*put into the Government in spite of me,*" lived to be regarded in a very different light. It is only, it seems, in the case of Mr. Gladstone that the Queen's deeply-rooted prejudice continued unabated, and overflowed to the last in expressions so vehement and impulsive as to weaken the impression of her political wisdom. The deeply-private letter to Lady Wolseley, dated March 3rd, 1885, denouncing as "*more incorrigible* than ever" the Government—her own Government—under whose orders Lord Wolseley was acting, suggesting that he should threaten to resign if he did not get his way, and adding that her suggestion must never be "*let out,*" that her hint "*must never appear,*" it is, of course, impossible to defend. It cannot be reconciled with the promise of fair dealing which the young Queen had given to the Duke of Wellington nearly half a century before. It encouraged Lord Wolseley to vent his opinions about Mr. Gladstone in an unbecoming reply. And its publication would be regrettable if it led people to overlook the fact that Queen

Victoria must not be judged as a prejudiced or petulant woman, but as a constitutional Sovereign who, for all her strong personal bias, rarely forgot what was due to her Ministers or to herself.

There are few political papers more interesting than Mr. Gladstone's note on his audience at Windsor in April, 1880, when, after a vain appeal to Lord Hartington, the Queen had been compelled to invite Mr. Gladstone to form a Government, as the Administration of Lord Beaconsfield had been " turned out." Her sympathy with Lord Beaconsfield, her indignation against the " violent, mischievous, and dangerous conduct " of the hero of the Midlothian campaign, were well known. It was not in Mr. Gladstone's nature to address his Sovereign in the style Lord Beaconsfield had so successfully adopted, as " one whose existence has not only gladdened the life of a people, but has deigned to shed on his being the ineffable charm which springs from sympathy the most condescending, from never-failing grace, and from the pure and perfect trust which becomes an imperial heart." Mr. Bright's sharp phrase about a " manner at once pompous and servile " was not altogether without excuse. But the Queen, Mr. Gladstone notes, received him " with perfect courtesy, from which she never deviates." The necessary arrangements, not always welcome, were approved. And it is evident that, as the interview proceeded, the embarrassing influences diminished, and the natural good feeling and common-sense upon both sides prevailed.

> " She said, ' I must be frank with you, Mr. Gladstone, and must fairly say that there have been some expressions '—I think she said some little things, which had caused her concern or pain. I said that Her Majesty's frankness, so well known, was a main ground of the entire reliance of her ministers upon her. That I was conscious of having incurred a great responsibility, and felt the difficulty which arises when great issues are raised, and a man can only act and speak upon the best lights he possesses, aware all the time that he may be in error. . . . With regard to the freedom of language I had admitted, she said with some good-natured archness, ' But you will have to bear the consequences,' to which I entirely assented. She seemed to me, if I may so say, ' natural under effort.' All things considered, I was much pleased. I ended by kissing Her Majesty's hand."

It is melancholy to see how soon this better understanding weakened, to find the Queen resorting to Lord Beaconsfield for counsel, which he could not always resist the temptation to give, thwarting, so far as verbal remonstrances could, the action of her public servants, declaring that she never wrote to her Prime Minister except on purely official matters. How much happier the situation might have been, both for the Sovereign and for her Government, had she had an unbiassed adviser like the Prince Consort at her side! Other

advisers did their best. Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues owed much to mediators like Sir Henry Ponsonby, to Lord Hartington's steady loyalty, to Lord Granville's wise and kindly tact. But nothing could quite take the place of the confidence which in those difficult years the Queen so visibly refused to give to the First Minister of the Crown. Never perhaps did the strength and fineness of Mr. Gladstone's character show more clearly than in the chivalrous dignity with which he faced this difficult position. Apart from any claims of public service, his personal devotion to the Sovereign and her family gave him some claim to more generous treatment. Courtiers have testified to the gentleness and consideration with which he always urged his views upon the Queen. " Most difficult ground," he comments once—the occasion was the admission of Sir Charles Dilke to the Cabinet—" but aided by her beautiful manners, we got over it better than might have been expected." He must often have been distressed by the growing sense of alienation. But he steadily refused to comment on it, to make it, as he might have done, matter for complaint. He met it, as he met all other difficulties of government, dangers abroad, embarrassments at home, the wavering of weak-kneed Liberals, the outbreaks of irrepressible Radicals, the misgivings or irritabilities of colleagues—in one month in 1885 more than half the Cabinet indicated a disposition to resign—with the same nobility of temper, the same good-humoured tolerance, the same high courage and resource. For all the passion that inspired his utterances, there were never wanting in Mr. Gladstone's character deep reserves of patience and of self-control.

Yet the years of his second Administration were trying and critical years. Lord Beaconsfield's Imperialism had bequeathed to his successor a wide-spread legacy of troubles, in Europe, in Asia, in Africa, at home. The difficulties in the Balkans were not over. The feeling of the nation, roused and interpreted by Mr. Gladstone, had indeed averted a war with Russia on behalf of Turkish misrule. On that grave issue Queen Victoria's views had proved to be completely governed by Lord Beaconsfield's. She had indeed felt some anxiety about the crimes committed in Bulgaria, and would have liked to express some sympathy with the sufferers, had Lord Beaconsfield allowed. But the Prime Minister hastened to assure her that on that subject the country had gone mad, and Lord Salisbury once took occasion to remind her that " when the Turks do not massacre children they are very kind to them." There is little indication that the Queen, who had been so ready to rebuke the adventures of Lord Palmerston, ever urged caution or restraint upon Lord Beaconsfield, even when Lord Salisbury doubted and Lord Carnarvon and Lord Derby resigned. By 1880 the worst danger was past, but the Sultan was still refusing to carry out his obligations under the Treaty of

Berlin. Mr. Gladstone's Government were able to secure the surrender of Dulcigno to Montenegro and some rectification of the frontiers of Greece. In Afghanistan the ill-judged policy which had produced so many troubles, already disavowed by Liberals, was deliberately reversed: but the Queen saw in the criticism of Lord Lytton only "unpardonable heat" and party passion. In South Africa the situation bristled with problems fraught with peril for the future, the Zulu War, the annexation of the Transvaal, the whole administration of Sir Bartle Frere. The High Commissioner enjoyed the "warm regard" of the Queen. But the Liberal Party were insistent in demanding his recall, and that demand Mr. Gladstone at last found it impossible to resist. In Ireland the situation was already ominous. Lord Beaconsfield claimed that he had contributed to that problem "the warning of Cassandra"; but nobody could claim that he had contributed much else. In Egypt clouds were beginning to gather only too significant of the storms ahead. And in all these questions it soon became unhappily apparent that Queen Victoria could offer little support and very little sympathy to the Ministers charged with carrying on her government.

Egypt and Ireland quickly proved to be over-shadowing problems, and on both it was only too possible for statesmen of high aims to disagree. The Queen, to whom Arabi Pasha was simply an "arch rebel and traitor"—an opinion in which Mr. Gladstone was inclined to concur—desired to establish English authority in Egypt. Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet, and his followers still more strongly, were determined to resist, as far as possible, any policy of annexation. But the chapter of accidents forced their hands. France and Turkey stood aside with a strange disregard of their own interests. "Single-handed intervention," says one acute critic, "was inexorably forced upon the one Power that had most consistently striven to avoid it." The bombardment of Alexandria was followed by Tel-el-Kebir. Mr. Bright's resignation gave expression to Liberal misgivings, which steadily grew as the years advanced. For the most sensational and disastrous episode in that unhappy story Mr. Gladstone's individual responsibility was, at first, less than that of some of his colleagues. He had declared strongly in 1882 against the policy of restoring order in the Soudan. He had been the only member of the Cabinet who objected to despatching troops to Suakin in 1883. He was absent when the decision to send Gordon out was taken, though he sanctioned it and, of course, accepted full responsibility for it. But the many critics who after the disaster voiced so loudly the deeply stirred emotions of the nation—emotions to which the Queen gave natural and vehement expression—might not unfairly have been asked to remember two facts: first, that the abandonment of the

Soudan was recommended by some of the Government's most experienced advisers, by Sir Evelyn Baring, by Colonel Stewart and by Gordon himself; and, secondly, that Gordon went there with explicit instructions, which he himself had drafted, not to hold but to facilitate the evacuation of the country.

> "The Soudan," he wrote to Baring, "is a useless possession: ever was so, and ever will be so. No one who has ever lived in the Soudan can escape the reflection, 'What a useless possession is this land'."

He told Baring that the Government's decision was irrevocable. He told the Government that it was a definite part of his policy that no British force should be employed to aid him.

> "I never understood," wrote Mr. Gladstone later, "how it was that Gordon's mission of peace became one of war. But we knew the nobleness of his philanthropy, and we trusted him to the uttermost, as it was our duty to do. He never informed us that he had himself changed the character of the mission."

But, the truth is, the circumstances changed from day to day, and no one, not even Gordon himself, could guess or foresee the difficulties before him. When the tragedy came it was vain to plead that he had reversed every idea with which he was sent out. There was nothing for it but to suffer in silence the penalty for failure and mistakes.

While Gordon was watching on his palace roof for the deliverers who never reached him, a great domestic controversy over the Franchise Bill had brought the Queen and her Minister for a moment into happier relations. A serious conflict between the two Houses was averted by conciliatory tactics in which the Queen's mediation played a memorable part. Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gladstone met at tea and practically settled a measure between them. The Queen, rejoicing at the opportunity of usefulness, did justice to the fine temper which the Prime Minister had displayed. But this better understanding could not survive the feeling evoked by the tragedy at Khartoum, and all through these years the anxieties of Irish policy were adding to the difficulties between the Prime Minister and the Crown.

> "I frankly admit," said Mr. Gladstone, in September, 1884, "I had had much upon my hands connected with the doings of the Beaconsfield Government in almost every quarter of the world, and I did not know, no one knew, the severity of the crisis that was already swelling upon the horizon, and that shortly after rushed upon us like a flood."

Ireland alone in those years was enough to occupy the energies of the most powerful Administration. Events followed fast—the widespread eviction of tenants, the rise of the Land League, the alarming growth of disorder, the demand for new and exceptional

legislation to settle the land question and to put down crime, the formidable power attained by Mr. Parnell. The Land Act and the Coercion Act failed to solve the problem. Mr. Forster, a statesman of great energy and courage, but " a very impracticable man placed in a position of great responsibility," failed to improve the situation, though his methods won the sympathy of the Queen. A fresh departure was resolved on. The Kilmainham Treaty was concluded. " We have entered at last upon the right path," cried one enthusiastic Irish Member : " you will hear no more of the Irish difficulty." And within an hour of this assurance Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke were assassinated in the Phœnix Park. It is hardly to be wondered at if this " black act " broke down for the moment the composure of the Queen. And yet one cannot but turn with relief from her angry reproaches on the " fatal policy " of her advisers to the letter in which Mr. Gladstone, while mourning " that one of the very noblest hearts in England has ceased to beat," assures Lord Ripon that in England the national attitude has been worthy of all admiration. " The general strain of language has been, ' Do not let this terrible and flagitious crime deter you from persevering with the work of justice '."

It would be profitless to trace here the circumstances connected with Irish administration which tended steadily to widen the differences between Mr. Gladstone and the Queen. The period covered by the latest volume of the Queen's letters does not include the most stirring episodes of the Home Rule struggle. But before it closes, the Queen has realised that " Mr. Gladstone (in his 77th year) is *bent* on forcing himself into office " again, and is entreating Mr. Goschen to rally *" all moderate men "* to resist " such a wanton act." Other problems of politics arose, to claim for the moment the first place in public attention. There never was such a Government as Mr. Gladstone's second Administration for providing crises to tax to the uttermost the Prime Minister's powers. He describes it to Mrs. Gladstone in May, 1885, as " a wild romance of politics, with a continual succession of hairbreadth escapes and strange accidents pressing upon one another." But he was already making fresh plans for facing every danger, when in June a sudden combination between the Conservatives and the Irish Nationalists secured the Ministry's defeat. Other hands took up the work of government. A General Election gave to Mr. Parnell's followers the casting vote in the House of Commons. For the third time Mr. Gladstone became Prime Minister, more deeply divided than ever in opinion from the Sovereign whose commission he received, and entered with unquenchable ardour on the most astonishing period of his astonishing career.

Since then the history of the world has been re-written. Time has

softened the memories, blotted out the animosities of those days. The problems of African government have fought their way to settlement. Khartoum is a British capital. Egypt and South Africa have moved at least a long way on the road to peace. Russia, once a dreaded rival, has been our ally in a terrible struggle. Ireland has seen a surrender to her demand for independence beside which the surrender to Home Rule grows dim. And the Empire which Queen Victoria, Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. Gladstone all laboured so strenuously to serve and strengthen, has grown to dimensions which may well cause grave anxiety to those responsible for its up-keeping and defence.

There is a strange legend, which still crops up in unexpected places, that Mr. Gladstone took little interest in foreign policy, never gave his full mind or attention to it. There was another legend, of much the same quality, to the effect that Mr. Gladstone took little or no interest in Ireland, current in some well-informed and authoritative quarters soon after his second Administration began. Yet to those who review his whole career—from the days when the *generoso britanno,* the *difensore d'un popolo gemente,* roused all Europe in 1851 by his passionate denunciation of Neapolitan mis-rule, to the days when, forty-two years later, he carried a Home Rule Bill through the House of Commons—both charges will seem equally remote from truth. Younger generations may, indeed, find other paths of policy traced out for them, changes in the relationship of nations to each other little dreamed of in Lord Beaconsfield's or Bismarck's age. It may yet prove that the battle of Armageddon has not in the twentieth century been fought in vain. But nothing in our manuals of political philosophy, nothing even in Burke's " far-shining discourses," exceeds in deep and practical wisdom the principles of foreign policy laid down and argued in the famous Midlothian campaigns. To some of his contemporaries Mr. Gladstone appealed, apart from his lofty character and genius, chiefly as a Liberal leader of unrivalled experience and power, a master of economics, of finance, of legislation, a master of oratory, of the arts which govern Parliaments, and of the methods, simpler but not less magnanimous, which move to noble passion multitudes of men. But it may well be that in after times he will be remembered chiefly as the spokesman of equity and freedom in international affairs, as the first statesman of high rank to plead, in a world still ruled by obsolete traditions of diplomacy, for a finer and truer conception of national duty, dignity and greatness.

It is no longer possible to doubt the greatness of the Minister. And many a loyal subject, who lacks neither curiosity nor humour, will prefer to forget the weaknesses which some of these letters reveal, and to remember only the strength and the greatness of the Sovereign Mr. Gladstone served.

CHARLES MALLET.

THE NEW PRAYER-BOOK AND "NO POPERY."*

AMID the complex of causes that led to the rejection of the Prayer-Book Measure by the House of Commons, perhaps the chief consisted in a fundamental undertone in certain quarters which can be summarised in the cry of " No Popery." It is true that English constituencies were in favour of the Measure. Scottish Presbyterians, Welsh Dissenters, and Irish Orangemen converted the English majority into a minority. And since the War, when many were brought for the first time into personal contact with the Roman Catholic religion, the cry of " No Popery " has lost much of its sting. Yet the decision was hailed as a proof that " the heart of England is still Protestant at the core," that the principles of the Reformation are not going to be abandoned, and that Romanism with its doctrines and practices is abhorrent to the English temperament.

It may, therefore, be worth while to inquire into this popular slogan, and note how far the history of the English Prayer-Book can be held to have justified its invocation at any time. This will lead necessarily to a brief discussion of Sacramental doctrine and practice, and of the point which here differentiates the Anglican Communion from the Church of Rome. The constitutional question of the Western Patriarchate will not arise, as the " Popery " which is meant in the popular cry is " Popery without the Pope." Nor is it needful to refer to things which are purely ceremonial, since an increased appreciation of ceremonial generally has been a feature common to the worship of all Christian bodies during the last half-century. But it is expedient to analyse the exact basis of that popular dislike of Romanism which is still imagined by some to be instinctive to the average Englishman. We shall then find that the recent decision of the House of Commons, as *The Times* remarked on the following day, has " not advanced the cause of Protestantism," but has struck a blow at Catholicism, and has played into the hands of Rome.

Every revision of the Book of Common Prayer has raised objections, and the real objection has been that the Book was still " Popish." The first revision, issued in 1549, was soon assailed, in that it did not mark sufficiently the doctrinal breach between Rome and the Church of England. Then came the Book of 1552, which was practically never in use, and as a matter of fact never received the sanction of at least the Lower House of Convocation. After the Marian interlude, Elizabeth wished to restore the Book of 1549, but

* This article was finished on Christmas Eve : it takes no account therefore of the debates that occurred in February in the Church Assembly.—H.T.K.

was compelled by the Protestant feelings of her councillors to turn to that of 1552. Yet the Elizabethan Book was not the same as 1552, and the changes which Convocation made were in the anti-Protestant direction. Then came the chaos of the Commonwealth. At the Restoration the Book of 1662 was so unacceptable to the extreme Protestants of the day, and so clearly aimed at contradicting some of their tenets, that many ministers of religion had to be ejected from their livings. Our present Prayer-Book has always been regarded by some as Popish. When the late Dr. Parker described it as " drenched with Popery," he was perfectly right from his own point of view, since the Book is no manual of devotions drawn up for the first time at the Reformation, but describes itself as containing the common prayers, sacraments, rites and ceremonies of the Church, the Catholic Church of history, according to the use of the Church of England.

This Catholic heritage, which links the Church of England to the rest of Catholic Christendom, has been preserved throughout all the revisions of our Prayer-Book. It is quite inaccurate to speak of the religion of the Book of Common Prayer as the Protestant religion. The word " Protestant " does not occur in it : but it speaks, not only of the Catholic Church in the Creeds and elsewhere, but of the Catholic faith and the Catholic religion as that which it contains and expounds. One of the most disappointing features in the speeches made against the Measure in the House of Commons was the impression which they gave that the average man is still ready to exclaim—" Protestantism I know, and Romanism I know, but who are ye?" Yet the national character which springs from the peculiar genius of Englishmen is specially capable of appreciating the unique position of the Church of England in Christendom, and of welcoming its distinctive policy : which was recently described by the Archbishop of York, as being " not compromise for the sake of peace, but comprehension for the sake of truth and unity." Centrality, viz., the avoidance of extremes, does not spell lukewarmness ; it stands for confidence in truth, for sympathy with diverse attitudes, and for a conviction that truth, however manifold, must be consistent with itself. It is a commonplace to say that, as the product of her history, the Church of England stands to-day as potentially the reconciler of a divided Christendom. And the latest revision of our Prayer-Book will promote that end.

Does this mean, then, that the Anglo-Catholic movement is entirely right, and that its presentation of the ideal for the Church of England is that which has always been implicit in the English Prayer-Book? This question carries us a stage further. Our Catholic heritage brings to us in the Church of England, amongst other things, a sense of continuity with the past, linking us not only

to many centuries of national life during which the story of Church and State has been closely interlocked, but also to those primitive centuries when Christianity as we know it was gradually taking shape and form. The first of these two elements is valued already by all, and understood dimly by the crowds that visit our ancient cathedrals. But the second, our continuity with the primitive Church, is not yet properly recognised, although it was to the early Church that our English Reformers appealed. It is imperative, therefore, to consider some features in the life of primitive Christianity upon which new light has recently been thrown.

There are, of course, some who think that the Christian Church went wrong quite early in its history, that the writings attributed to St. Paul and St. John indicate the conversion of a remarkable ethical and spiritual movement into a theological and ecclesiastical system, which was helped afterwards by the influence of mystery-cults to develop into that Catholicism which emerges into clear daylight soon after the famous Council of Nicæa. With such critics, naturally, all questions about sacramental doctrine are an intrusion from alien sources. But the majority of Christian scholars and historians in England do not accept this extreme conclusion. Our critical experts have established the authenticity of most of the books of the New Testament, and their general reliability as historical records, in such a way as to justify abundantly the average Englishman's trust in the message of the New Testament as a whole and its orthodox interpretation.

This general verdict of English criticism owes much to its sympathetic appreciation of the conditions under which the New Testament arose. It emerged out of the life and faith and worship of the infant Church. Christianity is not the child of the New Testament. On the contrary, the New Testament is the child of Christianity, which was embodied from the beginning in a visible organised society. The whole process of the composition, collection, and canonisation of the books of the New Testament went forward within the Christian Church. And this process, lasting for some three centuries, from A.D. 50 to A.D. 350, synchronised with other results, such as the formulation of the Church's faith and the regulation of ministerial order and function in order to safeguard the arrangements for public worship. Soon after the great Council of Nicæa the Catholic Church appears with two things in her hands, viz., the canonical books of the New Testament now recognised as canonical, and the formulated creed expressed in the baptismal formula and now expanded and defended by the Nicene confession. The *Lex Credendi* was thus settled. To the Creeds and to the New Testament every subsequent generation has been able to appeal. And, as we

can now clearly perceive, within these primitive centuries the *Lex Orandi* of Catholicism also was determined.

The liturgical activities of the Church, therefore, during the ante-Nicene period, have to be taken into account, if we are to visualise aright the way in which primitive Christian faith tried to embody its convictions. Such a scrutiny is the study of a life-time. We have here to trust the judgment of experts; and our experts assure us that the new Liturgy reflects the standpoint of the early centuries, being neither Eastern nor Western in its tendency, but expressing that primitive nucleus which is common alike to East and to West. In confirmation of this, and in defence of the Bishops' resolve about Reservation and Sacramental policy, perhaps two references will be sufficient, first to a well-known passage in Justin Martyr's Apology, and secondly to a Consecration Prayer, unearthed in a palimpsest at Verona in 1900, which forms the earliest extant specimen of the central feature in the Liturgy.

Writing a defence of Christianity to the Emperor in 148-153 A.D., Justin Martyr describes the introductory portion of the Liturgy, and then proceeds:

> "Having ended the prayers, we salute one another with a kiss. Bread and a cup of wine mingled with water are then brought to the president of the brethren; and he, taking them, gives praise and glory to the Father of the universe, through the Name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and offers thanks at considerable length for our being counted worthy to receive these things at His hands. And when he has concluded the prayers and thanksgivings, all the people present express their consent by saying 'Amen.' This word 'Amen' answers in the Hebrew language to 'So be it.' And when the president has given thanks, and all the people have expressed their assent, those who are called by us 'deacons' give each of those present the bread and the wine mixed with water over which the thanksgiving was pronounced, and they carry away a portion for those who are not present.
>
> "And this food is called among us 'the Eucharist'; of which no one is allowed to partake but he who believes that the things which we teach are true, and who has been washed with the washing that is for remission of sins and unto regeneration, and who is so living as Christ hath enjoined. For we do not receive these as common bread and common drink: but in like manner as Jesus Christ, our Saviour, having been made flesh by the word of God, took both flesh and blood for our salvation, so likewise we have been taught that the food which is blessed by the prayer of the word which came from Him . . . is the flesh and blood of that Jesus Who was made flesh."

This quotation serves to show that, quite early, the Church believed that the prayer of Consecration meant something beyond other prayers, that in some manner its use by an appointed official

did effect some kind of change, and that the elements of bread and wine, after their consecration and before their reception by the worshippers, were still bread and wine but were also the Flesh and Blood of Christ. Moreover, the passage shows that Reservation was practised by the early Church, not for the sick alone, but for all prevented from attending the Liturgy, the whole atmosphere being permeated by the conviction that it was the duty of every adult Christian to receive the Sacrament every Sunday. Justin's doctrine of the Sacrament also is based by him on its analogy with the fact of the Incarnation, the Union of Divinity and Humanity in Christ being paralleled by the union of the Heavenly and the earthly in the consecrated elements.

Alongside of such testimony to the belief of the primitive Church we can now place the witness of the Hippolytean canon. The recent discovery of this prayer, dating from about A.D. 225, has shown afresh that the normal form of Consecration followed the order of the Creed, speaking first of the Father's work in Creation and then in Redemption, passing to a recital of our Lord's words and actions in the Upper Room, and closing with an invocation of the Holy Spirit alike upon the worshippers and the sacred gifts.

Soon after Nicæa two rival views appear, the Western Church stressing the repetition of our Lord's words as constituting the essence of the act, and the Easterns emphasising the subsequent invocation of the Spirit. Both of these tendencies were innovations. In the West the element of Invocation soon disappeared, in order that the Church might stress with greater satisfaction and consistency the precise words which it now held to effect the consecrating change : and the closing section of the great prayer was modified and altered into that which now stands at the end of the Roman canon. Our present Liturgy, formally, is Western. And, to quote from the Bishop of Truro, it is " more Roman than Rome. It ties the act of Consecration more narrowly to the words of the original administration than any other Liturgy has ever done." For our prayer stops abruptly after the recital of our Lord's words, and makes them to be the only words employed for any further consecration that may be needed. And it has nothing corresponding to that closing section in the Roman Canon, which can now be seen to have been substituted for an Invocation of the Holy Spirit that was originally there.

For the value of the discovery of the Hippolytean fragment lies in the fact that it demonstrates that at Rome, and even after the Church at Rome had adopted Latin in place of Greek as its liturgical language, the element of Invocation still persisted and was placed after the recital of our Lord's words. We can now detect the way in which tradition deserted the primitive model, and can point to the period when the Church in the West was entering upon a stage of

doctrinal development to which some of Dr. Barnes' strictures upon Sacramentalism in general may be applicable. And it is precisely at this point that the new Liturgy draws the line. Based upon the primitive norm, it cannot be said to be definitely Eastern or Western. It is upon the whole prayer, and the prayer as a whole, that attention is focussed, and focussed in such a way as to show that Consecration does effect some kind of change.

Doctrinally, therefore, we reach here the point at issue between the Catholic and the Roman Catholic view of the Sacrament. Our English Reformers appealed, not to Holy Scripture by itself, but to the joint witness of the New Testament and of the primitive Church as being the mother of the Christian documents. We must be prepared, therefore, to acknowledge the evidence which the early centuries provide as to Christian worship as well as Christian faith. Such testimony justifies the effort of the Anglo-Catholics to restore the Eucharist to its central place as the main act of the Church's worship, and also the teaching which insists upon the reality of the gift bestowed through the Church's act of consecration. But it does not defend all the recent practices of Anglo-Catholicism. When the Bishop of London asserted that the new Book gave to Anglo-Catholics all for which they had been contending for the last forty years, literally he was quite correct. Forty years ago Reservation was being permitted by several Bishops, but there was no clamour then for " Devotions " and for other Ultramontane features that have characterised the neo-Anglo-Catholic movement since the War. Here again the Bishops have drawn the line precisely at the point where Catholicism passes into Popery. For the new Book permits Reservation, but definitely prohibits what are called " Devotions." Many think that this will prove to be an impossible task, and decry the policy as a " compromise." The task will certainly be difficult; but its aim is to preserve here the balance of Catholicism.

The Roman service of Benediction is of comparatively modern origin. And " Devotions," though not the same thing, is akin to it, and can claim no precedent in the early Church. Those who practice " Devotions " to-day, and teach them, are persuaded that the service rests upon a Catholic foundation. Doctrinally, they speak of it as an obvious corollary from belief in the objectivity of the Presence in the Liturgy and in the reality of the change effected by Consecration. But a plea of being a " logical inference " from the primitive faith is the sort of argument that has been used to justify all Ultramontane practices. Development of doctrine is legitimate only if it is consistent with the faith of the early Church, and does not contradict some of the manifold aspects of the message of the New Testament. " Devotions " can be defended, doctrinally,

only at the cost of throwing over into neglect much that was valued and taught by the Church of the early centuries.

Moreover, a support of " Devotions " on the ground of Anglican comprehensiveness must not rest on pragmatic grounds. There is no doubt as to the devotional value of the service for a certain kind of temperament. But utility is not the test of truth. The American philosophy of pragmatism, though apt to commend itself to Englishmen as being practical, is now quite discredited as a theory of knowlege. Almost anything can be defended as devotionally useful. One of the cardinal errors of Roman Catholic policy has been a readiness to do almost anything that promised to help and stimulate popular religion, without a constant recurrence to those Catholic standards that ensure proportion in the interpretation of the faith. When Rome was stressing our Lord's Divinity in such a way as almost to lose sight of His Humanity, the demand for something human in the Object of worship led her to set our Lady nearly on a level with her Son. When she was laying emphasis upon the inward part of the Blessed Sacrament in such a way as almost to lose sight of the outward sign, she worked out the theory of Transubstantiation in order to give dogmatic sanction to a popular demand for clarity in teaching. And when she had mutilated the Liturgy by restricting Communion to rare occasions, she devised a new service ancillary to the Liturgy in order to supplement its witness in a mutilated form. Such steps were taken in answer to emotional needs. They can be justified by pragmatic considerations. For certainly they worked, for a while. But truth is not simply " that which works." The historic claim of Catholic epistemology has always been intellectual and not pragmatic. And Roman doctrinal developments, by following the policy of concession to the multitude, have increasingly lost balance and proportion.

Will not the practice of " Devotions " tend to obscure, rather than proclaim, that Catholic vision of the Christ which rests upon the Divine Immanence as its basal fact? According to the Church's view, not only has the Christ promised His abiding presence with His Church down all the ages, but He has come through His Spirit to dwell within that human nature which He has redeemed. The indwelling of Christ in redeemed humanity, attested by the twin Sacraments of the Font and of the Altar, is one of the fundamentals of the Catholic religion. In order that His baptised followers might come to realise what is meant by their union with Him, He ordained an act of worship in which He is indeed the unseen Officiant, and where He gives Himself to us in the broken bread and wine. When the Consecration is completed, the sacred elements become the focus of our attention as the vehicle of that which we are to receive from Him, which is nothing less than His Body and His Blood. We can

gladly adore within the action of the Liturgy. But will not the extra-liturgical cultus be apt to obliterate, rather than make manifest, that realm of Catholic convictions within which devotion has to live and move and have its being? The testimony of those who watch results of Roman Catholic teaching in Roman lands and at Roman missionary centres gives here a warning. They tell us that large tracts of doctrine, which some may wish to describe as Evangelical but which really form part of the Catholic religion, have practically dropped out of sight. As Bishop Gore cautioned us, a quarter of a century ago, " it is a most serious lowering of the level of Christian devotion if a permanent external presence of Christ among Christians comes to be the most usually entertained idea of His ' abiding with us,' instead of the only sort of abiding which the New Testament suggests, viz., the indwelling of Christ in the members of His Body, of which it is the glory of the Sacrament to be the earthly instrument."

It is a thankless task to criticise methods of devotion. Yet not a few among the Anglo-Catholics are thankful that the new Book definitely prohibits the extra-liturgical cultus. They feel that its advocates amongst us are not pioneers, forming the vanguard in the advance to a position that all will some day reach, but are men who have entered upon a slippery slope which history shows to have led to popular abuses. And, in view of current controversy, it is needful to make it plain that some who are whole-hearted in their desire to further the full recognition of our Catholic heritage in the Church of England, deplore a recent phase of development, and deplore it as being definitely " Popish." There are some real grounds for thinking that our extremists are moving in the direction of Rome. The Catholicism at which the Church of England aims is not the same as the religion of the Roman Church. One of the advantages of the new Prayer-Book lies in the fact that it clarifies the issue, and forces us to think again and yet again of the goal towards which we are moving. If it soon becomes authoritative, there is more than good hope that the centripetal tendencies amongst us will defeat the centrifugal. But the longer its authorisation is delayed, the greater will become the risk of a disaster of which Rome may be the chief residuary legatee.

H. T. KNIGHT.

INSTALMENT SELLING.

THE business method known as purchase by instalments until recently had no great vogue in this country. For more than half a century it had virtually been confined to the cheaper grades of pianos, sewing-machines and furniture, and a few minor articles of luxury. Recently it has been making rapid strides in the bicycle, motor-cycle and motor trades, and is forcing its way into certain branches of the clothing trade and into new articles of popular consumption, such as radios. Its novelty, its American origin, and certain obvious risks associated with the extension of credit to consumers, have aroused feelings of suspicion and alarm, not only in conservative business quarters but among moralists concerned for its supposed effect in fostering recklessness of expenditure. This suspicion of instalment buying is on first sight not unreasonable. To be put in possession of articles, mostly luxuries, which admittedly you are not in a position to pay for, on terms which give a mortgage on your future earnings, certainly seems a dubious, if not a dangerous, proceeding.

Such considerations give real importance to the elaborate study of the facts and principles of this credit selling in the United States presented by one of the most authoritative American economists, Professor Edwin R. A. Seligman, of Columbia University.* In America, as here, the practice had until recent years assumed no large dimensions. But within the last decade it has made such rapid growth as to cover nearly 10 per cent. of the entire volume of retail expenditure in a country of unprecedented wealth. This is mainly, though by no means wholly, due to the amazing growth of the automobile as a necessary part of the material equipment of every home. About 60 per cent. of automobiles are bought upon this plan, a cash payment of from 30 to 40 per cent. of the total price, the rest in instalments completed usually in twelve months. Other articles, pianos in particular, run to a longer period for complete payment, but most articles are on a ten or twelve months' system. Automobiles alone account for more than half the estimated value of instalment sales: furniture comes next, then clothing, pianos, radios, washing-machines, tractors, vacuum-cleaners, phonographs, and other modern additions to the ordinary standard of living.

To deal with the finance of instalment selling and its credit risks, a network of special banking companies has come into existence. If dealers were to make their purchases on the ordinary terms from manufacturers, and dispose of them to consumers on deferred instalment payments, they could not cope with the finance of this procedure. The credits of ordinary banks were primarily designed for

* *The Economics of Instalment Selling.* Harpur & Bros.

business or productive purposes, not to finance sales to consumers. A Mr. Morris, of adventurous foresight, recognising the needs of the new situation, set on foot a bank devoted primarily to consumers' credit, loans on personal security without collateral, and repayment in weekly sums accommodated to workers' wage incomes. A number of these Morris banks sprang up in 1907, and three years later an Industrial Finance Corporation took control of them. "The volume of business in 1926 was $166,000,000 and the total earnings of the more than one hundred and twenty Morris banks throughout the country was over $3,000,000. The losses have been less than one-tenth of 1 per cent."

Such is a general outline of instalment selling in America. Is it a new, legitimate and permanent form of the credit system, or a rash and dangerous product of pushful salesmanship and consumers' optimism, enjoying a spurious success owing to temporary causes but destined to an inevitable collapse? This question, to which Professor Seligman devotes his two portly volumes, is evidently approachable from two standpoints, that of the producer and that of the purchasing consumer. From both standpoints it is important to note certain general characteristics of the commodities handled under instalment selling. Nearly all of them are durable goods the utilisation of which continues over a period of years. The automobile may be accredited with a life of six or seven years, and most articles of furniture, including pianos, radios, etc., will have a longer life. Even the articles of clothing most adaptable to the instalment plan, such as furs, far outlast the period of payment. Most of them are relatively costly articles which could not, or, at least, would not be bought in a single cash-down purchase by the classes who use the instalment system. It may, no doubt, be asked, "Why do these persons not save up until they have enough to buy the goods they want in the ordinary way?" In that way they would admittedly pay less, for the instalment plan saddles the consumer with the whole cost of the speculative finance involved in this plan. The answer, unsatisfactory as it may seem to cautious minds, is that the instalment plan puts them in enjoyment of the automobile or other goods as soon as they make up their mind that they want it. Is this foolish impatience and extravagance?

Before answering this question let me put another point that looks at first sight an aggravating charge. Most of the instalment goods are commonly classed as luxuries, condemnable in themselves from the narrower economic view. They represent, at any rate, the growing points in the new standard of comfort to which large masses of the people are aspiring. Here we find some difference in the English and American attitudes. In England a motor-car is still a perquisite of the well-to-do classes, of those who can afford luxuries;

in America, where there is one car for every six persons of the entire population, it is regarded as an ordinary convenience of life.

But the difference of attitude goes further. The modern American of all grades does not look upon any standard, either of production or of consumption, as fixed; new needs and requirements press on him with urgency, and so he is quick to invent and to accept new ways of satisfying them. He has taken to the instalment system, primarily, because it helps him to incorporate more quickly in his standard of living the articles that most strongly appeal to him for the utility, enjoyment and prestige which they afford. Not a few of the articles thus bought are utilitarian in the ordinary sense, such as sewing and washing machines, vacuum cleaners, gas stoves. But, as Professor Seligman insists, a larger economic view assigns to the automobile an important function in raising the efficiency of life in its possessor for all purposes. " If the railroad was one of the chief causes of the increase of American wealth in the nineteenth century the automobile, through the impetus given to good roads, may well merit the distinction of being one of two chief causes of the creation of wealth in the United States during the twentieth century." Adding perceptibly to the physical mobility and individual liberty of man, it has high productive as well as consumptive value. To be able to get an increasing number of such values for a year or more before one could secure them by the slower and more difficult method of " saving up " is a very distinct advantage.

I speak of " saving up " as more difficult. This may seem a hard saying. But one of the distinctive gains claimed for instalment buying is that it stimulates forethought and saving. For when a man has committed himself by paying the first instalment this acts as an added stimulus to industry and care in current expenditure. It is in some sense a moral anchorage, the knowledge that he has to meet out of his weekly or monthly income certain fixed charges which he has deliberately undertaken, and in respect of which he is conscious of new enjoyments. This largely explains the small percentage of failures to pay up, " delinquencies " as they are termed, which Professor Seligman's elaborate statistical inquiries disclose. It is argued that instalment credit, on the whole, causes incomes to be put to a more satisfactory use by stimulating the purchase of durable goods yielding lasting satisfaction instead of the purchase and enjoyment of more perishable goods. It " rationalises " expenditure. A counter-case can, of course, be made, to the effect that insinuating salesmen, skilled in the psychology of the credit appeal, may tempt persons to commit themselves against their " better judgment " and, binding them to future payments, restrict the free use of their future income.

The economics of the matter from the consumer's standpoint cannot, however, be understood without a clearer recognition of the nature of these purchases. It is not strictly true that the man who gets an automobile on the instalment plan gets something for which he has not paid. What is an automobile from the consumer's standpoint but a quantity of desirable transportation spread over a long period of time? The 30 or 40 per cent. of the price that is paid down when the automobile is delivered is payment in advance of the use he is to get from it before the next instalment falls due: each payment is really for " goods " or " uses " to be enjoyed afterwards, and when in a year or so the payment is complete, it remains true that the great bulk of the " transportation " that is bought and paid for has not been delivered. In other words, the formal delivery of the car, at the very beginning of the proceeding, misrepresents the reality of the business from the consumer's standpoint. And what applies to cars applies to all the durable goods thus purchased, for the utility or satisfaction which they represent can only be enjoyed over a period of time in respect of which full payment has already been made.

It is true that in this business the producer's interest has played a leading part. The readiness of American consumers to take on new wants, and satisfy without delay new desires, has educated to the highest degree the art of salesmanship. But that art, nevertheless, receives its prime impetus from the side of industry. It will be observed that nearly all the articles that figure prominently in this mode of selling are machine-made goods peculiarly susceptible to the economies of standardisation and mass-production. In other words, the larger and more regular the demand for them, the cheaper their production, and the more profitable the processes of producing and selling them. The success of Henry Ford, and of other automobile makers, in lowering prices and improving qualities, could not have been achieved unless instalment buying had given free expansion to the effective demand of the consuming public for the most desirable addition to the standard of living of the whole people. By expanding and regularising the demand, it enabled the plants to operate more fully and evenly, so keeping down the costs of production. And what applies to automobiles applies in considerable measure to most other machine-made goods which come under this mode of sale.

It may, therefore, be claimed that, by the joint stimulus given to production and consumption, instalment credit has helped materially to produce and continue the wave of prosperity which has lasted in America for some six years. The producing capacity of the great industries is so greatly extended by modern inventive technique and power as to tend constantly to outrun the market. From the indus-

trial standpoint there is need of a continual increase of purchasing power in the hands of consumers to prevent over-production, stoppage, depression, unemployment. Instalment selling was the direct product of this need for expanding markets, and it appears, in part at any rate, to have fulfilled its purpose. It has the appearance of harmonising the interest of producer and consumer, by enabling the former to produce more and the latter to enjoy more. It is true that the consumer pays the costs of financing the instalment system, but he may be recouped in the lower price which large-scale production enables industry to charge for the goods.

Here is an undoubtedly strong *prima facie* case. Whether, or in what measure, it is ultimately sound depends chiefly on the reliability of the credits with whose assistance the business is conducted. There are minor risks, not inconsiderable, connected with " delinquency " and its attendant foreclosure. The goods legally belong to the dealer who supplies them, until the last instalment has been duly paid. But an automobile is reckoned to have lost half its selling value when it leaves the dealer's store, and a good deal more before the later instalments have been paid. The same is true of many other articles. The system admittedly would not work if delinquencies were frequent and a considerable proportion of the articles sold on this plan came back to the possession of the dealers.

This brings us to the really crucial issue. How far is the apparent or real success of instalment selling dependent on the quite abnormal progress in wealth made during the last few years in America? Can America maintain this prosperity, and what will happen to instalment selling if she fails to do so? Critics of the system urge that, in the past, America has been subject to general trade depressions as deep and as prolonged as any that European nations experience, and that when the next depression occurs, it will be more disastrous because of the burden of indebtedness and the enforced surrender of half-used cars and other returned goods filling the store houses and stopping further production. Professor Seligman does not deny that in the event of a serious cyclical depression the sudden collapse of instalment credit would tend to aggravate the trouble. But he holds that it would not be an important factor. For in large measure instalment credit is not an addition to the volume of credit given to consumers, but a change from ordinary store credit to this fragmentary form. Moreover, the total amount of this finance paper outstanding at any given time is a very small proportion of the total bank credits. Statistics of the 1921 slump show that, though an enormous fall in profits took place, the reduction in salary and wage income was not considerable, amounting to less than 10 per cent., and that though there was a shrinkage of instalment selling and some growth of delinquency, the situation was not very serious.

A more minute study of the anthracite coal area, during the six months' strike of 1925, seems to indicate that, while delinquencies grew apace, the re-sale of returned cars enabled the dealers and their financiers to meet the situation without excessive strain.

But neither of these tests seems quite sufficient. The recovery of America in 1921 was so quick that the fall in wages, which lags behind the fall in prices and in profits, had not time to take effect. A fall of less than 10 per cent. in working-class income is, at any rate from European experience, a very inadequate measure of the aggregate damage from wage-cuts and unemployment. But, of course, it must be borne in mind that the normal earnings of the industrial workers, or large sections of them, in America are so much higher than in Europe that a considerable margin above expenditure upon bare physical necessaries is available to meet an emergency. Many would have bank savings or other resources on which they could draw to pay their due instalments.

> " Firstly, we must remember that there is another difference between instalment credit and ordinary bank credit. When the time comes to pull in sail, instalment selling can cease altogether. If the general business outlook is squally, the prudent dealer will stop selling in instalments, or will be induced to do so by the finance company. As a consequence, the total volume of outstanding paper will diminish with every succeeding week; and in the case of automobiles, it will completely disappear within several months." (p. 329.)

But though the purely financial problem connected with instalment buying may be adjustable in this way, we can hardly thus meet the objection that instalment selling, by the very facility of this adjustment, will cause a quicker and greater shrinkage of production in an actual depression than would otherwise occur. This, indeed, is the defect corresponding to its virtue. By increasing the effective demand for commodities, beyond the limit possible under cash purchases, it stimulates productivity to a higher level; but if instalment credit stops, as admittedly it would under a depression, the reaction would be correspondingly violent. The effect of a prolonged depression on the automobile, radio and other trades would be to paralyse the major portion of their sale, besides reducing their ordinary cash sales. These trades would, therefore, fare worse than other trades, and if the instalment plan enlarged its ambit, it would seem to worsen the aggregate effects of a depression. This follows from the very fact that it gives more elasticity to consumption.

But even if this be so, it does not necessarily carry a condemnation of the system, at any rate for a progressive country like America. We have admitted that the system stimulates productivity, enabling capital and labour to function more effectively. It does this by furnishing a purchasing power that may keep pace with the growth of

producing power. Thus it helps to prevent the recurrent gluts in the machine industries, which, reacting upon prices and credit, precipitate depressions. It may, therefore, be true that the instalment plan works as a preventive of depressions, although when a depression came its collapse would make the trouble worse.

Those disposed to condemn instalment buying on the ground that it diminishes the saving and investment fund fall into two errors. In the first place they ignore the increase of real and money income due to the enlarged productivity of industry stimulated by instalment buying. Even though a smaller proportion of this larger income may be saved for productive investment, the actual amount may be as large or larger than before. American evidence certainly points to the conclusion that instalment selling has not interfered with a rapid growth of national savings. Secondly, savings of a very real order are effected when instalment purchases consist of articles that yield a lasting fund of enjoyment and efficiency to life.

Upon the whole, a strong case is made for the instalment system in America. Whether it could be extended so far with equal advantage in this country is perhaps doubtful. America during the trial of the system has shown a rate of growth alike in the arts of production and of consumption that is unprecedented. The success and safety of the system may depend upon other factors in the cycle of economic progress. In this country we are marking time, not advancing, either in productivity or standards of living. Would a large extension of the system here assist the latent productivity in big standardised industries to be realised in such a way as to reduce costs and prices, and so help to get our trade on to a footing which would raise the wage income of the working classes and reduce irregularity of employment?

J. A. HOBSON.

GEORGE MEREDITH.

DATES of the last half of the nineteenth century have lost much of their meaning, because we have lived through the years 1914 to 1918. The abyss between July, 1914 and the present day yawns so wide as to foreshorten bewilderingly the forty or fifty years that border the far side of it. Even those of us who were old enough to stand at George Meredith's funeral, in the year 1909, to-day have forgotten, a little, the degree in which we were, then, feeling that the England *Richard Feverel* had come into was, to us, an unrecognisable England. And in our children's ears now the events of 1909 and 1859 sound not unalike. Yet, if only for our history, the shades and gradations of those fifty years will have to be retraced. And for mapping the ground that English minds moved across between 1859 and 1909 there are few better methods than to follow the writings, and the life, of George Meredith.

A recent biography of Meredith's father-in-law, Thomas Love Peacock, and the reviews of Thomas Hardy's early life, have lately called some attention to the earliest period of George Meredith's writing—a period when Dickens and Thackeray were still active, when Wordsworth had but just published *The Prelude,* and the earliest of George Eliot's novels had not made its appearance. *Poems by George Meredith* was published in 1851, and his earliest experiments in story-telling, *The Shaving of Shagpat* and *Farina,* followed in 1855 and 1856. Of *The Shaving of Shagpat* George Eliot at once, in 1856, wrote two adulatory reviews, terming it "a work of genius" precious among the novels of its time " as an apple-tree among the trees of the wood " ; for, in that book, she had come upon a young man who was launching himself even more fearlessly than she was about to launch herself into the writing of fiction which was to carry a philosophy. *The Shaving of Shagpat* attempted no less than a Reading of Life. Before it, the greatest of English allegories had recounted a hero's adventures in the saving of his own soul ; Shibli Bagarag in *The Shaving of Shagpat* sets out to save the world—to be the reformer. *Farina* (to-day included in the volume *Chloe and Other Stories*) took for its theme the contrast between a monk, who, in renouncing the joys of human life, came to destruction from spiritual pride, and the young student Farina, who, by way of fearless welcome to all that was beautiful, achieved the conquest that had been claimed by the ascetic. *The Shaving of Shagpat* and *Farina* ought to be looked at to-day in the coarse-grained green cloth covers of their original appearance ; and, to my mind, George Eliot's reviews of 1856 offer the best standpoint for seeing Meredith's outset in English fiction. Exactly as, six years later, Swinburne was best of all readers able to appreciate the imagery and craftsmanship of

Modern Love, so George Eliot was best fitted to grasp the worth of the ideas Meredith brought to the writing of his earliest stories. That this young man was doing fundamental thinking she proclaimed immediately and enthusiastically to Mark Pattison and her literary circle. *Adam Bede,* a year or two later, was to have such immense and immediate success as no novel of Meredith's ever attained. Yet to-day George Eliot's writing may be said to be absolutely, where George Meredith's is only relatively, unread. The similarities of these two authors' intentions, and the divergencies of their development, are fruitful subjects for inquiry.

As to his intentions in novel writing, George Meredith made most explicit avowals: " It is the conscience in thoughtfulness I would appeal to," " narrative is nothing; it is the vehicle of philosophy. The interest is in the idea that action serves to illustrate." These, and many other such statements of his creed, might have served equally in the mouth of George Eliot. But, in their actual work, one distinction proclaimed itself at the outset. Meredith was a poet, and George Eliot, in spite of producing some good verse, was not a poet. *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel* appeared in 1859; *Modern Love* in 1862. But they cover such similar ground of Meredith's experience that they may fairly be considered together. In the looseness of structure that prose allows, in *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel,* tags from " The Pilgrim's Scrip " and the most rambling disquisitions, serve for the "passage-work"; though the summits of the tale are lyrical. Portions of the story, considerable portions, were altered and rewritten for subsequent editions. But, from first to last, the heart of the tale—its heights and depths—have been as we now have them. Nothing has been taken from the scene of Richard's meeting with Lucy, and nothing has been added to it. The river that opened out to the founts of the world was the same as it is now, magical with the genuine magic of dawn. Gleam of water and earth, glint of heron and kingfisher, song of skylark and blackbird, with scent of meadows—these things were caught, exquisite and unmarred, from the first. Surrey scenery colours the whole of Meredith's writings; Thomas Hardy wrote of him, after his death, " the man seems alive now beside his green hill "; but in *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel* that countryside was fixed on his canvas first and completely.

Modern Love is a poem, with a poem's strictness of structure. In that there are none of the turgidities and loosenesses of the flatter portions of *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel.* In phrasing, the poem is nowhere obscure; the wording of it is straightforward and marvellously direct. Such obscurities as it has are unavoidable, coming from the fact that the poem is not a narrative, but is a running

commentary on a narrative which is given by implication merely (a method which, however strange it may have been to readers of 1862, cannot be surprising to readers of to-day). The fourth section of *Modern Love* forsakes all narrative, abandons the particular case:

" All other joys of life he strove to warm,
And magnify, and catch them to his lip:
But they had suffered shipwreck with the ship,
And gazed upon him sallow from the storm.
Or if Delusion came, 'twas but to show
The coming minute mock the one that went.
Cold as a mountain in its starpitched tent
Stood high Philosophy, less friend than foe:
Whom self-caged Passion, from its prison-bars,
Is always watching with a wondering hate.
Not till the fire is dying in the grate
Look we for any kinship with the stars.
Oh, wisdom never comes when it is gold,
And the great price we pay for it full worth:
We have it only when we are half earth,
Little avails that coinage to the old."

All this is generalisation. Yet every line is metaphorical, every statement is pictorialised. And the result, for the reader, is an amazing vivification of hitherto nebulous impressions. Not merely the experience of the husband of this story, but the experience of all whose actions and theories are at war, appears here clarified from sense impressions into thoughts. Meredith has put, as coin, into the hands of his fellows what, hitherto, had been ore too deeply embedded for extraction except by psychologists. He has given obscure truths an easily recognisable aspect; and he has enlarged the confines of story-telling by lighting with the flaming torch of his metaphors paths of experience that were previously unlighted. He

" Extends the world at wings and dome
More spacious, making more our home."

Because he was thus a poet Meredith performed the most exalted tasks of his novel-writing supremely well. On the mountain-tops he was always secure; his falls were on the levels, in the chronicling and verisimilitudes of everyday existences.

Yet, at times, and when he set himself to do so, he was able to create and to sustain a most delicate balance between romantic heights and the sanest prose, as, for instance, in the opening chapter of *Harry Richmond,* which plunges the reader at once into the heart of the tale. That tussle between the grandfather and the father for possession of the child sets what is to be the kaleidoscopic fantasy of after events into the utmost solidity. Lacking this setting, Roy Richmond and his son might have been moved entertainingly enough through some land of the Arabian Nights; but the wonder of Meredith's achievement in this book is that their life is

made to appear credible upon the most British of backgrounds. When Shylock's descendant carries off Roy Richmond, Harry is quietly conveyed to a homestead filled with butter and cheese-making; while Roy is performing as jester to the courtiers of a Ruritanian principality, Harry is at a simple and solid English middle-class school; the gypsy girl " fresh of the East as on the morning when her ancient people struck tents in the track of their shadows " is eating and sleeping and passing her days in Squire Beltham's field. It is, indeed, at all points and in all cases, easier to say what George Meredith usually left undone than to assert what he was unable to do. The existence of *Rhoda Fleming,* of course, is a matter much to this point. In October of 1864 George Meredith wrote to Frederick Maxse, in the fresh happiness of his marriage to Miss Vulliamy, that he was at work mightily, at last, upon a " plain story," adopting a new manner of writing " to enter life with my people, to make money." And in *Rhoda Fleming* he certainly has proved, beyond all possibility of dispute, that he could write a genuine tragedy about unsophisticated persons in quite uncomplicated surroundings. For Rhoda and Dahlia Fleming are daughters of a working farmer; and the story told of them, if reduced to its framework, is of a visit of Dahlia's to London and her seduction and desertion there by the nephew of their village squire, with her sister's consequent suffering. These are simple enough materials, yet, out of them, in such chapters as " Dahlia's Frenzy " and " When the Night is Darkest," Meredith has written a tale worthy to stand beside any of Hardy's. In *Tess,* death comes as the height of the tragedy; the poignancy of Dahlia's story demands death in life—a burying alive—as its end. After her illness, she refuses, three times, the entreaties of her repentant, and now adoring, lover to marriage—not from the smallest self-righteousness, but because her capacity for personal emotion is extinct. All she has, or ever can have, is Edward's; but feeling she does not any longer possess.

> " She lived seven years her sister's housemate, nurse of the growing swarm. She had gone through fire to leave her heart among the ashes; but with that human heart she left regrets behind her. The soul filled its place. It shone in her eyes and in her work, a lamp in her little neighbourhood; and not less a lamp of cheerful beams for one day being as another to her. When she died she relinquished nothing. Others knew the loss."

Within my limits of space here it is impossible to attempt any following out, in his successive novels, of George Meredith's development. I can do no more than touch upon an example here and there. Moreover, the totality of George Meredith for England to-day is much more than even the sum of his writings. Of late nineteenth, and opening twentieth, century English history, he has been actually an ingredient—a moulder of the period rather than an incident in it. Partly, of course, that fact arises from the bulk and the variety of his work; but it is due, even more, to the deep unity between his personal experience and his writings. How close is that unity has been clearly known since the publication, in the year 1912, of *The Letters of George Meredith.* From the time of *Richard Feverel* and *Modern Love* he was always recording his experiences, intellectualising his sensations, and weaving these to the brocades of his books. His gusto for living was immense. We talk of persons with the windows of their minds open to life and its lessons. Meredith's house of life was all window; his difficulty, in his art, was that he could not, even for the space of a book, confine himself to an angle of vision; he refracted from all points at once. That made him the worse as a novelist, but in contributing to our history, to the making of thought in our England of to-day, it made him very much richer. Thomas Carlyle said in 1859 that he should become an historian, turn to the writing of history. He remained a novelist. But where, in the domain of professional historians, can we put our hands upon so living a re-creation of the political atmosphere of three generations ago as we find in *Beauchamp's Career?* And that book, also, gives us the basis of Meredith's Radicalism. " Our faith," he wrote late in his life to his friend John Morley, " is ours, and comes, and comes not on a tide "; and, nearly thirty years before, in *Beauchamp's Career,* he had written of his hero:

> " Beauty plucked the heart from his breast. But he had drunk of the *questioning* cup, that which denieth peace to us, and projects us on the missionary search of the How, the Wherefore, and the Why Not, ever afterwards. He questioned his justification, and yours, for gratifying tastes in an ill-regulated world of wrong-doing, suffering, sin, and bounties unrighteously dispersed. He said ' by and by ' to pleasure; battle to-day."

And the object of battle was to be the bringing of beauty to the many instead of the few. The course of it involved, and Meredith most explicitly recognised that it involved, a period of ugliness and apparent loss—a transition time of supremacy of materialists. But what, he said, was past recall, what we could never lean upon again was the Old Order—" the grand old Egoism that aforetime built the House." House and Family, in that sense, had to go. The virgin lands were, everywhere, used up; the nineteenth century pegger-out of diamond mines (to-day he would have said of oil wells) dragged armies in his train. To most of us in the eighteen-nineties competition in commerce seemed supreme; but to George Meredith's vision, underneath what appeared, the current was changing its course. A new tide, he told us, was setting. Society was not yet in control of its limbs, but, at least, it was recognising itself as an

organism. Its watchword henceforth was Community, and the immediate future, he said, was in the hands of those who united voluntarily with communal forces—voluntarily, because it was to the rich and not to the poor that he was mainly addressing himself.

Outside of political thought, much that to-day is considered axiomatic came into our national consciousness by way of George Meredith's mind. A great deal that is regarded now as long-established truth he had to fight for. Yet youth to-day is in need of him still. With what gusto, for instance, would he expose modernity's lay-figure of " the wife "—invariably tiresome or glacial—existing merely as background from which the husband and his true love have to escape. For his last novel holds the words " the no longer courted are the test of men," " the passion for the woman desired has no poetry equalling that of the embraced respected woman." Emotional capacity Meredith presumed to be possessed by all for whom he was writing, but he also presumed a delicate social consciousness in addition to personal susceptibilities, otherwise the possessor of susceptibilities stands marked for the Comic Spirit's prey. Egoism, to him, was what Original Sin had been to our grandparents, an initial condition common to all and only to be outgrown by prayer and fasting. Sentiment he saw as the hotbed of egoism, and Sir Willoughby's claim " We two have an inner temple where the worship we conduct is actually an excommunication of the world " as the stronghold of egoism. For Meredith conceived of what is termed falling in love as the crucial experience of everyone of his characters. Richard, Evan, Emilia and Wilfrid Pole, Dahlia, Harry Richmond, Beauchamp, Willoughby, Vernon, Alvan and Clothilde, Diana, Chloe, Lord Ormont, and Fleetwood, this is *the Ordeal* of them all. The Comic Spirit, the tutelary genius and guide of man in present-day civilisation, being a fruit of men's minds, can speak only to mind. If the senses, even temporarily, have usurped the station of the mind, the Comic Spirit is, for the time, powerless; the obsessed person must be left to run upon his course, unchecked, till he is wakened by the ruder buffetings of his fellows. But all who are teachable, all who have not shut their minds, are, to-day, in the Comic Spirit's good care.

Some lifeless conventions Meredith had been at pains to destroy. But his greatest addition to our thought is the idea of the sublimated normality of many disciplined minds unitedly guarding the community from unsocial actions—his conception of The Comic Spirit—his theory of comedy as civilisation's antiseptic. From the laughter in the Hall of the Duping Brides of *The Shaving of Shagpat*, throughout his thirteen novels and three or four short stories, the idea of the cleansing operations of the Comic Spirit pervades Meredith's writings. *The Egoist*, of course, is the best-known development of the theme. But in the short story, *The Case of General Opie and Lady Camper*, it is embodied most entertainingly and succinctly. The *Short Stories*, indeed, two of them comedies in Meredith's sense of the word, and the third *The Tale of Chloe*, a tragedy, are the points on which I would bring these short notes concerning the centenary of George Meredith's birth to a close. Chloe's character appears to me as the loveliest of Meredith's creations; the intensity of its conception being the more marvellous because of the slightness of its outline. The setting of her story is in eighteenth-century Tunbridge Wells, and the artificialities surrounding it, the smallness of its stage, are employed with consummate art to make it more poignant. The exquisite fragility that pervades the whole of the story is brought to perfection in Chloe's last vision of her childhood's home, when she has decided to die. Seeing the waterfall where her tiny figure used always to climb,

> " She tasted the spray, untroubled by hopes as a lamb, different only from an infant in knowing she had thrown off life to travel back to her home and be refreshed. She heard her people talk; they were unending babblers in the waterfall. Truth was with them and wisdom. How, then, could she pretend to any right to live?"

The scene pictured here is clear yet far, vivid yet remote, as the reflections in some antique steel mirror. With it, those of us who care most deeply for George Meredith's work are willing to leave all his detractors.

MARY STURGE GRETTON.

ST. BERNARD AS SOLDIER OF GOD.*

JOHN RUSKIN, whose best interpreter into French was Jean Milsand of Dijon, said very truly that the soldier is distinguished from the civilian less as one who kills than as one who is killed. As slayer, his responsibility is shared by his countrymen and countrywomen, who encourage and pay him; as slain, he treads the winepress alone. And I hope I shall be excused for quoting another Briton, the radical philosopher John Stuart Mill, who, in his elaborate study of Auguste Comte, committed himself to a still bolder declaration. " Until " (he wrote) " labourers and employers perform the work of industry in the spirit in which soldiers perform that of an army, industry will never be moralised; and military life will remain what, in spite of the anti-social nature of its direct object, it has hitherto been, the chief school of moral co-operation."†

But you will say that St. Bernard had neither need nor occasion to quote from modern English authors. Knowing his Bible by heart, he must have remembered St. Paul's words to Timothy: " Endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ; no man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life." Knowing St. Benedict's Rule by heart, he was familiar with those numerous Benedictine phrases which breathe the military spirit of ancient Rome. The cloister, said St. Benedict, should be a school of soldiery; and, coming to speak of the aged brother who can no longer bear the full weight of the Rule, he calls him *sempecta*, the title given to a discharged gladiator. Finally, he reminds his disciples that they have sworn military allegiance and are now bound to regimental obedience; soldiers of Christ, they are under a strict rule—*Domino Christo Regi militaturus—lex sub qua militare vis.*‡ The true Benedictine, therefore, was a soldier in virtue of his vow; he had taken the military oath; and it may be said of St. Bernard not only that he joined an army, but that, in one very real sense, he was a born soldier.

A worthy American priest, whom I met by chance a few years ago, had come over to Europe to prepare, mainly at Louvain, a thesis upon the practical working of the Truce of God in the Middle Ages. He was in despair; for a year's hard work had supplied him with just about one page of direct documentary evidence for his thesis. His disappointment was natural enough. We must not ignore the admirable impulse of charity and religion which inspired the ideal of that Truce, nor must we be unfair enough to deny the existence

* A paper read before the St. Bernard section of the Congrès Bourgnignon, June, 1927.

† *Essay on Auguste Comte.* 1865, p. 149

‡ See Prologue and Chapters 2, 49, 50, 55 of the Rule.

of everything that has left no direct trace in documentary evidence. Yet it must be confessed that, even after centuries of publication, the Truce had not eradicated private war, which still remained rooted in mediæval manners. A century and a half after St. Bernard's death, the great legist Beaumanoir treated this subject in detail.* The law of Beauvais granted to lords the right of formally declaring defiance, and waging organised warfare, against their enemies, but " none may thus wage war save gentlefolk "; " by our customary law, there can be no war between peasants or citizens." For instance, a commoner who avenges his father's death upon the murderer is himself a murderer. If he had been a noble, this vendetta would have been so far from criminal that it might rather pass for a duty.

In such a society as this, it was the warlike who had most chance of survival. Therefore fighting-men formed a chosen class, sifted, so to speak, in the sieve of daily life, and distinguished not only by bodily strength or animal courage, but also by skill and resourcefulness and adaptability to circumstance, and even comparative honesty; for honesty does truly beat dishonesty, on an average and in the long run; and essentially false natures are not finally the most successful even in war. Therefore we do no violence to the democratic spirit by insisting on the historic fact that St. Bernard's ancestry was noble on both sides. It is the task of democracy to insist upon *la carrière ouverte aux talents,* and to ensure, as far as possible, equal chances in life to every citizen. But natural inequalities will never be abolished; there will always be strong personal differences; therefore a pedigree-man, like a pedigree-horse or a pedigree-dog, is born with better chances than the average. We may say, then, that success was in a sense hereditary and traditional in the Saint's family.

In this connection, let us note two personal characteristics which his biographers have recorded. His father was of a reddish complexion; he was named Tescelin *le Saur* (the Tawny). Bernard himself had flaxen hair and an auburn beard; his skin was brilliantly pink-and-white. Now, so far as I have been able to note, those characteristics are not only exceptional at Dijon, but even very exceptional; so also at Montbard, which was his mother's home. In all the streets and cafés and theatres and churches you see very few fair-haired folk, and very few who show the transparent complexion of the north. May we not therefore find here a definite racial indication, and must we not count St. Bernard among the descendants of those Burgundi who, seven centuries earlier, had settled down as conquerors in this land? We can only throw this out as a suggestion; but, on the other hand, we do know for certain that

* *Coutumes du Beauvoisis,* ed. Beugnot, Vol. II, pp. 352 ff (ch. lix).

the Saint was born of a fighting stock. *Bon chien chasse de race*; and this man, when he was scarcely out of his teens, might have said, "I have laboured [at the Holy War] more abundantly than they all; yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me."

In the first heat of his own conversion he plunged into the thick of the fight to rescue others. "Conversion," in the twelfth century, almost always meant joining some "religio," some monastic Order. Of all roads to heaven, it was the cloister which seemed incomparably surest and most direct. At this point of the Saint's life his contemporary biographer is kindled to a striking rapidity of style; in his story, events tread upon each other's heels as tumultuously as they did in fact.* He writes:

> "One day Bernard went to join his brethren at the siege of the castle of Grancey, where they lay under command of the Duke of Burgundy. He was more and more obsessed with these thoughts [of conversion]; and, finding a church by the wayside, he entered in. There he began to pray; there he melted into tears; and there, raising his hands to heaven, he poured out his soul like water before the Lord his God. From that day forward his heart was fixed, and his ear was no longer deaf to the voice of Him who saith, 'Let him that heareth say, Come!' (Apoc., xxii, 17.) For, thenceforward, 'as the fire burneth a wood, and as the flame setteth the mountains on fire' (Ps., lxxxiii, 14) first catching everything that standeth nearest on every side, and thence spreading far and wide, even so did the fire which the Lord had kindled in His servant, with the will that it should burn, fall first upon his brethren."

It is well known how he managed to draw his whole family after him into the cloister. His eldest brother's wife, a young girl, resisted; he foretold a sickness which did, in fact, break down her opposition. His second brother, Gerard, hesitated longer than all the rest; Bernard foretold that a dangerous wound would bring him to wiser thoughts. At last he laid siege to his father, already an old man, and attacked him not only directly but almost brutally, if we forget the ideas and manners of that age.† Choosing an old tree-trunk which grew in front of his ancestral castle at Fontaine, he heaped dry wood round it and set fire to the pile. The dry stuff flared quickly up to heaven; this betokened the brethren and the sister, who had already been inflamed with his pleading and gone into Religion; but the old trunk still resisted, yielding only smoke and stench. Then

> "the Saint began to speak of the pains of hell, and drew out the resemblance between his father and this trunk, which could neither catch the divine fire nor weep for its sins nor sigh upwards to God. 'You also,' he added, 'if you do not penance, will burn for ever and ever, weeping and yielding stench and smoke.' His father, smitten with compunction, followed the son and took the vows."

* *Vita Prima*, Bk. I, ch. iii, § 9.

† Étienne de Bourbon. *Anecdotes historiques*, ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche, 1877, p. 25.

We must not judge this episode by modern standards. Nobody then doubted that the greater part of mankind would go to hell. St. Thomas Aquinas himself, whose balance of judgment is always so remarkable, contrasts the "few" who will be saved with the "very great number" of the damned. If this be so, then cruelty is kindness, so long as it saves one single soul. Salvation is the only thing that really counts: "thou carest not how roughly men may woo thee, so they win."

Bernard never lost that first enthusiasm, that direct eye piercing to the thickest of the fight, and that courage which plunges straight into the danger-zone. In all those difficulties which confronted him during the rest of his life, he seldom failed to display more of the soldier's bravery than of the diplomat's adroitness. No man could say justly of this Burgundian what Freeman says truly of the Norman nobility, that they combined the pettifogging lawyer's mind with the masterfulness of a strong man of action. On the contrary, he might more fairly be criticised for his occasional contempt for the letter of the law.

In that famous election which divided Christendom between a Pope and an anti-Pope, it may be said that Bernard steadily disregarded both written law and customary law in favour of natural right. However we may look at Innocent the Second's election, we cannot call it other than irregular. It may be contended that Anacletus also was irregularly elected; but, if that be so, then the lawful choice seems clear enough. There should have been an entirely fresh election, strictly in accordance this time with Canon Law and with precedent; thus alone could the Church secure a pope whose title was secure. But this was not St. Bernard's view; to him, the momentary crisis seemed to outweigh all formal considerations of justice. Morally and religiously, he judged Innocent II unquestionably superior to his rival; and posterity has ratified this judgment, though not quite with the same passionate conviction. St. Bernard believed also (and here it is probable that most historians would entirely agree with him) that, in the world as it then was, a new election would have meant only a fresh series of quarrels even more envenomed than the first. Therefore he backed Innocent; therefore he moved heaven and earth in this cause, and succeeded at last, in the teeth of the typically warlike and pettifogging Norman prince whom he met in the person of Roger of Sicily.

The same explanation may be given of another incident, far slighter in itself but perhaps still more characteristic, in which St. Bernard had no legal case. A monk had left the great and rich

abbey of St.-Germer-de-Fly, in order to take shelter for his soul under the strict observance of Clairvaux. He had some knowledge of medicine, a dangerous thing for a monk; for at St.-Germer (to translate his own words as reported by St. Bernard),

> " the abbot made of me a slave not unto God but unto the world; and, lest he should lose favour with the great folk of this world, he compelled me to treat tyrants, men of violence, excommunicated by the Church. I told him both privately and publicly how dangerous this was for the salvation of my soul; but this was always vain. Then, having taken counsel with wise and prudent men, I left my community, not a fugitive from the abbey but to escape from ruin. I wished only to avoid eternal damnation, not to escape from the duties of my profession. ' Therefore ' (thus he pleaded with St. Bernard) ' do not cast off a soul striving to save itself; open thy gate unto him that knocketh.' "

No appeal could go more quickly to the Saint's heart; yet there was the law! The Cistercians were zealous for the strict Benedictine Rule; and that Rule, in its 61st chapter, expressly deals with these cases of transference from house to house. " Let the abbot beware of receiving into his abbey a monk from any other known monastery; for it is written : *Do not to another that which thou wouldest not that he should do to thee.*" The monks of St.-Germer naturally appealed to this prohibition; and St. Bernard's reply, able and witty though it was, would scarcely have been approved by any competent lawyer.*

> " You are amazed, you say, that we should have received Brother Benedict into our abbey, and you threaten us if we neglect to send him back. You remind us that the Rule forbids reception of a monk from a known monastery. You are doubtless convinced that your own abbey is in this category; this may be so, indeed, so far as other folk are concerned, but certainly it is not true for us. You tell us that the reputation of your community is widespread, and that you are known even in Rome; yet it is equally true, however we may explain it, that we [of Clairvaux], who are much nearer to you than Rome, have never heard of you; not even a whisper, either of your abbot or of your monks, nor of your monastery, nor, again, of the holiness of your lives. We cannot remember that anyone has even pronounced your name in our presence. There is nothing strange in this, for we are divided from you by differences of dialect, by diversity of provinces and by distance in space; we are not only not in your diocese, but not even in the same archiepiscopal province. . . . You were utterly unknown to us when you wrote; you are still unknown to us now that we are answering you."

Here, certainly, is an interpretation of the Rule which St. Benedict could hardly have allowed; yet he would fully have approved those words which St. Bernard added to bring his adversaries to the fundamental point.

* Letters LXVII and LXVIII.

> " But what do you mean, when you accuse us of having acted towards you as we would not have had you act towards us? Do you suppose that we should object to the reception, at some other monastery, of a monk who had left ours? Nay, would to God that you could save, without our help, all the souls which God hath entrusted unto us! If ever one of our community should find his way to you, with the wish of leading a more perfect life and following a stricter observance, not only would we make no complaint against his reception, but we beg you earnestly to take him in; for, in so doing, I assure you that you will render us a great service."

There lay the real strength of St. Bernard's case; this it was which emboldened him to cut that knot of the 61st chapter of the Rule with a few sentences of keenest irony. The salvation of a human soul was at stake; and, things being so, Rule and law were irrelevant. St. Bernard started from premises which would have been admitted by almost all his contemporaries. From those premises, he was courageous enough to draw an inference which was as incompatible with formal legalism as were Christ's pronouncements concerning the Law of the Sabbath.

By studying this incident, little known yet extraordinarily characteristic, we may understand St. Bernard's attitude towards the great questions of his own age. His one wish was to save souls; to that end he spent himself freely from day to day. With such a goal in view, the shortest road is always the best; *Salus populi suprema lex:* nothing can possibly make up to a man for the loss of his soul. However wasteful of earthly goods may be the society in which our lot is cast, this may not necessarily justify rebellion against it. St. Paul and St. Peter preached obedience to a government which did not always respect—far from it—either the property or the liberty or even the lives of its subjects. But no persuasion of obedience can hold good, the moment we are up against eternal damnation; there can here be no question of " recoiling for a better leap "; he who loseth his earthly life may gain something more real; he who loseth heaven can find no indemnity. Therefore, when eternal life is at stake, it is impossible to find any virtue in obedience; we have only the choice between fighting and cowardly abandonment; and then we must remember Christ's words : " Think not that I am come to send peace on earth; I came not to send peace, but a sword."

Here, I would venture to say, is a thing which St. Bernard understood more clearly than St. Francis; this scion of the military nobility saw better than the descendant of the Italian merchant aristocracy. A convinced Protestant may very well confess that St. Francis seems, in many ways, to have followed Christ more closely than any man before or since. But there is one side of the

Lord's life which St. Bernard followed still more closely; he came nearer to those denunciations of Pharisees, and that purification of the Temple with a whip of small cords.

This transpires most distinctly of all in those greater matters which are more familiar to the general reader, but more complicated for exposition here; this goes far to explain the extent to which one man, who wanted only to live for his own soul in his own cell, did in fact sway the politics of Europe. Nobody spared himself less; nobody spoke more freely, within the limits of recognised courtesy, to princes of the world and of the Church. His old pupil Eugenius III could even write: "They say you are pope, not I." We must not expect even the greatest of saints to be always in the right; the man who never made a mistake never made anything. We should rather ask: "How many battles did he fight, and with what courage? how many of these battles, again, were for justice, even from the most critical modern point of view?" It is not only that St. Bernard claimed, as many very different men have claimed, to be acting all along in zeal for his neighbour's good. Nor, again, need we only plead that he was thoroughly convinced on this point; many men have succeeded in convincing themselves that acts fundamentally self-assertive, if not essentially selfish, were for the general good. In St. Bernard's case, the love of God and of men's souls had become the living source of all his thoughts and actions. Dante, with his wonderful penetration, hit it off in five words: *la vivace carità di colui;* "the living charity of that man." Strong in this unfeigned love for his fellow-men, he could safely trust to first impulses; they were nearly always good.

It was this, in conjunction with St. Bernard's hereditary qualities, which gave him the quick eye and the victorious impulsiveness of a born general: as Bossuet said of the great Condé: "His courage grew with danger, and his ardour gave him light. . . . See him rush on, either to victory or to death." It is from Bossuet, again, that we may distinguish such bravery from blind and rash presumption. "Moreover, it was his maxim (and mark this, for this is the maxim which makes great men) that in great matters we must think of nothing but doing well, and let glory come after virtue."

G. G. COULTON.

SOUTH AFRICA: GLIMPSES AND COMMENTS.

IN a Transvaal Law-Court recently, when counsel laid stress on "the prestige of the white man," the presiding Judge remarked: "This Court is not concerned with the prestige of the white man, but with the prestige of justice."

About the same time, one of our leading financial magnates, in announcing his full agreement with legislation based frankly on the ground of colour, declared: "The less we think of the future and the more we deal with present facts, the better shall we be able to sleep at nights."

In those contrasted utterances we have a glimpse of South Africa at its best and at its weakest. It is plain that on this question of colour our white folk are still a divided house. The division is by no means wholly on racial lines. But it does represent the traditional Cape Dutch attitude towards dark-skinned races, an attitude reminiscent of the domestic and not unkindly slave-owner, as compared with the modern liberal European attitude which is rarely negrophil, but is approximately humanitarian. The difference is fairly indicated in the words of a recent Native statement dealing with the relations of European and Bantu:

> "The problem of our race relations is the problem of how the two races shall get along together, and not the problem of what one race shall do with the other."

It is unfortunate that the majority of us here in South Africa are persons of narrow education, products of a self-sufficient isolation from the moving stream of civilised thought. In general, it may be said of us that we welcome the Native as a servant; as a rule, we treat him individually in a fairly humane fashion; we often win his esteem and trust; but in any other capacity than that of a docile servant we consider him intolerable. We are fully, or at least vociferously, convinced of the inherent, lasting superiority of the white man, both in intelligence and character; and the aspirations and struggles of the Native who is climbing upwards are apt to become in our eyes an amusing or disgusting exhibition. A couple of quite typical incidents may serve to illustrate the usual attitude of the majority of white South Africans.

In an ordinary Karoo dorp a woman from inside her house calls to her little granddaughter on the front stoep: "Stop that man, Marietje!" And Marietje, aged three and a half, calls back in her shrill little pipe: "It's not a man, Grannie. It's a Kafir." That little story neither shocks nor amuses a typical illiberal South African. He sees no point in it. The thing is wholly a matter of course.

Now take an adult, a grandson of an 1820 British settler, a kindly and considerate person, a far-travelled man, and one whom Natives and coloured persons serve with willing devotion. Some little time ago, at the cost of considerable personal effort, he extricated a coloured family from dire distress, paid their arrears of rent, found work for the father, set the little household on its feet. The coloured man, calling to thank him and in his excitement daring greatly, offered his hand when saying goodbye. The white man, putting strong restraint upon himself, took the offered hand; but he admits that the thought in his outraged mind was, " Blast your impudence!" He does not defend this feeling on the ground of reason, but he certainly regards it as being, in South Africa, natural and inevitable. At the same time he unhesitatingly condemns, as destructive to the white man's moral fibre, legislation which seeks to benefit him by imposing economic restrictions on the Bantu and Asiatic as such. He thus stands out from the meaner sort, who share his prejudice but clutch at the supposed benefit of protective laws.

The rooted desire to keep the other man in his place has become among us a master-passion. Several generations saw the progressive Englishman trying to keep the sturdy Boer in his place, and ever since he victoriously accomplished that difficult job, the shrewd Dutchman has been endeavouring with conspicuous success to render a similar service to the slightly puzzled Britisher. There is an attitude of mutual watchfulness, which is always tending to become mutual suspicion. Over and over again this stands in the way of our economic development. Consider the matter of immigration. Our empty spaces shout for settlers, but our invitation is barely a whisper. Since Hollanders, a prudent people, show no sign of crowding into South Africa, our Nationalists have been apprehensive lest a flood of British immigrants should swamp the long-established Dutch majority. They prefer to put their trust in the big families of " ware Afrikaners "—real South Africans. But the large families, in South Africa as elsewhere, have nowadays formed the distressing habit of springing up amid such untoward conditions that, instead of working miracles for the advancement of their country, they expect it to work continual miracles for their preservation, and even for their unconscionable multiplication.

All whites in South Africa, whether deliberately or quite unknowingly, take a hand in keeping the dark-skinned folk " in their place." Besides the Natives, who form the enormous majority of the whole population, there are Indians, and there are Cape Malays, and there are half-caste people from Mauritius, and yet other half-caste people from St. Helena, and finally there are our very own half-castes, our " coloured people," specifically so called, the product of European and Native African miscegenation. Each of these

varieties must be " kept in its place," and the dreary result is a growing bulk of complicated repressive legislation and a bristling array of religious, social, administrative and economic puzzles. The Native, or, more accurately, the Bantu, being incomparably the most numerous, it is his "place" that is most often under discussion.

The idea of the moment, as all know, is to " segregate " him as " a menace " and " a problem." We must " stem the tide of Native domination." These are expressions which are freely used even by Cabinet Ministers, who are apparently forgetting that a Government exists for all the people, and is in a real sense responsible for all. It is astonishing to hear the submissive, cheerful, helpful Native described in this hostile fashion. He is not accused of having in any way actively offended. His existence is his offence. It does not enter his head to wish to dominate us. It certainly would not be within his power for many centuries to come. The only " menace " is his presence in moderately increasing numbers. The only " problem " is that he too must eat and in some sort be clothed, and therefore room must be found for him on the land or in urban industries. It is our colour-obsession that ties knots in that simple fact and converts it into a problem. We want to let him come in among us in order that he may pay a tax and that we may profit by his labour, and yet we want to keep him out from a free, full share in the benefits of our civilisation. We are afraid of him; but we cannot do without him. Our products need buyers; but we do not pay him a wage that enables him to buy.

We have no least intention of relinquishing his services. Those of us who clamour most loudly for " segregation " have our Native office-boy, cleaner and porter; house-servant, garden-boy and laundress; and we intend to keep them. What we mean by segregation, so far as we mean anything by it, is to put all Natives whom we do not at the moment need into " the reserved areas "—just where is not clearly specified—and to pull them out again when we need them for our work. It is part of the whole stupid process of " keeping the nigger in his place." His place, on investigation, appears to be the spot where we find him most convenient to ourselves at any given time.

Having got him in " his place," having filled the lowest grades of our essential services with him, having secured him for the agricultural, mining, commercial and domestic activities where he is indispensable, and having packed the rest of him into " the reserved areas," to do we know not what, having in short segregated him in a strictly South African sense, how are we going to keep him there? He has to come out from the reserves to earn money to pay his taxes. We ask him to come out when we need him. Segregation would involve a reservation of land and a

crippling of the country's industries to which no political party would, or could, consent. Hence the air of vagueness, of unreality, which hangs about the proposed legislation on the subject.

It will be remembered that in South Africa the Prime Minister is also Minister of Native Affairs, the " Father " of all the Native population. But our Prime Ministers hardly ever see, much less know, the Natives in their tribal life on their own ground. It is to the credit of General Hertzog that in 1925 he made a tour of the Native Territories, and there, for the first time, made acquaintance with the great body of the Bantu tribes not in white men's employ. His predecessor, General Smuts, during all his years of office, never got so far. Yet firsthand knowledge is surely essential. It is not easy for a European to understand in any least degree the workings of a mind so alien from his own, a mind whose past experience has been all of a piece, without the stimulating shocks of momentous discoveries and inventions.

The occasion of trouble is often ludicrously small, as appears in a tale told some years ago by the Principal of a Native Training Institute. For some reason of convenience it was arranged that the loaf which formed part of each student's daily ration should be made square instead of round. There would be no change of quality or of weight. This was explained to the students the day before the new loaves were to appear. The students lodged a protest, and in the evening their deputation saw the Principal. He explained the matter again, but to him it seemed so simple that he did not put everything else aside in order to let each member of the deputation talk at full length and with due ceremony. (The Bantu is a born orator, eloquent and discursive, and he loves ceremonial procedure. Incidentally, he is always ready to talk all night, and is not at all jaded by this favourite form of recreation.) But at that college meeting the Principal dealt with his potential orators in the brief, kindly way of the busy, benevolent, white superior, and assumed that all was understood. At breakfast, behold a hundred square loaves arranged on a hundred enamel-ware plates, ranged on either side of the long tables, and before each plate a silent student sitting with folded arms! Dinner of meat and mealies presented no difficulties. But supper brought again the square loaves; brought again the folded arms, and, above all, the ominous silence. On the morrow there might still be the square loaves, but there would be no folded arms of lowering students. For the primitive young person has no hesitation in departing at once from a place which has become suspicious to him. He is not miserably dependent on mechanical transport, and can live on such food as the people of his own race willingly share with him along the way. He would fasten his blanket to the package containing his few possessions and tramp off homewards,

whether ten miles or several hundred, to spread the chilling tale of the loaves of alien and suspicious shape. A generation would pass before confidence in that Institute would be restored. Such was the vision that passed before the Principal's eyes and moved him to concession. Next morning the friendly round loaves appeared again and all was peace. There was no resentment on either side. The Principal realised that he had made the portentous change without the needed leisurely preparation of minds; the students were reassured that their " Father " was the good and just man they had always thought him.

The general tendency among whites, however, is to be domineering and unmannerly to Natives, and it is not surprising to find this sometimes in an accentuated form among subordinate officers of the law. Not long ago, in one of the busiest streets of Cape Town, lined with shops and crowded with passers-by, a policeman suddenly fell upon a coloured youth in charge of a fruit-barrow and cuffed him soundly, not with brutal violence, but roughly and with obvious anger. The youth had defied some regulation and deserved a penalty. But no white lad would be attacked in that irregular and undisciplined way, however great the provocation he might offer.

A much more familiar type of incident is the following. A respectable Native house-boy from Johannesburg was on holiday in a seaport town, arrayed in a neat suit given him by his master, and wearing good gloves. A policeman stopped him and asked where he had got the gloves. " From master," said the boy. " What is your master's name?" " Master is Mr. Jones." But the policeman, on examining the gloves, found the name " Brunton," and the boy could not explain this discrepancy. He was arrested and detained at the police station, pending inquiries. It was ultimately found that the gloves had belonged to the master's stepson, hence the different name, of which the Native would know nothing. Such muddled misunderstandings are innumerable and hurt a man's self-respect. The other day a Probation Officer in Johannesburg pointed to a deplorable consequence of the abject poverty in which the majority of our Natives live : " Natives, as a result of being unable to pay the fines imposed on them for minor offences, are gradually becoming quite familiar with the interior of the prisons."

We South Africans are in the main a religious people. But religion may take strange forms, and we are within measurable distance of making the white race the object of our worship, and of adopting as our ceremonial the unlovely procedure of mingled arrogance and fear. Some months ago our Minister of Justice, Mr. Tielman Roos, in denouncing any education of Natives, accused the missionaries of " putting ideas into the Natives' heads," and threatened to deport such troublesome people. There was once a

Man of Nazareth who also had a troublesome way of putting vital ideas into the heads of lowly people, and the officials of his day were very eager to be rid of Him.

Our lordly position, as a small aristocracy of whites, dependent on a huge servile class, is not favourable to the development of a seemly recognition of what is due to our neighbour. Some time back I was at a hotel where one of the guests was a wealthy farmer's wife, temporarily crippled by rheumatism. She was accompanied by a charming daughter, but her constant attendant and helper was a coloured girl of sixteen. The mother and daughter shared a large room on the ground floor. But as the mother might need attention during the night, and it would be a pity to disturb the daughter, the coloured girl must be close at hand. She slept on the stone pavement of the open public stoep outside the bedroom door. She had a blanket and no doubt slept well enough. As people said: "She would have no better bed at her home." Perhaps not. But at her home she would be one of a family group. On that hotel stoep she was an outcast. I happened to come down early one morning as she was uncurling herself from her rug. The sun was rising. We smiled at each other—she out of gladness, I suppose, to see someone after the dark and the loneliness, but I out of the intolerable heart-ache which is the ever-recurring gift that South Africa bestows on its lovers and servants.

Our politicians of all parties are never weary of telling us that South Africa is a white man's country—though in plain fact it nowhere looks like one! In using the words some speakers are pointing only to the obvious truth that the white man's civilisation is sure to be the directing and shaping power in the land. Others, however, use the phrase as a promise of the perpetual depression and servitude of the dark-skinned races. Natives and Indians, says the Minister of Justice, must be rendered "harmless." The appeal is very crude, but it can be confidently made to people who are a prey to fearfulness of mind.

Our fear is twofold. There is the economic fear already indicated, a constant preoccupation which destroys our sense of proportion. If we were intelligently apprehensive instead of being childishly scared, we should be able to fix our attention on the urgently important business of securing an increased production of food and development of industries.

Our second terror is of miscegenation on a large scale. But, in spite of the instances which sporadically occur, no one seriously desires miscegenation. Neither white nor black approve of it. Natives are not desirous of social intermingling. What they do ask and seek is opportunity for every man to rise to the height of his capacity. One of them, recently pleading that the door of opportunity might be opened wide, very truly said: "The white man need not be afraid. The black men will not come crowding to that door. Only one here and another there will be able to reach it and pass through." It seems absurd at this stage of human endeavour to be labouring the point that the way of prosperity for any land lies through the lifting up of the whole population. It cannot be attained by pulling up with one hand feeble white folk who are sinking, if at the same time we harshly push down with the other hand vigorous black folk who are rising. If we were not blinded by fear, we whites would set ourselves steadily and rationally to do justice to all, and be prepared, like other nations, to deal with remote possibilities and unlikely risks when and as they take shape.

One would be glad to think that, even if the outlook of adults cannot be greatly changed, yet the children in the schools may be learning a truer way of looking out upon all mankind, a truer way of looking at the Whites, the Natives, the Coloured people, the Malays, the Indians (who, by the way, we persistently call "the coolies"). We might then be spared the shock of hearing a progressive young farmer, who had enjoyed the privilege of our full Secondary School course, recall among the wonders seen at Wembley: "Oh, and I saw the coolie Princes!"

To throw down the formidable barriers of little-mindedness and greed and fear, to give full scope in the varied activities of our civilisation to every man who is able to enter in and dwell there as one of its true children, is a venture of faith—faith in the future of humanity, faith in life's destinies, faith that this world of ours is indeed part of a cosmos, not a chaos. Such ventures call for high qualities of mind and spirit. Has our way of life as the dominant race developed these? Or has the healthy instinct of self-preservation deteriorated into lust of power, with consequent slackening of fibre, weakening of insight, loss of virility of soul?

Shall we in these coming days acquit ourselves nobly or ignobly? Shall we, as inheritors of a higher civilisation, do our honest best to lead these semi-barbarous masses to play their part worthily alongside us in the world's slow climbing upward? If we do this, we shall add to the treasures of mankind a jewel of very splendid lustre. The possibility is open to us. History may at last write us down as a people who proved unable to cope with the strange difficulties of their special task, and who therefore dwindled and disappeared. Or it may commemorate us as a little nation which, undismayed by doubts and fears, set its face to follow justice, and having endured hard things and being not ashamed, won entrance to a new and higher phase in the long struggle of the human race.

CLARE R. GOODLATTE.

TRANSCAUCASIA.

BEFORE the Revolution, Transcaucasia was one of the most backward parts of Russia. The interests of the large landowners in Russia made themselves felt to such an extent in the government that the exact direction of the railways constructed often depended on the position of their estates; hence industries did not always grow up in the places most suitable for them from the point of view of supplies of raw material, but along the railway routes mapped out in accordance with the vested interests of the landowners. Conquered alien regions like Transcaucasia were treated as colonial areas which existed to supply raw materials and to buy manufactured goods. The only industries there were the mining of manganese and oil—and, since most of the capital for these enterprises was supplied by foreigners, the profit from them went abroad and in no wise enriched the country.

Politically, the Imperial Government's policy in the Transcaucasian regions was the old Roman one of *divide et impera*. The many peoples of the region were kept divided by racial and religious antagonisms which often resulted in terrible conflicts and massacres. Like the Romans also, the Russians sent " colonies " to occupy the best lands of the conquered districts. I speak here of the Cossack settlements of favoured Russian peasants who had special privileges and were allotted large stretches of the most fertile soil. In this manner, the Russian Government " colonised " the country and assured its safety—for there could be no community of interests between the privileged Russians and the despised and oppressed natives. The Cossacks, deprived of all special privileges after the Revolution, were, of course, at first bitterly opposed to the Soviet Government; but at present they appear to have settled down to their new position. Their settlements are unmistakable: well laid-out, symmetrical villages with solidly built houses—as contrasted with the primitive dwellings of the native peoples.

The Soviet policy is to give self-government to every distinct nationality in the territory under its control. Thus there exist tiny autonomous republics within other large autonomous republics within the Transcaucasian Federation—which itself forms one of the five republics of the U.S.S.R. In order to appreciate what is implied by this arrangement, comparison may be made with the Swiss Canton system or possibly even with the position of the separate States within the U.S.A. Transcaucasia contains three large republics, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbajan, and within these three are found the other small minority republics. For instance, within Georgia are the republics of Abhasia (inhabited by Greeks, Armenians, Georgians and Russians), Adjeristan and Southern Ossetia. It must be admitted that the Soviet Power has accomplished a great work in bringing to an end the massacres of the Armenians by Tartars, and the mutual hatreds of the Georgians, Tartars, Greeks, Persians, Ossetines, Daghestanians, Armenians, Jews and all the other hundred and one races of Caucasia. The Bolsheviks themselves insist that the racial antagonisms of the past were the result of the economic conflicts of the *bourgeoisies* of the respective peoples, and of the deliberate policy of the Tsar's Government. They maintain that now that all resources are nationalised, no such ground for antagonism exists: Tartar can no longer vie with Armenian for possession of Baku oil wells; Turkish peasants no longer have reason to hate and massacre Armenian usurers.

Furthermore, an immense cultural and educational work is being attempted. In the first place, special commissions for eliminating illiteracy among adults have created 2,348 schools for this purpose in Georgia alone. During the last five years, 40 per cent. of the illiterate adults in this country have passed through them, thus reducing the number of illiterates from 389,000 to 147,000. The task of eliminating illiteracy is also carried on, as everywhere in Russia, in the Red Army and by the Trade Unions and the Young Communist League. The number of children attending schools up to the university standard in Georgia was 300,000 last April—whereas under the Tsar it was only 94,000. Moreover, the children are now taught in their own tongue, and all the nationalities have their own pedagogical schools for training teachers for the time when education will become obligatory for the whole population. It is only lack of funds and lack of teachers which postpone the date for this, but already 27 per cent. of the whole budget of Georgia is spent on education. They say that under the Mensheviks, only 4 per cent. of the State budget went for education—for the Tsar's schools, where everyone had to learn in Russian, having been closed, the Government was too distraught with other troubles to open any new ones.

In the villages, there are now special schools which give four years' general education and three years in some special subject and the heads of which are agronomists. At Tiflis, there is a new Georgian University attended by 4,663 students, and also a smaller Russian University attended by 1,684 students. The Georgians are very proud of their own national culture, and the University, besides containing a really fine library, has a section turned into a museum of ecclesiastical art, where one can see wonderful golden *ikons* dating back to the ninth century A.D. Georgia also has a *Conservatoire* and an *Académie des Arts*. Students from the factories and villages are prepared for the universities in special establishments known as *rabfacs* which they attend for three or four years.

A number of places in these *rabfacs* are specially reserved for the backward races of the remoter mountain districts.

As the years pass, a larger and larger proportion of the students of the University come up from the schools—the *rabfacs* being simply temporary institutions for the benefit of those who, under the old *régime,* were given no chance of education in childhood. Efforts are made to bring some knowledge of hygiene and the care of children to the overworked women of the mountain tribes, whose position is often little removed from slavery. They lead a particularly hard life, and queer and brutal customs survive among some of the tribes. In some places the women are locked up alone in the stable when they are about to bear their children; in others, the use of soap is utterly unknown, and " spells " are used to ward off diseases from the children. Women's clubs have been started among these peoples, where they can learn to read and write, and where they can come for all sorts of help and advice; for instance, when a woman is ill-treated by her husband, she can obtain legal aid. Here, also, they hear lectures of various kinds. An energetic hygiene propaganda is carried on by means of posters.

I asked once: " But how can you make these primitive people understand your Communist ideas? How can people living in a social and economic environment so far removed from that of ' capitalist society ' have the faintest idea of what you say you are trying to do?" The answer was given me that, although these people know nothing of Capitalism, they understand well enough what feudal exploitation means—and, furthermore, that the propaganda done among them is by deeds rather than words. Certainly there are indications that every effort is being made by the Soviet Government to develop this backward area of the U.S.S.R. and to provide its poor and primitive peoples with industries and employment. Even in remote Daghestan,* a huge glass factory has been built to use the special clay which exists there and to take advantage of the volcanic fires near the Caspian Sea. In Azerbeidjan, in addition to the electrification of the Baku oilfields and the replacement of much of the old machinery by modern American automatic borers, there is being built a tremendous silk factory which will employ 2,500 workers and utilise much of the silk produced in Southern Caucasia. In the oilfields, new houses, accommodating ten or twelve thousand families, have already been built to replace the veritable kennels which housed them in Tsarist times, and which one can now see falling into ruin.

It is, however, in Georgia that one sees the most obvious signs of industrial progress. Indeed, in Georgia one senses the double impetus given by the racial and the economic freedom which have

* Daghestan is *not,* strictly speaking, a part of Transcaucasia, but an autonomous republic in the R.S.F.S.R.

resulted from the Revolution. Possibly, also, the Bolsheviks have devoted particular attention to this land—concerning which Europe is so ready to cry out accusations of Communist atrocities and misgovernment. Evidence of industrial progress is patent, and the national pride in these achievements very great. The inhabitants of Tiflis will take you to see their newly completed hydraulic electric station with all the pride which the Greeks of antiquity felt for their temples and shrines. Every detail of the construction and method of working will be displayed to you—and one cannot but feel that this national pride of possession is a happy augury for the supersession of individualism by collectivism. It transforms the machinery of production into things of joy and pride instead of just pieces of metal and stone. Imagine the inhabitants of Tooting taking their friends from Hampstead to gaze and wonder at the Gas Light and Coke Company's latest plant! Yet at Tiflis, to go to see the new electric station is an adventure and a pleasure. It is built some few miles outside Tiflis, by the ancient city of Mtskhet, capital of Georgia until the fourth century A.D. Standing in mid-stream is a dark stone statue of Lenin, pointing downwards, to illustrate his well-known saying: " Electricity will be the basis of Socialist society." Behind him is the swift river Kura and the faint line of the distant Caucasian mountains. On his left rises a steep hill, crowned by an ancient monastery, dating back to the fourth century A.D., and containing within its walls a yet more ancient altar used for human sacrifices thousands of years ago. Here, as so often in Russia, that which is most ancient in the world confronts that which is most modern: Lenin and electricity against human sacrifices in " the high places " and early Christian ceremonies.

So also on the road one meets shepherds and cowherds clad in homespun, donkeys bearing jars of water, and the many slow-moving wooden carts drawn by great grey oxen; men of the hills on their high saddles, with dagger slung at the waist and sheepskin cap, ride by—all the life represented is that of a thousand years ago and more. These people of the Caucasian mountains live the same hard, ill-nourished lives as their ancestors for untold generations—and here, in their midst, rises the great grey hydraulic station which will supply the whole of Eastern Georgia with power. Mountain people clad in homespun may be picturesque: but the Bolsheviks know that it is better to have a full stomach than to look artistic, and better to possess machines to do the work of men and oxen. Another hydraulic station will be finished next year, and a third in two years' time. These will furnish power for all the big centres of Georgia, whilst ten small stations supply the provinces. The rapid mountain rivers afford cheap and ample power for the whole of Georgia—and there are no vested interests in coal or gas to hinder their utilisation.

As regards coal, apart from the mines already worked, explorations are being conducted for new seams in the district of Aphasia, and a concession there has recently been sought unsuccessfully by both Italians and English. It is stated that the coal industry already produces a great deal more than before the war. Everyone knows of the valuable concession given in 1925 to Mr. W. A. Harriman of New York for the exploitation of the manganese deposits at Chiaturi—deposits which are the richest in the world. There is enough oil at Batoum to supply the whole of Georgia, and this field is to be developed parallel with Grosni—since its easy access to foreign consumers across the Black Sea makes it of special importance. A second pipe line is to be laid down between Baku and Batoum, and a refinery to be built at Batoum.

Until recently, Siberian butter could not be exported in large quantities because of the lack of barrels, which had to be brought from Denmark. Supplies of cane are available in Georgia for the manufacture of these barrels, and a factory was completed in February, 1926, at Borjaum. Their factory works two shifts, and will produce a million barrels a year. Similarly, before the war, cane chairs were made in Vienna of Russian timber, Russia having to import furniture from abroad. Now a factory for its manufacture has been built at Kutais, the home of the world-famous wine. Kutais is in Mingrelia, the Colchis of the Greeks and now " the garden of Georgia," through which flows the river Rion, known to the ancients as Phasis. Here also is being constructed a large paper factory which will produce sixteen hundred tons a year, and which will not only supply the whole of Transcaucasia, but will be able to export abroad.

Silk culture has been practised in Georgia since the days when it formed part of the Byzantine Empire; but, although the cocoons are of superior quality, no silk manufacture was undertaken under the Tsarist *régime*. Some small quantities of silk were spun and woven by hand, but the larger part of the cocoons was exported. Four factories were begun in 1926, and, as they will be very large, it is expected that in three years' time the export of cocoons will cease. However, on my journey back by aeroplane from Baku to Moscow, I met the director of an Italian bank who had been in Southern Caucasia on business connected with the production of silk. Italy is helping to finance the production in order to ensure her own supply of the raw material for her filatures. Machinery from England and Germany has been imported and set up in a new factory outside Tiflis for the manufacture of Cheviot cloth. Other small factories have been and are being built to improve the conditions of the peasantry: brick and tile factories, cheese factories, factories for drying vegetables and preserving fruits for export. The cement

for all this building will soon be supplied by a factory being built forty *versts* from Tiflis, which will be able to turn out 750,000 barrels a year.

The climate of Georgia is suitable for growing both tea and tobacco—but the former plantations were ruined under the Menshevik administration, when the people, needing food and being cut off from Russian supplies of grain, took to growing maize instead. To encourage the re-creation of the plantations, special spaces are now allotted, and the peasant is given a bounty of £40 if he undertakes their cultivation. Tobacco factories are being built, but as yet the best leaf is sent to Egypt, and the worst (fourth grade) to France, Poland, and Germany. Unsuccessful efforts have been made by the Russian trading representatives to sell the better qualities in Europe.

Comparisons between the industrial development of Georgia and that of European countries can now be made. The Bolsheviks insist that this development has been so great that no country in its most flourishing periods has ever progressed so quickly—since it is only during the last two years that new undertakings have been possible; before 1924, only reconstruction was undertaken. Economic ties have been built up between Georgia and Russia since shortly after Peter the Great started trading with Europe through the Baltic. The essential difficulty under which the Menshevik administration laboured was the severing of these ties and the impossibility of developing Georgia or even of maintaining the old level of production, once trade with Russia was cut off. A comparison can be made between the present position of the States which formerly composed Austria-Hungary, and which—since they economically form one unit—all suffer as a result of political separation. Most Georgians realise from bitter experience the absolute necessity for the closest relations with Russia: hence even those who have little sympathy with Communism appear to be ready to support the Soviet Government. Since, also, it must be admitted that the whole policy of the Communist party is directed towards developing the backward areas, the Georgians are bound to appreciate the fact that more and more capital is absorbed from the central exchequer of the U.S.S.R. for the development of their country. The five-year plan for industrial development is mapped out by the Georgian Economic Council and submitted through the Transcaucasian Economic Council to the Central Council in Moscow for sanction. I was assured by the assistant to the President of the Economic Council of Georgia, with whom I had an interview, that the Central Government sometimes cuts down its own programme in order to help the outlying areas like Transcaucasia.

I had the impression in Tiflis that more private trading existed

than in Central Russia. This is actually true—the Communist excuse being that Moscow has been Soviet longer than Tiflis. Nevertheless, only 25 per cent. of the retail trade is private, and of the wholesale trade, only 10 per cent. There are, of course, the many markets of Tiflis—chief among them the picturesque Mussulman bazaar in the Eastern (Tartar) quarter of the town. The small market traders pay a tax of sixpence or a shilling a day, but the regular shops pay a percentage of their turnover. Along the narrow, twisting streets of the old town, one can hear the blows of hammer on anvil, and see men doing leather work in the small shops where production of the weapons, metal ware and leather of Tiflis goes on as in centuries past.

They say that the *tempo* of development in all Transcaucasia is the same as in Georgia—but the latter has the better and more varied resources. Much timber is exported : walnut, oak, ply-wood and wood for buttons. Her mineral resources include not only oil and coal, but such minor riches as parit (recently found), dyeing materials in the soil, and many medicinal salts. Floridzin, used for refining kerosene, used to be imported from America, but is now found locally. Layers of lead have just been discovered. Borjaum is famous for its medicinal water which resembles that of Vichy. Efforts were made to export it to the U.S.A., but the monopoly there is so close that no profit could be made. However, Russia herself consumes far more than before the war, and can absorb most of the supply. Wherever one travels from Leningrad to Baku, one finds people drinking Borjaum or Narzan, the latter being sweet aerated water from the springs at Kislovodsk.

Whatever the faults of the Bolsheviks' administration and whatever one thinks about their " dictatorship," one has to admit that they get things done. It does seem true that under the Mensheviks production declined to a terribly low level. Even if one insists that the suffering entailed by the Revolution was too heavy a price to pay, nevertheless no one can over-estimate the energy, persistence and devotion of the Bolsheviks in the development of Russia. This, no doubt, explains the attitude of the many ex-Mensheviks one meets in Tiflis who are now working with satisfaction under the Bolshevik administration. Whatever they feel about the past, they are as interested as the Communists in the present work of economic reconstruction and development.

This land, long ago the centre of a most ancient culture, but for centuries engaged in a life-and-death struggle against Persians, Mongols and Turks, and for a hundred years oppressed by the heavy hand of the Russian Tsars, is now entering on a period in which age-long racial enmities are forgotten in the common task of building up new industries and increasing the general prosperity.

FREDA UTLEY.

TEA IN ENGLAND:

ITS EARLY STRUGGLES AND SUBSEQUENT TRIUMPH.

" Once upon a time in the days of Queen Elizabeth an old couple were given some tea as a present. They ate the tea leaves as a sandwich and threw the tea away."

THUS the poster of the Empire Marketing Board. The first hundred years of the history of Tea in England is full of incident and conjecture. When the first sample of the " Heaven-sent Herb " arrived, by whom it was first introduced, and on what occasion it was first tasted, has completely baffled the historians. Rumour has it that Cromwell possessed his teapot, but not all the painstaking research of Board of Trade officials can trace the first duty paid upon the original importation of tea into this country.

The official records indicate that there does not appear to have been any considerable consumption of tea during the Commonwealth period, as, although it was liable to the " ad valorem " duty of five per cent. levied on imported goods, it was not subject specifically to any customs or excise duty.

Some two years before the Restoration, we learn from " Rugge's Diurnal," " Tee was sold in almost every street," but at that time it was customary for coffee-house keepers to infuse the leaves and keep the liquid in barrels, from which it was drawn like beer. It thus entered into competition with the national beverages, ale and beer, which had been first taxed soon after the commencement of the Civil War, and consequently, in 1660, the Government imposed a special tax of 8d. on every gallon of tea made and sold.

It was about this date that an enterprising London tradesman, one Thomas Garway, of Exchange Alley, bought a quantity of tea and circulated a handbill (a copy of which was presented to the British Museum by George IV) setting forth the medicinal and other virtues of the beverage, and informing the public that " very noble men, physicians, merchants and gentlemen of quality have sent to him for the said leaf, and daily resort to his house in Exchange Alley aforesaid to drink the drink thereof."

This handbill doubtless attracted the notice of Pepys, for he notes in his diary in 1660, " I did send for a cup of tea, a Chinese drink of which I had never drank before."

Two years later Charles II married Princess Catherine of Portugal, and the Queen has been credited with popularising the beverage in England. Waller, the poet, composed a birthday ode in the Queen's honour containing the following effusion :

The best of Queens and best of herbs we owe
To that bold nation which the way did show
To the fair region where the sun doth rise,
Whose rich productions we so justly prize.
The Muses' friend, Tea, does our fancy aid:
Repress those vapours which the head invade,
And keeps that palace of the soul serene,
Fit on her birthday to salute the Queen.

Doubts, however, arose in the public mind as to whether the new herb, which was then costing about 60s. per pound, should be regarded as a medicine or a beverage, and we find that Mrs. Pepys, in 1667, is discovered by the gossiping diarist, "making of Tee; a drink which Mr. Pelling, the Potticary, tells her is good for her cold and defluxions."

The East India Company now began to interest themselves in the new commodity, and having purchased, in 1664, 2 lbs. 2 ozs. of tea as a present for the King, they instruct their Agent "to send home . . . 100 lbs. weight of the best Tey that you can gett." This resulted in the arrival, in 1669, of two canisters of tea containing 143½ lbs. It was gradually winning its way into public favour, and the Government, finding the collection of the original tax of 8d. per gallon both inconvenient and expensive, rescinded the old duty in 1689, and substituted a duty of 5s. per pound upon tea as imported.

The beverage, however, became the subject of fierce controversy among medical men and moralists, and its effect upon the human constitution became a favoured discussion. The Chaplain to the Queen, the Rev. J. Ovington, took up the cudgels in its defence in 1699, and, in the course of an interesting essay, he claimed its properties as an aid to digestion. "The Tartars," he wrote, "are said to have used raw horse-flesh as their ordinary food, which they digested with as much ease as the Englishman did roast or boiled beef." In these circumstances it is not surprising that their stomachs were said sometimes to be "oppressed with and mightily weakened through indigestion." However, as a remedy they readily applied themselves to tea, which worked a complete cure! from this, the reverend Chaplain concludes that liquor impregnated with its particles will soften flesh and render hard meats tender, a dictum for which, unfortunately, there is but little foundation. He also praised tea as a remedy for the scurvy, for giddiness, and for weakness of sight, and, last but not least, "this admirable tea endeavours to reconcile men to sobriety when their brains are overcast with the fumes of intemperance, so much so that it may be deemed an anti-Circe, counter-charming the enchanted cup, and changing the beast into a man."

A few years later there appeared an English translation of an essay by Dr. Duncan entitled "Wholesome Advice against the Abuse of Hot Liquors, particularly of Coffee, Chocolate, Tea, Brandy and Strong Waters," from which it was evident that the medical men of the day were giving close attention to the effect of these beverages on the human constitution. In the course of his pamphlet he wrote: "Coffee, tea, and chocolate were at first used only as medicines, while they continued unpleasant, but since they were made delicious with sugar, they are become poison. . . ." "The use or abuse of those liquors is become almost universal. Towns, villages, and all sorts of people are in a manner overflowed by them, so that not to know them is reckoned barbarous. Formerly none but persons of qualities or state had them, but now they are common to high, and low, rich and poor." The poets, however, decided to range themselves on the side of the new drink, and Peter Motteux in a picturesque effusion described a contest among the gods as to the value of tea, and picture Jove awarding the palm to the beverage in the following triumphal verse:

"'Immortals, hear,' said Jove, 'and cease to jar!
Tea must succeed to wine as peace to war;
Nor by the grape let men be set at odds,
But share in tea, the nectar of the gods'."

The physicians, however, were still defiant, and a member of the profession entered the arena with "An Essay on the Use and Abuse of Tea," in which he affirms that, had tea been introduced into Sparta, Lycurgus, the law-giver, would soon have condemned its exorbitant use, and upon observing its first ill-effects would certainly have prohibited its importation. This writer contended that it was the cause of hypochrondriac disorders, it being a drug "which has of late years very much insinuated itself as well into our diet, as regales and entertainments, though its operation is not less destructive to the animal economy than opium, or some other drug, which we have at present learned to avoid with more caution."

In spite, however, of the fierce onslaught made upon the beverage, it continued to grow in popular favour.

By the early years of the eighteenth century tea had definitely taken its place as a commercial proposition, and we find Peter Motteux relinquishing the practice of literature to take up its sale in Leadenhall Street, an event of sufficient interest to arouse the curiosity of "Spectator," who paid him a visit, and subsequently informed his readers that he found "his spacious warehouses filled with tea, China and Indian ware. I could observe a beautiful ordinance of the whole, and such different and considerable branches of trade, carried on in the same house, I exulted in seeing

disposed by a poetical head." "That illustrious man of trade and formerly Brother of the Quill has dedicated to me," says "Spectator," "a poem upon tea":

> "From boist'rous Wine I fled to gentle Tea,
> For calms compose us after storms at sea:
> In vain would Coffee boast our Good,
> The Crystal Stream transcends the flowing Mud.
> Tea, even the ills from Coffee spring repairs,
> Disclaim its Vices and its Virtue shares."

That Motteux regarded his new-found profession seriously is evident from the fact that he applied for membership of the Grocers' Company in 1700, and his son, who followed him in the business, became a member in 1713.

By 1710 tea was recognised as one of the national beverages, and was quoted in an advertisement in the *Daily Courant* on January 11th, at the following prices:

> Excellent Bohea 16s. and 20s. per lb.
> The finest Bohea 24s. per lb.
> Green Tea at 12s. and 16s. per lb.

According to Addison all "well regulated" families had become addicted to its use. In the issue of the *Spectator* for March, 1711, with an astute eye to business, he addressed himself to "all well-regulated families that set apart an hour in every morning for tea and bread and butter, and would earnestly advise them for their good to order this paper to be punctually served up, and to be looked upon as part of the Tea Equipage."

Unfortunately, the actual quantities of tea imported into Great Britain for the years 1700 to 1724 cannot be ascertained, the Customs Records having been destroyed by fire, but by 1725 no less than 370,323 pounds were retained for home consumption in Great Britain, and twenty years later this quantity had grown to 2,422,610 pounds, the average price per pound at this time being 4s. 7½d.

During this period Thomas Twining, a freeman of the Weavers' Company, established the business of a tea dealer in Devereux Court in the Strand, Queen Anne affording him her royal patronage; here it was customary for fashionable ladies to be carried in their sedan chairs, and here, under the pretence of sipping a dish of tea, they would meet their beaux and exchange the gossip of the day.

Jonas Hanway and John Wesley were subsequently to be found attacking the growing practice of tea drinking, but it found a worthy advocate in Samuel Johnson, who informed the world that he was "a hardened and shameless tea drinker, who has for twenty years diluted his meals with only the infusion of this fascinating plant . . . who with tea amuses the evening, with tea solaces the midnight, and with tea welcomes the morning."

By 1775, the total quantity retained for home consumption reached the total of 6,155,783 pounds, but that its popularity was still regarded with misgiving in certain quarters is evidenced from the attitude of one Dorothy Bradshaigh, who founded an Almshouse in Lancashire in that year, but forbad the use of "any foreign tea, commonly called by the name of Bohea and Green. . . . Those who can afford to indulge themselves in an article so unnecessary, so expensive, so destructive of both time and health (the tea such people must drink being poison), I shall not allow to be proper objects of this Charity."

Nothing could, however, stay its triumphal march. When the Government repealed the excise duty in 1785, and imposed a customs duty, the consumption of tea doubled the first year, and by the end of the eighteenth century the amount retained for home consumption reached the startling total of 23,000,000 lbs.

A further impetus was given to its consumption by the reduction of the duty to 6d. per lb. in 1865, and at the present time, with a duty of 4d. per lb. the total home consumption is over 400,000,000 lbs. This appears to indicate that the British public fully endorses the view expressed by Lo-yu, the famous Chinese author, in the year 780, who wrote that "Tea tempers the spirits, harmonises the mind, dispels lassitude and relieves fatigue; awakens thought and prevents drowsiness, lightens and refreshes the body and clears the perceptive faculties."

J. Aubrey Rees.

THE BÉGUINAGES OF BELGIUM.

IF—as has been asserted—the principal characteristic of life in the Elizabethan Age was its speculation and meditation, it can with equal truth be said that the chief characteristic of life to-day is its practical outlook and activity. Yet even to-day there are many to whom a life of quiet contemplation makes a strong appeal. But for most people, unfortunately, life is too strenuous, the struggle for existence too keen, to allow of much time being devoted to it, hence the interest in a study of past ages and customs fails to attract as formerly. History, with the exception of economic history, is regarded by the great majority of people as being of little practical value, and therefore not worth wasting time upon. Mankind is undoubtedly poorer for this decline of the " historical sense," for concentration upon what may be called—for want of a better definition—the merely practical affairs of life tends to produce a narrowing effect upon individuals, dwarfing their outlook and lessening their sympathies. The ruthless destruction of buildings venerable with age and rich in annals of national life which one notices on all sides and in every country of Europe to-day, often in order to make room for what can only be regarded as modern monstrosities, is an indication of this. The sites, and the associations connected with them, are rapidly disappearing in the demand for improvement.

Belgium, however, still possesses some retreats where the spirit of modernism has not entered, and where life to-day is lived as peacefully and uneventfully as hundreds of years ago. Two of the most ancient and historically interesting towns in the country are Bruges and Ghent, familiar to many visitors. But even these are rapidly becoming " modernised." Electric trams ply along cobbled streets lined with quaint old historic buildings devoted now to the sale of modern merchandise. Flaring street lamps light up ancient castles and churches, where formerly torches were the only means of illumination, and cinema palaces stand side by side with historic halls and belfries, all proclaiming the truth of the saying, *tempora mutantur*. In both these towns, however, there still remain corners into which change has not yet entered, and where life goes on pretty much as it did centuries ago, and amid very similar surroundings. The Béguinages for which Bruges and Ghent are noted, and which both are very proud to possess, belong to a past age whose virtues are fast being forgotten and only its vices remembered, and form an interesting link with those far-off days when money-making and social pleasures made less demands than in the twentieth century.

It would be difficult to learn much of what these places really are from their name. The word " Béguinage " conveys little to the majority of English people, and similarly the life and work of those who spent their days within these quaint little wall-encircled towns within the confines of the city, is little known to the world outside Belgium. Yet they have their place and have played their part—a no small one—both in the locality where they lived and in the national history of Belgium as a whole, and their existence to-day, in very much the same state and doing very much the same kind of work as was done centuries ago, is a reminder of their past greatness and present usefulness.

At Ghent the first Béguinage owes its origin to the brethren of St. Dominic who, in the year 1226, laid the foundation of their friary and speedily became popular in the district, their church being so crowded that many were unable to gain admission. Even in those days women seem to have formed the majority of the congregations, many of them being ladies of noble birth who, owing to the troublous times, were reduced to poverty and lived in loneliness. The Dominicans, realising the position of these ladies, left thus unprotected and with apparently no " call " to the conventual life, determined to procure for them some dwelling which should be something between the outside world and the ordinary convent, where they could live together under one roof. The idea was not a new one, for a similar plan was in operation at Liège, where a priest towards the end of the preceding century had inaugurated a community of ladies; from his name, Lambert le Bégue, is probably derived the name " Béguines."* In 1233, Johanna Countess of Flanders, being in sympathy with the ideas of the Dominicans, presented them with some land upon which to build their institution. It was surrounded by canals, and very soon a number of small houses was erected upon their banks, and inhabited by ladies living together under one common rule of life.

This Béguinage, known as the Béguinage of Saint Elizabeth, was situated outside the ramparts of the city and enclosed by a wall, the canals forming a moat round it. Entrance was obtained by means of a bridge which led to a large door in the walls. Through this could be seen the church, with its three naves, surrounded by beautiful lawns. To the right and left ran the narrow streets fringed by the small houses, all of the same pattern, each with its tiny garden under the wall.

So popular became the movement and so rapidly did the number of those desiring admission to the Béguinage increase that soon a second institution became a necessity, and the buildings known as the " Little Béguinage " were erected, with similar rules and

* The derivation from St. Begga is now abandoned by most authorities.

objects but independent of the " Great Béguinage." Each is under the control of a Superior—known as the " De Grootjuffer "—elected by the heads of the different convents of the Béguinage, who is responsible for the moral government and control of the institution. She is assisted in her task by a council of three chosen from among the béguines. The government of the Béguinages was originally in the hands of the Counts of Flanders, but in 1246, owing to the high esteem in which the inmates were held, the City Council ordered the High Bailiff of Ghent, among his other duties, " to protect the béguines against anyone or anything that could harm them."

For many years everything was prosperous and peaceful, but in 1311 a dispute arose between the Bishop of Tournai and Count Robert of Flanders concerning the power of the Bishop in the control of the institutions. The upshot of this dispute was that the Count gave authority to the Prior of the Dominicans to select and dismiss at will the Superior and the Chaplains of the Béguinages. This arrangement was only temporarily successful, however, and in 1354 a decree was promulgated by the then Count of Flanders—Count Lodewyck van Mak—to the effect that the Superior of the Great Béguinage should henceforward be chosen by himself or his successors. Five years later, he appointed two Tutors or " Voogden," to whom was committed the entire control of the Great Béguinage, and who were to share with the High Bailiff in the work of its defence. All other matters were more or less external, and little effected the individual lives of the béguines, who spent their days in religious exercises, sewing and embroidery. Events were happening, however, in the outside world which were to disturb the peace of the little community and bring about, for a time, its disruption.

On May 4th, 1797, a proclamation was read in the town of Ghent that all clergy should within fourteen days take the following oath : " I acknowledge the sovereignty of the French nation and promise obedience and submission to the French Republic." Many refused, and, ten days later, the clergy attached to the Béguinage, who were among the recalcitrant, celebrated their last service, while, six months later, the béguines were ordered to lay aside their habits, the church was closed, the crosses were removed, and the gates of the Béguinage hurled down. All inscriptions and images on the houses were removed, and the Superior of the Order, who had held that position for twenty-three years, was turned out of her house. It was not until May 31st, 1801, that the church of the Béguinage was reopened and the first service held. Two months later a Concordat was signed between the French Republic and the Pope reorganising all the dioceses and parishes. Under this the Great Béguinage was attached to the new parish of St. Michael. By permission of King William I and by order of the Bishop of Ghent the béguines resumed their habits in July, 1815, and it seemed as if more peaceful times were in store.

But such anticipation was not realised. In 1867, difficulties arose between the Béguinage authorities and the Governors of the Almshouses of the city, which ultimately led to the béguines quitting the town in 1873. Thanks to the sympathy and generosity of the Duke of Arenberg, they were enabled to build a new Béguinage on Mont St. Amand. Upon the departure of the inmates, the Governors of the city Almshouses took possession of all property, including the most celebrated monuments in Ghent—a collection unique in Europe —the wall was pulled down, the streets enlarged, and nearly all the gardens destroyed. Some traces of the old buildings still exist, notably the Infirmary—to-day a parish church—while a few façades of the old houses remain, almost the only ones extant indicative of the work of the seventeenth century. The Béguinage church—now the Church of Saint Elizabeth—is a fine building erected in the Renaissance style of architecture and containing many interesting monuments and statues, notably those of the Apostles, which are cleverly carved in such a way as to form the pillars supporting the roof of the nave. Outside the church and just inside where the great door of the Béguinage stood there was formerly a beautiful wayside Calvary and chapel. This was destroyed, but has since been restored and re-erected at the entrance to the Archæological Museum of Byloke by the Society of the Friends of Ancient Ghent.

The present Béguinage of Mont St. Amand consists of a large church, near which is a creeper-covered grotto copied from the famous shrine of Lourdes, an infirmary open to all, the dwelling house of the Grootjuffer, or Mother Superior, fourteen convents—the former Grand Béguinage had eighteen—devoted to the superintendence and training of the younger members of the community, and about eighty small houses in which the older members, or those who have lived for over six years in the convents, reside. The convents contain from twenty to thirty inmates living together under the supervision of a Principal. To each is allotted a cell furnished with the barest necessities. Meals are served in the dining-room—or " refter "—a most curiously arranged place. Along the wall there are a number of peculiarly-shaped cupboards; every béguine has her own, in which she keeps her provisions. From these cupboards a board is pulled out to serve as a table at meals, the doors being so constructed that one béguine cannot see into the cupboard of her neighbour. The white walls are hung with pictures. In the houses, as opposed to the convents, only two or three béguines live together. Some pay for their board and lodging, and live alone, engaging for companionship and help a younger béguine known as a " Sister."

A few lay women, chiefly elderly friends or relatives of the béguines, have taken up their abode in the Béguinages. Any woman desirous of so doing may live for a time in one of the convents, learning the rule and peculiar customs of the community, but she is free to leave at will. On the other hand, should she feel called to take up the life of a Béguine, she is admitted to special training and instruction and, if found suitable, becomes a full and life-long member of the Order.

From the financial point of view the Béguinage may be regarded as prosperous, many of the members—especially in past ages—being rich and of noble birth and leaving their property to the Order. But the money thus bequeathed has always been well spent, and the history of the ancient city of Ghent contains many records of the financial and personal help given in cases of sicknesses and epidemics. In 1820, the béguines gave a large sum of money for an institution in which free instruction and assistance was to be available for the poor. In 1826, floods inundated the country, thousands were ruined and their homes destroyed, the misery being increased by the very severe winter which followed. Among the largest contributors to the relief funds, both in money and goods, were the béguines. In 1832, a terrible plague of cholera devastated the town, and it was impossible to provide accommodation for all the sick. The béguines came to the rescue, threw open every possible avenue of help and worked all through the epidemic with the utmost devotion and self-sacrificing zeal. These are just a few examples, referred to in the public records of the town, which give an idea of the work accomplished by the béguines. In the Great War some of the grandest yet most unostentatious work on behalf of the soldiers of the Allied Armies was performed by these devoted women who looked for no reward. No wonder they are regarded with affectionate esteem throughout Belgium!

The visitor to the great Béguinage at Ghent will find very much of interest, though the first impression as one passes through the great gateway may be of sadness and gloom. A modern writer thus describes it:

> "The Béguinage is gloomy. We had expected to find a soul-filling peace and gladness but we were confronted with lofty walls and forbidding frontages of red brick, with narrow windows and mullions of stone, with little opaque panes of glass, and we felt depressed as though we had found ourselves in a conventual enclosure where all the passages are narrow and tortuous and all the doors shut."

This, however, is only the first impression, and first impressions, as we know, are not always reliable. At the entrance to the main buildings is a small garden, where neatly-bordered flower-beds and

tidy paths bear testimony to the béguines' industry and love of flowers. The time to see the Béguinage at its best and brightest is on one of the many festivals celebrated there. On August 15th of each year (the Feast of the Assumption) a Procession of the Holy Sacrament takes place. All the houses are gaily decorated with lanterns and flags, while right down the middle of the street is laid a carpet of real flowers. The procession is led by several rows of girls and young béguines, representing the various sisterhoods and convents of the Béguinage. They are followed by the béguines in their picturesque habits. Then come the priests in their gorgeous vestments, bearing the Holy Sacrament, and, last, the remainder of the inhabitants of the Béguinage bring up the rear of this picturesque procession wending its way to the church. Christmas is observed with due ceremony, and the Feast of the Holy Innocents is a day of great rejoicing. Every béguine may invite a young brother, sister, or cousin, and each child is presented with a real béguine's head-dress. When the Christmas dinner is ended, the children are allowed to clear the tables and put the things away, which they all regard as a special treat. Games and fun of all kinds are indulged in, one of the favourite games being dancing round the tables holding each others' hands. It is quaint and pleasant to see the usually sedate béguines being whirled round by the lusty youngsters. On the occasion of a recent visit, one of the Sisters had just completed fifty years of life in the Béguinage, and the whole place was *en fête* in honour of the event. After receiving the congratulations of her friends, she was conducted in procession to the Church and, after service, a dinner was given in her honour, where young and old recited in verse and prose the wondrous merits of the aged béguine, minute inquiry having, apparently, been made into every event in her life. The dinner-party ended with the singing of a well-known popular song—as we sing "for he's a jolly good fellow"—the refrain of which rang in the ears of the old dame long after she had retired to her bed behind the plain white curtains.

It is in combining the simple pleasures of life, its human with its religious side, that the power of the béguines lies, and in this is found the secret of their popularity. Leading secluded and contemplative lives they are by no means idle, and the shops of Ghent contain many examples of beautiful lace and embroidery sold for the benefit of the sick and poor among whom they work.

The Little Béguinage—or as it is sometimes called the Béguinage of Notre Dame—has preserved its old-world aspect to a greater extent than the Grand Béguinage. It is in the form of a great square with a beautifully-kept lawn in the centre, and the picturesque little houses and gardens round each side. One or two narrow little streets wind in and out between them. The Church

is an ornate building, its bell bearing the date, 1658, assigned to its foundation. Behind it is a simple chapel built in honour of Saint Godelieve, formerly a very popular place of pilgrimage for those suffering from diseases of the throat. A fair used to be held on the anniversary of this saint, in July. A tower at the south-east corner of the Béguinage once formed part of the old city walls.

There are several other Béguinages in Belgium where similar useful work is carried on. The best-known is that at Bruges, also founded in the thirteenth century. Its low, white houses and its church (rebuilt early in the seventeenth century) surround an open, grassy space, entered through a picturesque gateway.

While the life of the béguines is essentially a religious one, it is, as we have seen, not lived in entire seclusion from the world—not a life given only to prayer and meditation, but a combining of the spiritual and practical, and bringing both to bear upon the problems and difficulties of life.

A. J. MERCER.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE RHINELAND PUZZLE.

THOSE who are young enough or unspoiled enough to retain a sense of surprise in watching the courses of diplomacy will no doubt find exercise in the fact that nearly ten years after the armistice and more than two years after the signing of the Locarno Treaties, the troops of the former " Allied " Powers are still stationed on German soil. Unfortunately, the reason for that fact must be sought mainly in the policies of the Quai d'Orsay, whose permanent officials have been so long preoccupied with the subtleties of their diplomacy that the surprise of other people has long since ceased to impress or even to interest them. Recent events have suggested that an old and half-forgotten motive still works behind the continued French aversion from evacuating the Rhinelands. Those events have now to be chronicled.

There is the usual danger that the complexities of current events may obscure their context. Probably not many people can keep fresh a sense of indignation against a diplomatic stupidity prolonged through two years. When the Locarno treaties were drawn up on the shore of Lake Maggiore in October, 1925, the words " allies " and " enemies " were not spoken by any delegate from the beginning to the end of the conference. The abstention from those words was the outward effect of a spontaneous and general feeling of what was proper to the occasion. The war epoch was ceremonially closed. Memories, however, are short, as one realises if one recalls the sort of thing that was said and done only two years ago. On December 1st, 1925, when the Locarno delegates sat round the Foreign Office table in London and signed the treaties, some interesting speeches were made. " Opposite me," said M. Briand, with a wave of the hand, " sit the German delegates; that does not mean that I do not remain a good Frenchman, as they remain, I am sure, good Germans, but in the light of these treaties we are Europeans only. . ." Herr Stresemann said: " A community of fate binds us to one another. If we go under we go under together; if we would rise, we cannot do so in conflict with each other, but only by working together."

It was common ground among those who took Locarno at its face-value—and there were many who so took it—that Germany would enter the League of Nations and that the Rhinelands would be evacuated as soon as both events could be arranged. Germany duly entered the League of Nations at the first opportunity, in September, 1926; but not only have the Rhinelands not been evacuated: there has never yet been any convincing indication that France had the

slightest intention of evacuating them. Ever since December, 1925, German opinion has been asking with an increasing uneasiness: " After Locarno what is the purpose of a continued occupation of the second and third Rhineland zones?" The question has not been answered, but a suggestion of the answer that would be given by the Quai d'Orsay, if the Quai d'Orsay expressed its honest thoughts, was conveyed through devious channels in January of this year.

It happens that Dr. Marx, the German Chancellor, and Herr Stresemann, the Foreign Minister, have begun to show less patience and less restraint. Dr. Marx acts also as Minister for the Occupied Territories. Last October he made a tour of inspection of the occupied areas, visiting Coblenz, Mainz and Speyer. On December 9th he made a speech, reporting his experiences, to the Reichstag Committee for the Occupied Territories. What he said was of considerable interest, but by some accident or other it was completely ignored by the British Press. He reported that the German policy of conciliation in the occupied provinces was approved by the local residents, who none the less continued to suffer from material and psychological hardships. He said that the " Allies "—a word which had crept back into the diplomatic vocabulary—had kept their promise to reduce the number of the armies of occupation by 10,000, namely, by 8,000 French, 1,000 British and 1,000 Belgians, that the French and British had already left and the Belgians were due to leave on December 15th; but the remaining troops, especially in Mainz, where one-fifth of the total force was billeted, were still a heavy burden. Moreover, in Mainz, Kaiserlautern, Landau, Trier and Coblenz, there were still more than 1,000 coloured troops, an imposition that was found particularly uncongenial. Dr. Marx submitted that all coloured troops should be immediately withdrawn from the Rhinelands. The army of occupation, he added, was still at greater strength than the pre-war German garrisons in the same area; its manœuvres, which had taken place at harvest time following a bad summer, had done much agricultural harm; Ordinance No. 64 of the Inter-allied Rhineland Commission, which gave to the French army a general power of requisition over the entire occupied area except the British section, and by virtue of which the French authorities ordered a periodic inspection of all horses and vehicles, was regarded by the German population as a form of enforced mobilisation against their own country. The Chancellor conceded that the ordinances were now administered more gently, that fewer Germans were expelled from the occupied territory, that there were fewer restrictions on the Press (although more on the films) and that the military tribunals, with the exception of certain sentences, were more lenient. On the other hand, there had been no reduction in the cases of maltreatment or molestation of the population by soldiers of the occupying force. Dr. Marx further protested against the vast secret service employed. In short, he concluded that the occupation of the Rhinelands, now continued through ten years, was " in striking contrast with the general political situation."

Dr. Marx's outspokenness was the beginning of a phase of outspokenness in Germany. In his New Year's Message, the President openly demanded the evacuation of the Rhinelands. Herr Stresemann, speaking in the Reichstag on January 30th, roundly declared: " There is a clear anomaly between Locarno and the continued Rhineland occupation. It is true that evacuation was not formally promised in the Locarno Treaties and that there can be no complaint of a breach of covenant, but it was common form at the time of the Locarno Conference that the treaty was the beginning of a new policy among the Powers." He went on to examine critically the French insistence on " security." " I have never seen," he said, " a stronger guarantee of security between two nations than the Locarno Treaty between Germany and France. Both Powers undertook by their treaty to repudiate all aggressive action against each other. Whoever calls for more security casts doubt on the promise and on the signature. . . . There is, moreover, the British guarantee. Are the words and might of England not enough, then, for those who cry for an increased security in France? Is there any doubt about England's power to take the offensive, together with France, against the German Reichswehr? . . . The demand for further security would be an insult to both Germany and Great Britain, because it would be based on the assumption of both breaking their word. . . . There is a bit of hypocrisy in the demand."

Herr Stresemann next expressed the feeling that Germany would endure the occupation of the Rhinelands " to the last day " if the Reich could thereby be served, but submitted that " we demand the evacuation above all because the occupation is an insurmountable obstacle to a Franco-German rapprochement." He recalled the famous " gaffe " of the Thoiry negotiations which followed the signature of the Locarno treaties. He said, "Some time ago, when it was suggested that a premature evacuation of the Rhineland under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles on the ground of Germany's fulfilment of her obligations, ought to be accompanied by a premature mobilisation of German payment under the Dawes plan, Germany let it be known at Thoiry that she was prepared in principle to conclude an agreement on that basis. Economic developments in France have pushed the scheme into the background. Whether changed conditions will give it fresh life remains to be seen . . . but we cannot allow the impression to be gained that Germany would be prepared to purchase the curtailment of the Rhineland occupation with the acceptance of lasting measures in excess of the terms of the

Treaty of Versailles, which would be apt to perpetuate, not confidence, but mistrust between the nations, and consequently to impede a real and effective policy of peace."

Now Herr Stresemann is not a financier, nor has his sense of humour developed *pari passu* with his other qualities. The suggestion that had been made at Thoiry in September, 1926, was that the Dawes railway bonds should be mobilised. Herr Stresemann innocently toyed with the principle of it. Herr Schacht indignantly and immediately protested, but Herr Stresemann appears not to have been impressed, even though he found it impossible to pursue the matter through the expert stage.

M. Briand, however, never forgot. On February 1st, 1928, speaking in the Senate, he gave his answer to Herr Stresemann's observations about the Rhinelands. M. Briand's attitude towards the Rhinelands is something of a puzzle. In nearly every other sphere of foreign policy his effect is pacifist and calculated to add to the harmony of nations. No doubt his hands are somewhat tied by the opinion of his colleagues whenever the Rhinelands are in dispute; possibly he has conceived the principle of " selling " for a price the evacuation of the Rhinelands as a sop to those colleagues; possibly he even feels no objective difficulty in tempering the evacuation with a little financial bargain.

It is an apparently consistent and general feature of French thought that it can neither resist the attraction, nor criticise the merits, of a financial bargain. It is bad policy in the long run, but seems to be ingrained in the French character. It no doubt explains the odd fact that French opinion is not in the least impressed by the argument that debts should be paid simply because they are debts. The French Government has uniformly regarded its debts to other governments as a lever wherewith to extract something else from those governments. The taste for a bargain amounts to a disease in French thought. On February 2nd in the French Senate, M. de Jouvenel, who spoke before M. Briand, submitted that the evacuation of the Rhineland must depend upon the conclusion of an international pact guaranteeing the security of Eastern Europe. "If," he asked, " France consented to evacuate the Rhineland, and war subsequently broke out in the region of the Vistula, would not the people who are now urging her to evacuate then accuse her of lack of foresight?" One cannot meet argument on such a plane. M. Briand, speaking later in the same debate, exclaimed : " While walking in the olive groves of Locarno Herr Stresemann has a tendency to put out his hand to take rather than to give." Where a bargain is on the horizon the French sense of humour is even less conspicuous than at other times. Who was " putting out a hand to take " ? Why, M. Briand; and what he wanted to take was a considerable sum of

cash, as will be made clear below. Before, however, coming to his point, M. Briand made a glancing remark which even he could hardly expect to be taken seriously. " France," he said, " is not alone in the Rhineland ; she has Allies, and she cannot herself decide whether the occupation shall be continued or ended." If an Englishman found unintentional humour in that remark, the humour was a little grim. The British Government had been trying for two years to induce France to agree to an evacuation.

M. Briand, however, then came to his point. The occupation of the Rhineland, he said, had been made with three objects : to secure the punishment, later abandoned, of war criminals; to ensure disarmament; and to obtain reparations. Herr Stresemann, he added, had said that he would obtain the proposals of the financial experts to the end that reparations might be accelerated; but those proposals had never been produced.

M. Briand's cat was out of the bag. Nor is it surprising that those proposals were never produced. Herr Schacht no doubt would sooner have evacuated his office in the Reichsbank than agree to the evacuation of the Rhinelands on so fantastic and so childish a travesty of a financial bargain. What was that bargain? When M. Briand met Herr Stresemann at Thoiry on September 17th, 1926, he suggested that in return for honouring the spirit of the Locarno treaties, France should be allowed to sell some or all of the Dawes railway bonds so that the French Treasury might be given an immediate windfall of capital wherewith, among other excellent purposes, the franc might be stabilised. Herr Stresemann, presumably not knowing anything whatever about the implications of the proposal, agreed " in principle "—after the manner of all those who either do not understand or who may want to recede from what they promise —but he had enough horse-sense to make his acceptance conditional on the plan being ratified by the experts as practicable. The French experts promptly and abundantly supplied the required ratification. The German experts, among whom Herr Schacht was decisive, incontinently rebelled against Herr Stresemann, straining personal friendship to breaking point.

London financial experts unofficially and informally, and with the accustomed patience they expend on French financial projects, examined M. Briand's plan. They even conceded that, if the plan were to be carried into execution, the resultant cash would give the French financiers and politicians still another respite in which to try again to rescue the franc, even though the new capital itself could never have any bearing on that problem. Unfortunately, the plan was unpractical. The sale of the Dawes Railway Bonds would be a purely financial matter, dependent wholly on the world's stock markets. Who would buy them? M. Briand's suggestion that Paris

would buy " some of them " was either made playfully, or it argued a remarkable eagerness of spirit on his part. Of course, London and New York would be the only available markets.

The amount of railway bonds outstanding is £800,000,000. London and New York together, even when New York hardly knows where to put its money, could not raise anything like such an amount of loose capital. M. Briand's alternative of mobilising a part of the bonds (say one-eighth, namely, £100,000,000) would be within the investment possibility, if the investment were attractive. It was not, and is not, attractive. The market price would have to be determined by the price of German 7 per cent. Dawes Loan, which can be bought for a little over par. Railway Bonds at 5 per cent. could not be sold at more than about 70. The bonds therefore would be realised at a heavy discount. The proceeds would go to Paris *in toto,* if M. Briand's claim were allowed that they be handed over in priority as part satisfaction of the French 52 per cent., and mostly to Paris if the proceeds were divided in the ratio of the Spa-Dawes percentages. What inducement could there be for London and New York to realise capital, not immediately wanted, at a heavy loss? When, moreover, the proposition was that they should incur the loss without even receiving the capital realised, it became less interesting as finance than as a practical joke. When still further the only discoverable argument for it was that the transaction would help France, although France continued bravely not to fund her debt either to the United States or to Great Britain, the joke became heavy. Some of the more nimble French opportunists suggested that it might now be worth while—for in their eyes a bargain loomed on the horizon—to fund the debt to the United States, and not to fund the British debt, because New York wanted to invest money and could probably raise £70,000,000 without London's help. That speculation too was unsound, for the New York bankers, who have the deciding voice when it is proposed to raise £70,000,000 in New York, decided that it was better business not to do a bad turn to London (which was then paying £35,000,000 to the United States with a certain prospect of paying more) than to do a good, if shady, turn to Paris on the remote chance of Paris agreeing to pay, say, £4,000,000 to the United States.

The Berlin, London and New York bankers were unanimous on purely financial grounds. There were still other grounds. If the bonds were sold, the service of the interest on them would be deprived of the supervision of the Reparation Commission's Trustee and of the Transfer Committee. Germany would thereby be deprived of the Dawes safeguards which have the power of modifying or of postponing transfers according to the exigencies of the exchange. I happened to have a conversation with Herr Schacht in Berlin at the

time when this Thoiry scheme was propounded. He flatly condemned it. The Thoiry financial plan of 1926 was as still-born as the Wiesbaden financial plan of 1921, yet M. Briand apparently still clings to it. It is hard to see how the French Government can succeed in winning any financial recompense in return for evacuating the Rhinelands. The obvious alternative seems to be that the French Government should evacuate that territory for the reason that it would be in the general interest to evacuate it. It appears that London has become weary of applying friendly pressure on Paris in this matter, and Berlin, having behaved like a patient ox about it for two years, is only now beginning to kick.

The obstinacy with which the French Government has persisted in doing the wrong thing in the Rhineland is the more noticeable because in other ways Europe has been throwing off some of its self-imposed shackles. On January 31st the Allied military control organisation was withdrawn from Austria, just as the corresponding organisations were withdrawn from Germany a year ago, and from Bulgaria and Hungary during the course of last year. All the " enemy " countries are now free of those forms of control. The relief has taken ten years. Similarly, certain advances have been taken towards removing obstructive visa barriers. On New Year's Day of the present year travel between Germany and Great Britain became possible without passport visas. British subjects may now visit thirteen countries without visas, namely, France, Belgium, Italy, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Luxembourg, Liechtenstein, Austria, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Germany. These are signs of progress towards a sane Europe. The persisting occupation of German territory by the " Allies " of the last European war seems to give an unnecessarily fatuous contrast.

The British Memorandum on Security.

Disarmament is the final goal of the League of Nations, but it is odd how hard it is to interest men or governments in the subject. A little spurious interest was aroused when early in January it was rumoured that the British Government was drawing up a comprehensive scheme for security and disarmament to be submitted to the League Security Commission when it met on February 20th. The rumour was circulated in such a way as to suggest that something really important was imminent, and even that Sir Austen Chamberlain was trying to outbid Mr. Kellogg in outlawing war. The rumour was unfounded, or at best mis-founded. It was also unfortunate, because it threatened to raise hopes abroad that were doomed to disappointment. In Europe the British Government is generally expected to bring forward schemes of security, including the provision of the British army and navy and air force for the pro-

tection of any and every country in Europe from any and every attack. Inasmuch as Sir Austen Chamberlain had already made himself unpopular by publicly denying at Geneva that the British Government had any intention of doing more in that sense than was promised at Locarno, it would have been hard lines if he had to meet the disappointment following on an artificially-stimulated appetite among his foreign colleagues on a second occasion.

The facts which mistakenly led to the rumour were these : When the League's Security Commission (the " Sub-Committee on Security of the Preparatory Committee on Disarmament ") was set up in December it began its work by reviewing the existing facts about the problem of security, arbitration, conciliation, and the like, and by exploring the possibility of further work on the same problem. It was decided to collect the full dossier of existing agreements about security and to try and assess the exact value of the Covenant's provision for security. The Secretary-General, as is usual, was called upon for much of the material. The work of sorting it was delegated to three members of the Commission. Dr. Benesh, the President of the Commission, further suggested to all Governments represented that they should send in supplementary information giving the facts and views specially relevant to themselves, so that the ground should be prepared as thoroughly as possible by February 20th. The British Foreign Office thereupon began to prepare a memorandum about British arbitration treaties and about British policy in relation to arbitration, conciliation, the " Optional Clause," and other such matters. That memorandum contained only a review of existing facts and a comprehensive statement of the views already expressed at Geneva by Sir Austen Chamberlain, Lord Cushendun, and other British spokesmen. It did not outline any new plan, partial or complete. The view was held in Whitehall that much of the success of the Commission and of the Disarmament Conference for which it is to prepare will depend on the thoroughness with which the ground is cleared in advance. It would, for instance, be unfortunate if Great Britain had to oppose some plan for security drawn up in ignorance of some vital principle of British policy. An unnecessary public hitch might thereby be produced.

The text of the British Memorandum was issued to the Press on the evening of January 18th, and was summarised in the papers of the following day. It was not otherwise made public. It deserves close attention because the major diplomatic movements of the world are now concerned with the problems of arbitration, " conciliation," security and disarmament. Those movements centre in Europe, where the League of Nations is making a thorough preparation for its disarmament conference. An important part of that preparation

is the work now being done on the problem of security. It is true that the United States is to some extent interested in the problem because her own arbitration treaties with the chief powers of the world fall due for renewal this year : but the systematic work on the problem is being done in Europe.

The British Memorandum is a long document containing some 10,000 words and a statement too closely reasoned to be adequately summarised. The broad lines of British official thought on the subject are well known in Great Britain, but not well known anywhere else. For all the recent attempts made by Sir Austen Chamberlain and Lord Cushendun to explain British policy, that policy has never yet been fully appreciated abroad. The British refusal to sign Clause 36 (the Optional Clause) of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, combined with the fact that the British Government has used arbitration in practice to a greater extent than any other Power in the world, is a permanent source of wonder.

It would be difficult to understand the British Memorandum without reference to the broader circumstances in which it was written. The full background only gradually became visible. When the Memorandum was first made public it was not known how far certain parallel discussions between Great Britain and the United States had progressed. A passage in the King's Speech delivered at the opening of Parliament on February 7th made the interesting disclosure. " On December 29th last," he said, " the United States Government communicated to My Ambassador at Washington, for consideration and as a basis for negotiation, the draft of a new Treaty between Myself and the President of the United States of America, to take the place of the Treaty of Arbitration concluded at Washington on April 4th, 1908. The terms of the new draft are being carefully and sympathetically studied by My Government in Great Britain and will be considered in communication with My Governments in the Dominions."

It came as news that the draft of a new Arbitration Treaty had been submitted to the British Ambassador in Washington at the very same time as Mr. Kellogg made his proposal for the new Arbitration Treaty with France. The fact that the Franco-American treaty was signed in Washington the day before the King's Speech was delivered in London added dramatic point to that disclosure. It had not been known that when the Foreign Office in London was writing out its long Memorandum about security and arbitration it had before it the definite draft of a proposed new Anglo-American treaty of arbitration. Last December, when the Kellogg proposals to France became known, considerable diplomatic interest was aroused because they dropped the so-called " Root "

reservation, whereby national honour and vital interests were excluded from the arbitral scope, and because they contemplated something much more businesslike. They proposed only to exclude questions affecting domestic matters, or the Monroe doctrine, or third parties. Whitehall at the time affected much interest in the proposals because, if accepted by France, they might open the door to a new type of Anglo-American arbitration treaty. It was not at that time disclosed, nor did it appear to be suspected on either side of the Atlantic, that the Kellogg proposals had already been duplicated to London. The absence of suspicion was no doubt partly due to the fact that whereas the Root treaty with France was due to expire in February of this year, the corresponding Root treaty with Great Britain was not due to expire till June. It must now be assumed that the general remarks about arbitration and security made in the British Memorandum apply equally to the problem of the new Anglo-American instrument as to the problems waiting for the meeting of the League Commission on February 20th.

One thing is certain, namely, that the old type of arbitration treaty is a thing of the past. Great Britain is at present a party to eleven treaties all containing a uniform stipulation about the reservations to which arbitration must be subjected. The pattern is given by the first of them, the Franco-British arbitration treaty of 1903, of which Article 1 read thus :

" Differences which may arise of a legal nature, or relating to the interpretation of treaties existing between the two Contracting Parties, and which it may not have been possible to settle by diplomacy, shall be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration established at The Hague by the Convention of July 19th, 1899, *provided, nevertheless, that they do not affect the vital interests, the independence, or the honour of the two Contracting States, and do not concern the interests of third Parties.*"

The British Memorandum of January 19th explained that " it may well be that this formula as to vital interests, honour, independence and the interests of the third States, first adopted a quarter of a century ago, requires re-examination." The potential importance of that statement appears not at first to have been generally grasped. Yet, at the beginning of 1928, we are faced with the prospect of a radical change in the arbitral practice hitherto followed by the Great Powers of the world. Arbitration is the chief prospective substitute for war, and war will become unlikely in proportion as arbitration becomes likely as the method of dealing with international disputes. The British Government, equally interested in the Old and in the New World, has a special responsibility in this matter. The importance of what was written in the

British Memorandum of January 19th may well prove to be greater than was anticipated by its authors.

Two passages of the Memorandum stand out as especially enlightening about the British Government's attitude both towards the impending work at Geneva and towards the arbitral problem with the United States. They are: " 20. In 1922 the Assembly of the League adopted a resolution urging upon all members of the League the advantage of conciliation as a method of solving disputes and inviting them to conclude agreements for setting up conciliation commissions. With this resolution His Britannic Majesty's Government in Great Britain are profoundly in sympathy. The essence of conciliation is that it does not attempt to impose a settlement, but that it frames for the consideration of the parties to the dispute recommendations and terms calculated to compose the conflict of view. It thus brings to bear upon the question at issue the efforts of impartial and qualified statesmen free from the bias which is inevitable among those who are nationals of one of the countries which are parties to the dispute. It has also this further advantage that recommendations made by impartial bodies after profound study of the facts of the dispute are bound to merit the support of public opinion in other countries and will thereby possess the greatest weight with the States between which the dispute has arisen. 21. The fundamental distinction between justiciable and non-justiciable disputes is one that must be borne in mind in framing any model conciliation agreement. Justiciable disputes should be referred to bodies of men who are accustomed to give binding decisions and who are in consequence accustomed to base their decisions on rules of law which are obligatory for the parties. Non-justiciable disputes cannot be solved by the application of any such rules of law. Such disputes should not, therefore, be submitted to bodies of judges accustomed to apply rules of law. Treaties which provide that where the parties do not accept the recommendations of a conciliation commission the dispute should be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague should be discouraged."

Never in the whole course of post-war history has the British Government so clearly expressed its belief in " conciliation " as a means of solving international difficulties. As if to confirm the dual applicability of these passages to the two existing problems, Sir Austen Chamberlain, on February 8th, speaking in the House of Commons on the Address to the King, made the illuminating remark that the solution of the Anglo-American problem " may be made rather along the lines of the Bryan treaty than along the strict lines of arbitral agreements."

That statement clearly foreshadowed a departure in British

policy. The Root-Bryce treaty must be revised, renewed, or abandoned by the end of June. Renewal is out of the question. On February 6th the new pattern of Franco-American treaty was signed, providing for arbitration limited only by the " Kellogg " reservations and one added reservation requested by M. Briand to the effect that the treaty should not conflict with League of Nations obligations. After February 6th it was a matter of general diplomatic speculation whether the British Government was likely to adopt the Kellogg-Briand, or some new pattern. Sir Austen's hint of February 8th came as something of a surprise, because the treaty signed by Sir Cecil Spring-Rice for Great Britain and Mr. Bryan for the United States, in September, 1914, had never been taken seriously, and had never been put into operation. It provided for the setting up of a permanent international commission whose competence would be to give an advisory opinion about the settlement of any disputes that might arise between the two countries. The fact that the commission was never even constituted was generally interpreted as implying that a purely advisory, as distinct from an arbitral, body could hardly be expected to settle serious disputes.

It now appears that London official opinion attached greater importance to the Spring-Rice-Bryan instrument than to the new pattern of arbitration treaty launched by Mr. Kellogg and M. Briand. One difficulty felt in London about the system of precise arbitration as a diplomatic method where the United States is concerned is that all treaties of arbitration must, by the American system, be subject to the condition that the United States Senate retains the power of veto over the exercise of arbitration in any given case. The prospect would therefore be that on the one hand a binding commitment would be incurred by London while there would be no equal commitment on the part of the United States. Each case would have to be decided on its merits by the United States Senate.

The Spring-Rice-Bryan treaty, on the other hand, provides that the Commission of Conciliation should be allowed twelve months in which to formulate an opinion, the parties in the meantime undertaking not to take action. There is now a strong tendency in London official opinion to regard such a buffer period of twelve months as a potentially stronger safeguard against unpleasantness than would be afforded by an arbitration treaty of any pattern when limited by the reservation about the Senate's discretion.

The Franco-American Treaty.

The Franco-American Treaty of Arbitration was signed in Washington on February 6th. It was at first given to be understood that the text of the treaty would not be published until it had been made known to the Senate. Speaking in the House of Commons on February 8th, Sir Austen Chamberlain could say only that he " understood " a treaty had been signed, but did not know what form the treaty had taken. It is to be feared that Washington is so habitually disinterested in Europe that it has forgotten some of the commonplace features of European diplomacy. One of the most commonplace is that no secret is ever kept in Paris except one that Paris has some good reason for keeping. The notion that Paris could sign a harmless treaty of arbitration with the United States and not divulge its clauses until the treaty had been made known to the United States Senate was an ignorant notion. It was not surprising therefore that the text of the treaty was published on February 8th. If Sir Austen had read his morning papers before making his speech on February 8th in the House he could not have claimed any but a severely official ignorance of the treaty's content.

The preamble to the treaty was of an unusual type because it contained a formula of which the effect was to outlaw war between the two countries. It read : " Resolved to prevent as far as lies in their power any break in the peaceful relations which have happily existed between the two nations for more than a century ; Desirous of affirming afresh their adhesion to the policy which consists in submitting to an impartial decision all disputes arising between them which are capable of being decided judicially ; Anxious by their example not only to demonstrate that in their mutual relations they condemn war as an instrument of their national policy, but further to hasten the moment when the conclusion of international agreements for the peaceful settlement of conflicts shall have for ever removed the possibility of war between the nations of the world ; Taking into consideration the treaty signed at Washington on September 15th, 1914, to facilitate the settlement of disputes between France and the United States ; The President of the French Republic and the President of the United States of America have decided to conclude a Treaty of Arbitration which extends the range of the Arbitration Convention signed at Washington on February 10th, 1908, which expires on February 27th, 1928, and thus to contribute to the advancement of the cause of arbitration."

It thus appeared that the 1914 treaty of conciliation was not to be allowed to lapse into oblivion. Article 1 of the new treaty stipulates that all disputes between the two countries which cannot be settled by the ordinary diplomatic means shall be submitted " for inquiry and report " to the permanent commission set up by the Bryan treaty of 1914. It is then stipulated (Article 2) that all disputes arising from international policies which cannot be settled either by the normal diplomatic means or by the permanent international

commission of conciliation, but which are justiciable, are to be submitted either to The Hague Court of Arbitration or to some other competent tribunal.

That article may lead to some controversy in the Senate owing to the use of the word " agreement " instead of " treaty," because constitutionally a treaty needs a two-thirds majority of the Senate before it can be ratified whereas an agreement needs only a bare majority. The article reads : " All differences relating to international matters in which the high contracting parties are concerned, by virtue of a claim of right made by one against the other under treaty or otherwise, which it has not been possible to adjust by diplomacy, which have not been adjusted as a result of reference to the above-mentioned Permanent International Commission, and which are justiciable in their nature by reason of their being susceptible of decision by the application of the principles of law or equity, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of Arbitration established at The Hague by the Convention of October 18th, 1907, or to some other competent Tribunal as shall be decided in each case by special agreement, which special agreement shall provide for the organisation of such Tribunal if necessary, define its powers, state the question or questions at issue, and settle the terms of reference." Article 3 recites the four categories of disputes that are to be excluded from the operation of the new treaty, namely 1, " those connected with the national jurisdiction of either of the contracting parties " ; 2, those which concern the interests of third powers ; 3, those arising out of the maintenance of the " traditional attitude of the United States in American affairs, commonly known by the name of the Monroe doctrine " ; and 4, those arising " out of the observation of France's engagements under the covenant of the League." No definite term is given for the operation of the treaty, but it is provided that either party may denounce it at one year's notice.

From Prague to Geneva.

It was expected that when Dr. Benesh was made Chairman of the League Security Commission there would be no gaps in the documentary preliminaries to the meeting. The three rapporteurs chosen to collect material on the three main questions to be studied were Mr. Holsti for the question of arbitration agreements, Mr. Politis for the question of security agreements and Mr. Rutgers for the question of the articles of the covenant.

Those rapporteurs first of all drew up individual memoranda embodying the information resulting from the documents placed at their disposal by the secretariat of the League. They then held a meeting in Prague which lasted from January 26th to February 1st to co-ordinate their work under Dr. Benesh's chairmanship. They

moulded the separate texts into an organic whole and incorporated the substance of the Notes sent in by the German, Belgian, British, Norwegian, and Swedish Governments in answer to Dr. Benesh's invitation. As a result a big volume of information has been prepared in readiness for the meeting on February 20th. It contains the separate memoranda of the three rapporteurs, the memoranda of the five governments aforesaid and a general memorandum of tentative conclusions arrived at by Dr. Benesh and the rapporteurs in the course of their work.

The first general conclusion that the four men emphasised is that the existing provisions of the Covenant of the League need to be appreciated at their full value. The Covenant has proved that it is capable of preventing war or of arresting a conflict. The States represented on the Council are given extensive powers to preserve the peace, which can be used all the more effectively because they are not circumscribed by any rigid code of procedure. During the last seven years " a situation has arisen which is fundamentally different from that which existed before the League of Nations was instituted, so that a resort to war, without the responsibility for such a step being manifest to the whole world, becomes more and more difficult to imagine." Before the League of Nations came into being an international crisis expressed itself only through the national propaganda of the parties concerned. Nowadays international crises are publicly debated by the Council of the League with the result that the point of view of one party in a dispute becomes better known on the other side, and the official recommendations given by the Council give a lead to the public opinion of the world at large in the formation of an impartial judgment. The prestige of the League is such that no government would dare refuse to give full publicity to the official recommendations of the Council. Such a refusal, if attempted, would stigmatise the government concerned as one that wished to avoid a full disclosure of the facts. Even the imperfection of Paragraph 7 of Article 15 of the Covenant has in practice proved to be not so serious as appears on the surface. The possibility that the Council might fail to reach a unanimous opinion, that is an opinion unanimously agreed to by all members of the Council except the parties in dispute, is offset by that provision of the Covenant which enables the Council to explore various means to a settlement before recording its failure to reach unanimity. It can suggest arbitration, or can invite the disputing parties to adopt measures which, in the Council's view, would avoid war even though an unanimous report on the merits of the dispute could not be reached. It has, moreover, been found in practice that the existing provisions of the Covenant for security, such as Article 16, have encouraged the separate States' members to supplement

those provisions by regional or particularised security pacts such as the Locarno Pact, cast within the framework of the League but applied in detail to a particular area or a particular problem.

The three memoranda of the rapporteurs give an admirably condensed summary of the exact achievements and possible developments in their respective fields. Each memorandum is followed by a short catalogue of " conclusions." One of the conclusions reached by Mr. Holsti in his memorandum on Arbitration and Conciliation is of particular interest to the British Government. It is " that special attention be paid to conciliation, and that the framing of a general conciliation treaty be contemplated, even if the idea of a general arbitration treaty should not be accepted." In his memorandum on security questions Mr. Politis suggests in one of his conclusions that the provisions of the Locarno Pact concerning flagrant aggression might be adopted in other regional pacts wherever the situation happened to be analogous. In another part he illustrates the wisdom of Dr. Benesh's caution in canvassing in advance the detailed views of the several governments. Writing of the old problem of " defining " and then of " establishing " unprovoked aggression, Mr. Politis observes that " considered from a general standpoint the definition of unprovoked aggression presents real difficulties " but " for the purposes of a regional security pact, it would appear to be relatively simple. It is sufficient to say that the term ' aggressor ' shall be applicable to any contracting State that resorts to force in violation of the undertaking entered into by it in the regional pact; for example, if it offers armed resistance to a final decision." That observation was duly appreciated in London.

In his memorandum on Articles 10, 11 and 16 of the Covenant Mr. Rutgers plunges deeper into the problem of determining aggression, but wisely refrained from dogmatising about it. " A hard and fast definition " he writes " of the expressions ' aggression ' (Article 10) and ' resort to war ' (Article 16) would not be free from danger, since it might oblige the Council and the members of the League to pronounce on a breach of the Covenant and to apply sanctions at a time when it would still be preferable to refrain for the moment from measures of coercion. There would also be the risk that criteria might be taken which in unforeseen circumstances might lead to a State which was not in reality responsible for hostilities being described as an aggressor." The last sentence is in effect a paraphrase of a recent contention made in the House of Commons by Sir Austen Chamberlain.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

February 15th, 1928.

No. 318. *March, 1928.*

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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THE MALINES CONVERSATIONS.*

The publication of two accounts of these very interesting conferences between Anglo-Catholics and Roman Catholics at Malines under the roof of the late Cardinal Mercier is, perhaps, somewhat ill-timed from the point of view of the Anglo-Catholics, when both the Church of England and the British nation are in the throes of an embittered controversy as to the proposed new Prayer-Book. Indeed, the Pope himself is reported to have said that further discussion on the subject of reunion is untimely in view of the feeling in England. But Lord Halifax, who did not vote in the House of Lords for the revised Prayer-Book but stood aloof, and who was the prime mover in the matter of the Conversations at Malines, considered that this was the time for publication and, from the point of view of the entire position, there is a good deal to be said for his decision. The country is much stirred by the question of the Prayer-Book and it is well that everyone should know what is the exact position as to the approaches that have been made for reunion with Rome.

The reunion of Christendom is, in itself, a desirable thing in face of the materialism and indifference to Christianity and Christian principles manifested in much of modern life, and this obvious fact was emphasised at the Lambeth Conference of 250 Anglican

* *The Conversations at Malines*, 1921-1925. *Les Conversations de Malines*, 1921-1925. Oxford University Press. 2s. 6d. net.

Bishops from all parts of the world, and was dwelt upon in moving language in the noble and characteristic letter written by Cardinal Mercier to the Archbishop of Canterbury on October 25th, 1925. It is only in the truly Christian spirit of this letter that some form of federal unity could be even approached. Clearly, on the face of the matter, conversations between selected members of two of the three great Churches of Christendom was a matter of interest and possibly of importance.

The first Conference, in December, 1921, was wholly unofficial and was between six persons, Cardinal Mercier, Mgr. Van Roey (the Vicar-General of Malines) and the Abbé M. F. Portal from Paris on the one hand, Viscount Halifax, Dr. Armitage Robinson (the Dean of Wells) and the Reverend W. H. Frere (now Bishop of Truro) on the other hand. The English members did not in any sense represent the Church of England but merely a very restricted, though very active (so far as the clergy are concerned), section of it. At the preliminary meeting

> There was unanimous agreement as to the necessity of a Catholic unity which must be visible; and the Anglicans did not decline to recognise that, if the obstacles which obstruct such unity could be removed, recognition could rightly be given to the historical primacy or precedence belonging to the See of Rome. This latter subject, however, was held in suspense. . . . One of the Anglicans said (and with the approval of his colleagues): " We wish for unity, and, if the necessary preliminary conditions had been duly met, we should not shrink from the idea of a Papacy acting as a centre of unity; but, in so saying, we have in view not the Papacy such as it exists in theory and practice among Roman Catholics at the present time, but a conception of unity such as may emerge in the future."

The second Conference was held in March, 1923: " the Anglicans now came with the friendly cognizance of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Roman Catholics with the knowledge of the Holy See." It should be noticed that there are both English and French versions of the two accounts published in this book. It is noticeable that in some cases in the French version of the English text the word " Catholic " is used though the English version has " Roman Catholic." The axiom " no foreign potentate hath any jurisdiction in this realm of England " was drawn to the attention of the Roman Catholic delegates and the question was bluntly asked by the Anglo-Catholics:

> Was it possible to interpret the spiritual authority of the Pope in such a way that the jurisdiction of the English Bishops should not be interfered with? Could this be secured side by side with a recognition of the right claimed by the Pope to intervene in matters which concerned the general interests of the Universal Church?

The answer to this question was very definite:

> It was pointed out on the part of the Roman Catholics [the word Roman is also used in the French text] that the right of the Pope to intervene anywhere could not be surrendered; but it might be a question how far he need exercise it. If the principle of the right were acknowledged, it was not inconceivable that the Sovereign Pontiff might allow that normally the local authority should work without his intervention.

It is only fair in this connection to draw attention to two recent interventions by the Vatican in British affairs which created a great stir at the respective times, namely, the *ne temere* decree as to marriages, and the Roman Catholic Ecclesiastical Courts sitting in Westminster itself dealing with suits for nullity of marriage with an appeal to the Pope himself in Rome. If these steps could be taken in the present position it would seem that a large appellate jurisdiction to Rome would arise as a result of reunion.

The Anglo-Catholics at this Conference declared that they must not be understood as admitting jurisdiction of any kind. " They would, in any case, hope that the Pope might restrict himself to dealing directly with the Archbishop of Canterbury as recognised leader of the Anglican Communion, or with the several Metropolitans in Anglican Provinces."

> Among the topics which came up for consideration was the statement of the Anglicans that an essential part of such a settlement as had been under discussion would be the express provision for the recognition and retention of certain characteristic Anglican rites and customs: as for example
>
> (*a*) The use of the vernacular and the English rite.
> (*b*) Communion in both kinds.
> (*c*) Permission of marriage of clergy.

The Roman Catholic delegates did not rule out the possibility of such recognition and retention.

The third Conference took place in November, 1923, and the delegates were more numerous. Dr. Gore, formerly Bishop of Oxford, and Dr. Kidd, Warden of Keble College, Oxford, being added to the Anglo-Catholics and two priests from Paris to the Roman Catholics. At this Conference the Anglo-Catholics admitted that the Pope " has a primacy among all the Bishops of Christendom; so that, without communion with him, there is in fact no prospect of a re-united Christendom." On the other hand it was explained by the Roman Catholics that Papal authority " transcends but does not extinguish episcopal authority: in exceptional crises, however, the Pope intervenes in full power." The fourth meeting took place in May, 1925. It was then stated by one of the Anglo-Catholics that " organisation is relatively of secondary importance and that the dogmas are things of primary importance. The Roman Catholics accept this entirely, and insist

further on the necessity of unity in doctrine." It may be said on this joint conclusion that it misses one of the main points of the Reformation, the absolute rejection of an authority external to this realm. This is a matter of organisation but it is one that would be fought to the death by a large proportion of the lay members of the Church of England. It possibly explains, in part, the fate of the Revised Prayer Book which the House of Commons rejected last December.

The fifth meeting was held in October, 1926, the venerated Cardinal Mercier and his colleague the Abbé Portal being then dead and Bishop Gore and the Dean of Wells being absent. The meeting only dealt with the terms of the report. It should be noticed that with respect to the third meeting the Archbishop of Canterbury urged " the necessity of its being made quite clear what is our well-established and coherent Anglican position as set forth by our great divines." Moreover, in February, 1924, Dr. Davidson made it quite clear that " there have been no negotiations whatever. We are not at present within sight of anything of the kind. Cardinal Mercier emphasises this as strongly as I do . . . they [the group of conversations] were private conversations about our respective history and doctrines and nothing more." Perhaps they were rather more than mere private conversations since apparently the sittings were sanctioned by Lambeth, York and the Vatican. The Roman Catholic version of the Conversations seems indeed to take a rather hopeful view of the idea of reunion. It is certainly much the cleverer document of the two and gives much food for thought.

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BRADLEY'S ETHICS.*

The late Mr. Bradley's *Ethical Studies* were published in 1876 and the volume was soon out of print. The author never republished it, partly because he became absorbed in the metaphysical thought, which led eventually to the publication of *Appearance and Reality* in 1893, partly because he desired to rewrite it—a task which he never accomplished. Yet he revised the book and inserted additional and sometimes critical notes, so that this " Second Edition " is enriched by the afterthoughts of Mr. Bradley's later years. On every ground it is well that this important work has again, after a long interval, become easily accessible.

The reader of these Essays is carried back to the ethical controversies of half a century ago, not by way of a historical summary, but as live issues being fought out by the outstanding thinkers of the

* *Ethical Studies*. By F. H. Bradley, O.M. Second Edition. Clarendon Press, 15s. net.

time. Hedonism and Utilitarianism, Intuitional and Kantian doctrines, were all contending for mastery. John Stuart Mill, Alexander Bain, and Matthew Arnold were in the ascendant. Positivism, as represented by Frederick Harrison, commanded attention. Thomas Hill Green and Henry Sidgwick were coming to the front. British Hegelianism, with its independence and restraint, its religious and ethical emphasis, was making itself felt under the influence of the Cairds in Scotland, and of Green in Oxford. F. H. Bradley was the compeer of these distinguished men, and his *Ethical Studies* suggest, within their strictly limited range, the more comprehensive thought which found its final form in *Appearance and Reality*.

Under these conditions the republication of this first treatise of the series has both advantages and disadvantages. In the case of older readers it revives the memories of bygone struggles. In the case of younger students, while the treatment has the vividness of actual conflict, this very fact enabled the author to take for granted, as familiar, many elements and circumstances of the current controversies which have now faded into past history. This difficulty is increased by the closely-packed and allusive character of many of the arguments. Then again, there is the drawback that Bradley took Ethics in hand before he came to Metaphysics. The nature of his Ethical doctrine required, more than some other Ethical systems, the laying bare and adequate treatment of its Metaphysical presuppositions. Yet when he wrote this volume these presuppositions had not been methodically explored. Hence, again and again, the reader is brought to a standstill by the refusal of the author to make the requisite passage from the Ethical superstructure, to the Metaphysical foundation. When, however, the *Ethical Studies* are read in the light of the subsequent treatises this difficulty is easily surmounted, and the development of Bradley's thought to its systematic completeness can be traced.

The great task which F. H. Bradley set before himself was the overthrow of Hedonism and Utilitarianism, with the whole underlying system of Determinist and Association Psychology. He opposed to this, then dominant, Ethical doctrine, with the loose thinking and lack of precision which masked its fallacies, the conception of self-realisation as the true end of moral conduct. These essays, therefore, carry forward stage by stage and side by side the exposition of what is meant by and involved in self-realisation, and the refutation of Mill and Bain, by keen and searching dialectic, accompanied sometimes by delicate irony and sometimes by pungent sarcasm. In respect both of its controversial and its constructive objects the volume takes rank with T. H. Green's criticism of Hume and his *Prolegomena to Ethics*. Stage by stage, Bradley elaborates the doctrine of self-realisation as the progressive develop-

ment of an internal system that brings the individual personality into accord, not only with the social system, but ultimately with the universe, seeing that the self can only be fully realised in its true and completed organic relations with both of these. Hence the progress of the thought inevitably leads not only to Metaphysics but to Religion, and the volume ends on the one hand, upon the threshold of Bradley's subsequent doctrine of the Absolute, and on the other, with scathing and contemptuous criticism of the " clap-trap " of Matthew Arnold. All those who are interested in British thought during the nineteenth century will welcome the restoration of this important link in the chain of its process. J.S.L.

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DEMOCRACY.*

These delightful lectures that trace the course of democracy in the ancient world from the days of the Homeric world to the end—if that is the right term—of the Roman Republic have all the charm, the irony, the wisdom and the fairmindedness that a large and ever-increasing public look for from Dr. Glover. That it was a little daring to give these lectures in America—on the Sharp Foundation at the Rice Institute, Houston, in the State of Texas—may be admitted. The lecturer pointed out to his audience that he signed the official pledge on entering the United States that he would be loyal to the Government and that he duly repudiated polygamy and anarchy, but it is rather difficult in writing about democracy, ancient or modern, to avoid the subjects of periodic revolutions, of *Hybris,* unbridled Demos heedless of the rights and feelings of men, of the American belief in democracy, of the ugly side of democracy : " hysteria, judicial murder, extravagance, legal pillage of the rich, contempt for the foreigner, *Hybris* in short . . . not peculiar to ancient Democracy, or to the Greeks." But Dr. Glover makes amends and more than amends for his plain statement of what the great Greek thinkers, historians, and satirists thought of Democracy and its capacity for repudiating international engagements.

> Let us sum up what Athenian Democracy was and what it did. It was a government of citizens met in an assembly, where, without Presidents, ministers, ambassadors or representatives, they themselves governed. They created a beautiful city and a law-abiding people; they united the Greek world or a large part of it; they defeated the Persian Empire in all its greatness and drove the Persian from the sea. They made an atmosphere where genius could grow, where it could be as happy perhaps as genius ever can, and where it flowered and bore the strange fruit that has enriched the world for ever. " Whate'er we know of beauty, half is hers." The political temper, and the scientific,—philosophy, sculpture and poetry—Athens gave us them all in that period, a century or so at the longest, while Democracy flourished.

* *Democracy in the Ancient World.* By T. R. Glover. Cambridge University Press. 10s. 6d. net.

Dr. Glover in a frank note on this summary tells us that Mr. W. E. Heitland declared that in this chapter the author is " rather too much the advocate and that I have said too little of slave labour. . . . Yes, slave labour vitiates all ancient life and not the democracies only ; it is the common cancer of every form of government." It might be added that Athens in losing her tribal structure lost the basic strength of her society. The great Mesopotamian empires, based originally, as Greece was based, on tribal life gathered into city-states, bartered their strength for commercial power and centralisation, and failed miserably, but not perhaps more miserably than Athenian Democracy. Freeman's emphatic statement that Athens was the first instance the world ever saw of the substitution of law for force is quoted with apparent approval. It seems not quite historical. Law is the essential essence of tribal life ; it is when the tribal basis breaks down and *Hybris* comes in that true Democracy is undermined. The Athenian law was tribal from the first, and Athens gives us the first recorded instance in historic detail of the substitution of force for law. The United States has clung to the English Common Law, which is tribal in essence—as the next of kinship rule shows—and has abolished slavery, thus preserving the structure on which the old world was built and ejecting the cancer that destroyed Democracy in the ancient world. America has chiefly shown her love for Democracy in this way, and the same is true of the other and unmarried daughters of Britain.

It is a long story since the days of the Homeric Assemblies under what was in effect customary feudal guidance, and Democracy had a long and earlier story unwritten by Homer before the days of the Assembly when the grim Thersites—echo of an earlier and mirror of a later age—appears. These were not only fighting but workaday days, and Dr. Glover is at his best in his revelation of the essential economics of the Odyssey and the Iliad. It was a self-supporting world and " the elements of the Greek world that we know are there." It is a late stage, indeed, since private property in land has already appeared beside the tribal and kinship lots. Hesiod shows us the continuity of the tribal trades and the continuity of the feudal lords. Economic pressure caused swarming off in the eighth century before our era, and many Greek colonies were founded. Dr. Glover makes a timely comparison with the early colonisation of America. So the tribal city-state was spread from Greece, as indeed it had spread from other centres in many parts of Asia thousands of years before. The next and fatal stage was " the gradual breaking down or wearing-down of the clan-system." What in effect happened was

that commerce overwhelmed tribal democracy, a common Asian phenomenon. But commerce brought gifts instead: "Arts and crafts, navigation, poetry, astronomy, architecture, music, the alphabet, travel, the Greek sense of wonder—everything was working to liberate the Greek mind." Even in the Stone Age in Southern Pacific seas we see similar phenomena and the *disjecta membra* of a civilisation of which history contains as yet no record. Greece was able with her knowledge of metals to work out her superb destiny before the end came.

Rome was another story, but whatever may be said of the beginnings we can see that it was essentially tribal, and we come into the knowledge of the tribes when chieftainship and the customary feudalism of the marching tribes had given place, in some fashion or another, to kingship. The Code of the XII Tables is a common tribal phenomenon. We see it as far apart in time and place as the Sumerian Code and the Bantu Codes, each based upon decisions delivered in tribal assemblies. The Code in the case of Rome was the answer to a demand which "was one phase of a larger one for the safety of the *plebs* against oppression." That victory rendered commercial Rome immune from the usual consequences of commerce, and it was supplemented by the Lex Hortensia of 287 B.C., which gave to *plebiscita,* the resolutions of the *concilium plebis,* the force of law. It established the full sovereignty of the people.

Dr. Glover dwells on the curious form, the voting by groups, of the Roman democratic assemblies. There were checks everywhere. The demagogue could not sweep the field in Rome. The *imperium* of the magistrates, while it led up to the unlimited *imperium* of the Principate, was in itself wholly constitutional and could not be in any hand for more than a year. This magisterial initiative, though parallels can be found in the history of the tribal peoples of America, was associated with the steady upgrowth of a superb system of law that did not merely deal with a self-centred tribal people struggling with a tribal environment, but with a vast mercantile community. The result, to the present writer at any rate, was the upgrowth of a people possessing deep political instincts and relying in the main on the delegation of sovereignty or authority to those best fitted to exercise power. On this point, however, it is well to quote Dr. Glover:

> Government can be done too well, too effectively. The Roman Empire fell in the long run, because nobody could govern it except civil servants and soldiers, and they began by governing it too well. The same thing is seen from the beginning. A practical people secures all the liberty it seems to want for itself; it leaves other matters to the magistrates and still more to the Senate; the other matters are managed extremely well, as things go in nation-building, and nobody troubles about it.

But was the reliance upon the tribal Senate, and later upon the Principate, the real cause of dissolution? Was not the real cause economic in close association with the slavery problem? Rome's heart was fatally diseased, and the subject peoples went their way with the Roman law on their shoulders and the Roman faith in their hearts. Great Britain is a child of Rome. She has her political instinct, and if we can avoid the economic errors of Rome we may escape her fate.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

NATIONAL HEALTH.*

This Manual of Education for Health though primarily for the use of teachers in the elementary schools has a far wider significance. It should be in the hands of everyone connected with public life and not least in the hands of ministers of religion who could find in it the material for many sermons. No doubt it was due to the ever increasing interest in national health that the Stationery Office has printed the very substantial first edition of 25,000 copies. If it is assumed that a copy goes, as it should go, to every school in the country, including the secondary schools, a good many copies will be still available for the general public. The introduction by Sir George Newman, the organiser of the great School Medical Service, is a fascinating essay on the significance of bodily and mental health in national life.

The British public, though they have had a good many shocks in respect to national health since the reports of the Poor Law Commission in 1906, can hardly be expected to realise that "upwards of 20 per cent. of the children in attendance at schools are suffering from acute disease needing treatment." On the average throughout England and Wales one child out of every five at school needs treatment for acute disease. Such conditions are in no sense limited to towns. Disgraceful conditions continue unchecked in the most lovely rural districts and these conditions exist not only in cottages but in rural school buildings. In countrysides where milk is plentiful there are children who cannot get the milk that they need. There are still many backward rural education authorities who somehow or another escape the rigour of the Board of Education in respect to the School Medical Service. Public opinion in these districts among the farmers and well-to-do landowners or retired business people who form the local education authority is at about the lowest ebb, while there are still some clergy who regard their cure of souls as some-

* *Handbook of Suggestions on Health Education for the Consideration of Teachers and others concerned in the Work of Public Elementary Schools.* Board of Education. His Majesty's Stationery Office. 6d. net. paper covers; 1s. net. cloth bound.

thing divorced from the bodies of their parishioners. Public opinion everywhere is beginning to flow but it has not yet reached, in many cases, " Sweet Auburn, loveliest village of the plain." It is desirable to commend to the rural clergy of all denominations this handbook of health education.

It is the official view of the Board of Education that " the physical health and conditions of the child are . . . the basis upon which all mental education must necessarily be founded." We are told that :

> *it is the neglect of hygiene which costs a nation dear, in money and in life.* It is the inhibitions and restrictions of ignorance in a right way of living which impose upon Great Britain much of its annual burden of disease, its millions of weeks of lost time owing to sickness, its tens of thousands of premature deaths, its numerous lunatics, " deficient " persons and dullards, and its vast company of those who exist and toil far below normal health, capacity and contentment. " The people perish for lack of knowledge."

It is the school, the elementary and the secondary school, indeed all schools, that must lay the basis of the new England. The school in all ages has done something for hygiene, directly and indirectly, but it needed the painful revelations of successive wars to bring home to the minds of the people the preventable losses that they were hourly enduring. Recruiting for the Crimean War and, rather more than forty years later, for the South African War showed the inroads of disease into national life and the Reports of the Poor Law Commission in 1906 drove home with vigorous force the lesson. The public did not believe in the danger, but the Board of Education realised the need for intensive effort and in 1907 the School Medical Service began. That service has fought disease in the schools with might and main for over twenty years. It had been at work seven years when the Great War began and revealed the terrible number of men unfit for service, the C3 men who have become a motto for inefficiency. The public awakened to the danger and much has been done in fourteen years, but still, such is the desperate nature of the case, Sir George Newman has to report that a fifth of the children in the schools, that is to say, more than a million children, " are suffering from acute disease needing treatment."

Sir George Newman could report, on the other hand, considerable progress that has resulted in the falling death-rate among babies and in many good things, such as an increased measure of cleanliness and improvement in the conditions of eyes and teeth. Moreover, parents no longer resent the work of the School Medical Service and are willing to take advantage of mother-craft and after-care in all forms. The present generation of young mothers were in the schools when the medical service began its work and a new standard

of health has been created. But still the work is uphill work since the school medical officers have to contend with a vast measure of ignorance among the elder men and women, a terrible series of slum areas, and, what is worse, myriads of slum-minds. But the fight goes on with an ever increasing measure of success and an ever increasing insistence on preventive medicine, the policy that prevention is better than cure. It is possible, in perhaps the majority of cases, to cure sick children, but if when cured they go back to the old and evil environment the cure is evanescent. That is one reason for the great percentage of sick children.

The latest effort, and a valiant one, of the Board of Education is the issuing of this pamphlet which supplies to teachers, skilled in the art of communicating knowledge, " subject matter for health practice and health talks to young children." The children throughout England and Wales from these talks will learn what their teachers think on the subjects of cleanliness, of eating habits, of fresh air, of the way to breathe, of the importance of sleep, of the care of the eyes and ears. A second part of the book is devoted to the subject of health lessons for older children. The notes supplied for these lessons are entirely admirable and should be used as much in secondary as in elementary schools. There is a great deal of sickness (often veiled) in the secondary schools, sometimes more than headmasters or mistresses suspect, due to malnutrition, to want of care of eyes and health and throat ; to rheumatism, to lack of sleep. The practice that obtains in some schools of sending boys or girls home with a great pile of work is totally evil. All preparation for forms lower than the sixth should be done in the school building under supervision and in good environment so far as light and warmth and silence are concerned. At the present time there are many children in secondary schools who cannot secure these conditions in their homes. Too many heads of secondary schools fail to realise this. Moreover, a midday meal in the school, supplied at cheap rates, is almost essential. If the children are given money it is not spent on proper food.

Children in all schools must be taught the elements of hygiene in such a way as to interest them and give them good basic habitudes and habits that are perfectly natural and are not regarded as anything abnormal. The child must be so taught that there is no fear of introducing medical or morbid ideas into the mind. " In all forms of health education it is important to avoid undue self-consciousness on the part of the child." The mental aspect of the whole question of health is, indeed, vitally important. It is not merely necessary to train the child into good physical habits. The mind has to be trained, its passions, hopes and fears have to be harnessed, the personality has to receive a fit mental frame. "With-

out sound mental development there can be no enduring bodily health or freedom from fatigue nor yet a healthy outlook on life."

All this means ceaseless labour on the part of the teachers. But it is worth it and if there is touch between the teachers and the parents progress can be rapid, indeed, with respect to both physical and mental hygiene. But there must be a special call to parents. How can it be made? No doubt much can be done by meetings with the parents and special At Homes in the school. But something more is needed. It is possible that Sir George Newman may see fit at some time to organise a series of broadcasting lectures on the subject of health, lectures in which this book could be commended and simple broad general principles laid down. The educational side of the British Broadcasting Corporation has done much good work. It will add greatly to its public usefulness if it will organise a health campaign.

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF DRAMA.*

Dr. Herbert F. Allen of the University of Michigan has written an extremely interesting and thoughtful book on the drama. His first essay " On the enjoyment of Tragedy " raises the question " why do we enjoy tragedy?" The author attempts to solve the inquiry by considering the material out of which tragedy is created. He finds that beauty is one of its component parts. The effort to define beauty has gone on for thousands of years, and the definition has always been subjective, varying with the epoch and the individual seeker. To the modern reader or theatre-goer, tragedy appeals as the clash of passions, in the same sense as the clash of the elements. The grandeur of discord produces awe and fear, something beyond the ken of mortality, and takes upon itself the mantle or emblem of eternity, and thus the passions at variance evoke our sympathy and find in ourselves the response without which no full appreciation can ensue; as Walter Savage Landor says with respect to his own *Agamemnon and Iphigeneia :*

> Far from the footstool of the tragic throne,
> I am tragedian in this scene alone.

That exactly meets the inquiry as to why tragedy appeals to and is a source of pleasure. It touches life, common humanity, life at its highest and its lowest; beauty and its degradation, time and eternity. The intense interest in its development and elucidation (which demands the exercise of attention and intelligence) all contribute to enjoyment. The reader or auditor of a tragedy needs to transport himself in time and space, and by an understanding of the

* " The Play's the Thing." By Herbert F. Allen, Ph.D., University of Michigan. The Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa. 10s. 6d. net.

period, and the personality of the individuals concerned, and the problem dealt with, is enabled to grasp the situation, and by application of his intellectual powers, which the tragedy quickens, is capable of appreciation and enjoyment. This is especially true to-day when the newspapers provide tragedies by flood and field. Taking all these considerations into question, it is possible to understand the pleasure that tragedy provides, but it must always be understood that tragedy strictly speaking is the clash of Good with Good, producing what is apparently Evil but something that is explicable in a higher and nobler plane of life. A murder may not be a tragedy. An unsuccessful act of self-sacrifice is a tragedy that has its explanation elsewhere.

The second essay calls attention to " the Modernity of Aristophanes " which is well brought out. Human nature being constant in all ages, it is not surprising that history apparently repeats itself. The feminine question which Aristophanes satirises in his delightful fashion is our question : the eternal feminine. Unity in life, in every department of life, is the Alpha and Omega of existence. Each sex supplies what the other lacks and so makes it possible for humanity to arrive at the " perfect man " and find *Humanitas*. The new departure at Oxford introduced by the Public Orator, Mr. Poynton (at the suggestion of Sir Michael Sadler), a lecture in Greek from the lips of a new Isocrates, met a highly appreciative audience. The experiment emphasised for this age (too neglectful of Greek) that the acquirement and study of this noble tongue not only adds to the knowledge of that cultured people but enables us to assimilate their humanism in a way that no translation can effect. Any new movement which fosters this knowledge is to be welcomed.

The third essay deals with " The Natural History of the Biographic Drama." The earliest form of this drama most probably was autobiographic, not indeed a drama, but a story told by the principal character, a story of prowess either in sport or war. The dramas of Æschylus and his successors are, one may say, the earliest that have come down to us, and they are certainly biographic as the titles of the plays suggest, but they were not biographic in the sense that Mr. Drinkwater's *Cromwell* or *Lincoln* is biographic. The characters portrayed in the early dramas, we must remember, were legendary, not ordinary men and women of our earth, but in all probability the emanations of many minds credited with virtues, and vices, and heroic deeds; and it was the work of the dramatist to put into action the main events of those lives. These legendary characters were so incorporated into the history of their nation that they acquired personalities akin to King Arthur and his Knights.

Mr. Drinkwater's *Cromwell, Robert E. Lee,* and *Lincoln,* are biographic, as are Mr. Parker's *Disraeli* and Mr. Newton's *Dr. Johnson.* The latter play differs from the former plays inasmuch as it is a dramatisation of a biography. Dr. Allen gives just praise: "its constant use of dialogue, its many stories, its vividness of phrase give it at times the splendid atmosphere of great drama, often of high social comedy." There is no sign in Mr. Newton's *Dr. Johnson* that Boswell is making his hero talk for the possibility of publication; it is akin to broadcasting, but we see this man portrayed as he lived and moved in everyday life. It is a vivid portrait that is placed before us. The other dramas which Dr. Allen instances are of a different type. The principal character or name part is drawn from the life that history presents, and the authors model their characters, not upon their spoken word or action, but upon the psychology of the man as the author conceives it. Dr. Allen's discussion of the various forms of biographic drama is excellent and full of interest and will add fresh zest to the reading of both early and present-day plays.

The essays conclude with "The Cynic Utopias," a subject that has been dealt with by many writers from Plato onwards, and from many angles, none of them very satisfying, though replete with wit, wisdom and satire. Dr. Allen's essays will well repay the reader who cares for, and enjoys drama whether ancient or modern, tragedy or comedy. A chapter might have been added on folk-drama. All the world over it is the same, a presentation of the ancestor-cult with its tragedies and its hopes and fears. It lies behind the Greek drama as definitely as it lies behind the Shakespearean Age. It is essentially religious but it is also essentially human. It is the real explanation of the popularity of dramatic representation, something that lies deep in the soul of the people.

S. DE M.

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POST-MEDIÆVAL COURT HANDS.*

The Later Court Hands in England, by Mr. Hilary Jenkinson, dealing with official handwritings from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century is a worthy successor to *Court Hand Illustrated,* a palæographical introduction to the hands of the Middle Ages which he produced in collaboration with Mr. Charles Johnson in 1915. The earlier work has established itself as the bible of historical and literary research students dealing with documents earlier than 1500, and this new work is sure to win for itself a similar position with students of the later period. It consists of a volume of text and a portfolio of forty-nine plates selected to illustrate various classes of documents and the development of the various styles of official writing during the three centuries. It was a most happy fortune which placed at Mr. Jenkinson's disposal The Common Paper of the Scriveners' Company, in which members entered their adhesion to the Company's ordinances, for it gives a conspectus of the development of several hands from the close of the fourteenth to the beginning of the seventeenth century. The printing and plates in this work are executed with such care and skill that a reviewer might be tempted to recommend its purchase merely as a beautiful book, apart from its sterling scholarly worth; and the Cambridge Press deserves unstinted praise for a fine production, published at what is really a very reasonable price.

The volume of text is pioneer scholarship in the palæography of the period, for going back to the earliest manuals of writing-masters Mr. Jenkinson has attempted to establish a classification of the various styles of writing in use in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The layman will be surprised at the result. It was an age in which the various royal courts, the Chancery, Common Pleas, and King's Bench, the Exchequer, developed distinct hands of their own, and outside these there were the two all-important hands, *Secretary* and *Italic,* which practically all literate men in the sixteenth century learnt to write. To distinguish these and other hands from one another and to establish a nomenclature is the very beginning of any scholarly use of palæography in historical evidence; and even to have in a standard book the information that sixteenth-century writing masters taught their pupils to write a variety of hands and that they attached a definite meaning to a style of writing will avoid the repetition of many unsound statements and arguments. The variety of information in Mr. Jenkinson's text and the range of his references in such subsidiary chapters as those on personal marks, paraphs and signatures, symbols and cyphers, and numerals, are striking. Probably the book could only have been written by an official in the Public Record Office who has handled hundreds of documents in all classes of the public archives. The student, beginning his research, will find the plates with their transcriptions and model editorial notes indispensable; the scholar will be helped in giving scientific descriptions of his documents; and the amateur will be saved from the ignorance which led a recent writer to detect a forgery in a copy of one of the documents belonging to the Casket Letters simply because the signature was an imitation of Mary Stuart's.

N.

* *Later Court Hands in England.* By Hilary Jenkinson. Cambridge University Press. Price 45s.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

Professor R. W. Chambers has contributed a preface to the substantial volume of *Centenary Addresses** delivered last summer on the occasion of the Centenary Celebrations of University College, London, when the King and Queen visited Gower Street. Professor Chambers rightly regards the founding of University College a hundred years ago under the name of the University of London as " the birth of a movement for bringing back English University life into the full current of national life, and for linking up English University thought with that of the rest of the world." In 1827 the elder Universities were only beginning to awaken from their eighteenth century sleep—a sleep it is only fair to say that was adorned by great dreams of scholarship and learning—and the London movement was one of the forces, religious and secular, that stirred them into new life. The founding of the College was " rather a matter of restoration than of innovation," to days when the iron hand of the State and of nationalism had not broken the universality of learning. These centenary lectures show how broad a grasp the College has had in all forms of humanism. They open with the lecture of that great man the late Professor Ernest H. Starling on Physiology, and this was followed by other surveys of a century of hard work, Sir Oliver Lodge on Physics, Professor Chambers on Philology, Professor Fleming on Electrical Engineering, Professor Collie on Chemistry, Professor de Montmorency on Jurisprudence. Mr. Chesterton lectured on " Culture and the Coming Peril," the Bishop of Manchester preached a thanksgiving sermon in Westminster Abbey, Mr. H. A. L. Fisher delivered the centenary oration on " Our Universities," Sir Gregory Foster looked back on " These hundred years " and Dr. Mary Brodrick, in her address on " Our Inheritance," bade the students " Go Forward." All these addresses show a record of much intensive work in vast fields of research that are still widening, show an *esprit de corps* that is wholly admirable and a determination to make the eldest College in London a hearth of humanism and hope. Mr. Chesterton, in his notable address, declared that " there never was a time in the whole history of the human race when it was more necessary to defend the intellectual independence of man than this hour in which we live." The loud and continued applause was the best evidence that this truth is fully appreciated in the College which has been defending that independence for a whole century.

* * *

The Rev. E. E. Bradford, D.D., has lately issued another of his arresting books of verse *The Kingdom Within You and Other Poems.*† The poem that gives the book its title is unconventional and provokes thought. Dr. Bradford uses the development of modern thought in a manner no way at variance with accepted Christianity, but with a depth which endows such thought with the spirituality that its Founder always inculcated. " The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life." Dr. Bradford, looking beyond the horizon of our common day to the infinitude of the Creator and the Fatherhood of God finds : " The King and His Kingdom within you."

* University of London Press, 10 and 11 Warwick Lane. 12s. 6d. net.
† Kegan Paul. 3s. 6d. net.

" God within and God without
Teaches me this perfect trust.
How can God within me doubt
God without is true and just?
He who whispers I'm His Son
Prays ' My Father's Will be done!' "

What matter the discoveries of the scientists as to our progenitors, and last year's discussions at the British Association, so long as man is in the ascending scale.

" Fear not the vastness of Divinity :
God is not great, for He is infinite.
Size has no meaning for infinity
And in the roll whereon our names are writ
We may be sure He makes no note of it.
How lovingly He lingers round a bee,
Perfecting her through æons bit by bit!
Will He not do as much for you and me
To make us also for our office fit?"

Much might be quoted, but the above is sufficient to show the vision pervading this small book of verse, which arrests by its humanism and attracts by its godliness. In " Other Poems " the author sings the praises of Belton, " A Holiday Land," with freshness and originality.

* * *

Miss Iris Barry in her *Portrait of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu,** has partly missed an opportunity. In her foreword she complains that the admirable biographies of Lady Mary " like almost all biographies . . . concern a corpse " and sets out to paint a living picture. But the picture is not really alive despite a sterling effort to paint the sordid dulled brilliancy of high life in the first half of the eighteenth century. That is the best part of the book but it is marred by unnecessary and, to be frank, gross details. It was certainly unnecessary to defend Lady Mary from the absurd charge of a liaison with the Sultan Achmet III, when her husband was Ambassador at Constantinople, or to describe the habits of Casanova. The epoch was a gross one in England as well as Europe, but the true Mary Wortley Montagu, though in that epoch, was not of it, and Miss Barry's book which tries to present this fact in some ways fails to do so. Miss Barry, in her anxiety to describe in detail the heart-rending environment in which this good and great woman lived, has failed to make her personality stand out as a cleansing and ennobling force. She writes, " no one would have been less pleased, or more surprised than Lady Mary herself had she known that posterity would remember her as the woman who introduced inoculation for smallpox in England. She never regarded that as a remarkable action." But, in fact, that action was a mirror of the essential elements of her life. Her life was an effort to inoculate society against something worse than smallpox. Miss Barry, in her foreword, rightly declares that she was " the first of the New Women." Yet the book does not give that impression. The book would have been the better for the dating of events and episodes. It is difficult for the reader to tell, from page to page, where he is in history. One apparent inaccuracy may be noted. Mary's brother, William (Lord Newark), was born

* Ernest Benn. 15s. net.

on October 21st, 1692. Miss Barry seems to say that he went up to Cambridge in the autumn of 1709. In fact (according to Dr. Venn) he entered at Trinity College, Cambridge, on April 17th, 1706, as a Fellow Commoner and took his M.A. in 1710. He died of smallpox on July 1st, 1713. He had married the daughter of Thomas Bainton. His death was one of Lady Mary's many griefs. A heartless father, a cold but notable husband, a worthless son: she went through life with many sorrows. Perhaps her best friend was that iron yet tender and great woman Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough (of whom Miss Barry tells a delightful story). Lady Mary's life was a tragedy from first to last in many ways, but her noble spirit rose above her limitations and has taken its place not in the sordid picture gallery of the eighteenth century but in the Corridors of the Immortals.

* * *

Mr. Gordon Home in his portly volume *Mediæval London,** writing again in collaboration with that ingenious historian, Mr. Edward Foord, has continued his history of London from the year 457, the point of time when his notable volume on Roman London ended. Mr. Home writes on an excellent plan. He gives in a continuous narrative the history of London in the millennium and rather over between the end of the Roman and post-Roman period and the accession of the Tudor dynasty. This text is succeeded by a series of special chapters on Tudor Government, social and domestic life, and religious life in mediæval London, while the final chapter on the external appearance of the City describes the architecture and streets of succeeding centuries. Mr. Home should have had a chapter on education in mediæval London. It is an important aspect of any great city, and the subject has not yet received adequate treatment, though Fitzstephen begins the story in an attractive fashion. A chapter on the Inns of Court might also well have found a place in the volume. The sixth century is still an obscure period in the history of London. We know that in A.D. 457 a Romano-British force, defeated by the Jutes, took refuge in London. Mr. Home writes, "the question as to whether, after this incident, the city was for a time uninhabited is one which must be left to the judgment of the individual." But is that so? Customary law areas that were in existence before this date remained customary law areas with special customs of succession, not only after this date, but throughout London history up to 1926. Had the London area lain void from about 457 until Augustine established a bishopric in 604, there would have been no such areas, no customs of succession of youngest sons and youngest daughters and gavelkind. It is certain that London had a continuous life. Another point may be taken here. In the Kentish Law of Hlothere and Eadric (673-686) there is a reference to the Government of London by a delegate of the Kentish Kings. Mr. Home has doubts upon this and suggests that the reference is really to Greenwich or Southwark. But that is not so. London belonged to Kent, was, in fact, a servile tribal area belonging to Kent. Ptolemy, the geographer, writing about 150 A.D., makes this clear and his map marks London as an area outside Kent. The Kentish control of the London area is, therefore, rightly indicated in the earliest Kentish laws while the *Judicia Civitatis Lundoniæ* of Æthelstan (to which Mr. Home does

* Ernest Benn. 18s. net.

not seem to refer) makes clear the tribal organisation of the laws as late as the ninth century. It is a document of the greatest importance in the history of London in the days of Dunstan. These seem small points but the earliest history of a great city is important. Mr. Home's book, however, is really rather a full survey, made with great industry, than a detailed history of mediæval London. With a remarkable measure of success he has brought life again to mediæval London, has shown us the men and women, the movements, the hopes and fears of the citizens through a thousand years. Their successors of to-day—the butterfly-minded citizens Mr. Home calls them—should read this book and realise once more that they are citizens of no mean city.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

"J. Allen Baker, M.P."* is a biographical sketch of one of the best and most useful men of his time by his widow and his son, Professor Noel Baker. The young Canadian Quaker settled in England in early manhood, created a successful business, and felt the call of public life. Many men have done the same, without requiring a book to record their doings. Allen Baker, however, though never a great figure in the public eye, fully deserves literary commemoration. He played a leading part in the great crusade of the Progressives in the early years of the London County Council for a healthy and happy capital of our Empire, and in his later years, after his election to Parliament in 1905, he threw himself into the organisation of peace. The World Alliance of the Churches is his enduring monument, and the story of its foundation forms the most interesting portion of the book. The account of his heart-to-heart talk with the Kaiser in 1909 reveals Baker in the strength and simplicity of a Quaker evangelist. It was a privilege to know a man who combined saintliness of character with thoroughly practical methods and aims.

* * *

"India and the West,"† by Mr. E. S. Marvin, contains a great deal of thought and suggestion in less than two hundred pages. Its subtitle, A study in Co-operation, strikes the note of a book written in a spirit of robust optimism, yet based on careful study and personal observation during a prolonged and fruitful lecture-tour. After a survey of the historical inter-action of East and West, the author discusses concrete problems of co-operation in such fields as government, education and economics. He is convinced that we have done much for India and can do more. As an educational expert he has much to say on the means of elevating the cultural level of the population, pleading for compulsion in the more progressive districts and strongly urging the education of girls, which alone can raise the deplorable position of women. Mr. Marvin sympathises with Indian nationalism, and bids it seek a realisation of its ideals, not in the overthrow of British rule, but within the orbit of the League of Nations, of which Great Britain and India are equally members, and the service of which should help to bridge the gulf between East and West.

* Swarthmore Press. 7s. 6d.
† Longman.

Mr. Ivy Lee's little book entitled "U.S.S.R. (Union of Socialist Soviet Republics) : A World Enigma"* records the experiences and reflections of a distinguished American business man during a brief visit to Russia in May, 1927. The author avoids the usual temptation to bless or curse everything that he sees, and he gives us interesting studies of Rykov, Stalin, Boukharin, Trotsky, Radek and other leaders. The author's conclusions are summarised in three assertions. Firstly, the Soviet régime has come to stay. Secondly, the internal situation is changing daily, as theories are tested by results. Thirdly, the tendency is away from Communism and Socialism and towards the re-establishment of Capitalism. "Fundamental Russian human nature is exactly like all other human nature, and economic law, which is a mere expression of human nature, is as resistless as the tides." Russia, he concludes, must be drawn towards the West, both for her own sake and for the well-being of the world. Despite the foolish obstacles placed in the way of business relations by political and economic doctrinaires Mr. Lee is convinced that the force of mutual interest will carry the day; for in a shrinking world Russia needs us as much as we need Russia.

* * *

All those who are interested in the religious movements of the eighteenth century in England and in William Law, one of the greatest and most influential religious personalities of the age, will do well to study Mr. Stephen Hobhouse's recently-published volume entitled "William Law and Eighteenth-Century Quakerism."† The author presents the result of his careful and thorough investigation, which includes the examination of documents hitherto unpublished, in an extremely interesting and lucid account. The influence of Jacob Böhme was decisive in its effect upon Law, transforming him from a High Churchman who insisted upon Church order, the outward observance of the Sacraments, into a Mystic, whose later writings, *The Spirit of Prayer and the Spirit of Love,* are among the greatest classics of English mystical literature. To the last William Law remained a devout Churchman, but a chronological study of his writings reveals a remarkable change of spirit and temper. This change is illustrated by his relations with Quakerism, which were controversial at the outset and sympathetic at the close of his career. Both phases are illustrated by the carefully documented account which Mr. Hobhouse has furnished. No student of English religion in the eighteenth century can afford to neglect this book.

* * *

Mr. Guedalla's "Conquistador"‡ bears the sub-title "American Fantasia," and records some impressions of a lecture tour in the United States. "This is no treatise," declares the author, and indeed the volume represents its clever author in his lightest mood. There are, it need hardly be said, some exquisite pen-pictures and some acute observations. Mr. Guedalla is to be commended for avoiding unfriendly and ill-natured comment on certain aspects of the life of a community which, despite its marvellous kindliness, exposes a good deal of surface to the attack of a fastidious critic.

* Benn. 6s.
† George Allen & Unwin. 12s. 6d.
‡ Ernest Benn. 10s. 6d.

"MR. ASQUITH."

THE memorable gathering in Westminster Abbey on the twenty-first of February last was in a rare degree the homage of a nation. Few statesmen deeply concerned in party controversies have been laid to rest with more unanimous expressions of regret. Mr. Asquith had no enemies because he was incapable of enmity himself. And all through the tributes paid to his character and temperament, to his supreme gifts as a Member of the House of Commons, to his unfailing loyalty as colleague, chief and friend, there rang a note of personal affection which is not always heard even in the generous conflicts of English public life.

The strong, clear-minded Yorkshire boy, who went up to Balliol as a scholar in the days when the Franco-Prussian War was raging, and when Mr. Gladstone in his first Premiership stood at the height of his power, soon won recognition for an intellect of rare efficiency and a character of unusual directness and force. It was the year which saw Jowett elected as Master and Robert Browning as an Honorary Fellow of the College. W. H. Mallock and the present Lord Newlands were among Asquith's contemporaries. Charles Gore followed in the next year, Alfred Milner in 1873. The Union inevitably drew the young speaker. His Liberalism did not prevent him from becoming President, though it may have caused his defeat by Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett in his first contest for the Chair. His speeches already had the finish and maturity which marked them later. His practical wisdom was conspicuous. Prophets foretold with confidence a career of steady success. Asquith was soon numbered among Charles Bowen's pupils. But the Bar was not quick to shower its rewards upon him. It may be doubted indeed if it ever yielded him the golden harvests which some of his contemporaries garnered. There were lean years when the young barrister filled in spare time by lecturing and writing, with advantage both to the public and to himself. But they were years of quiet, encouraging progress, years of growing happiness also, in his marriage, in his children, in his Hampstead home. And they were years when, as an active member of the Eighty Club from its foundation, he was becoming more and more deeply absorbed in those large political interests which were always perhaps the strongest interests of his life.

At last, after ten years at the Bar, his opportunity came. Asquith won a remarkable victory at a General Election which spelt disaster for the Liberal Party. He was warmly welcomed in the ranks of an attenuated Opposition. His maiden speech in the House of Commons was listened to as the speech of a leader. Like

Single-speech Hamilton, he " spoke for the first time and was at once perfection." Pitt's comment on George Canning's maiden speech was sufficient, Canning told a friend, to " make your blood curdle, your hair stand on end, and your silver turn black in your pocket." Mr. Gladstone's comment on Asquith's speech might not have worked such miracles. But it stamped the fortunate speaker as a man who had the future at his feet. It was the Home Rule controversy in which Asquith made his reputation. Few generations have seen more exciting times in politics than those. And no young Member played in that long and bitter controversy, either inside or outside the House of Commons, a more commanding part. He was one of the earliest Liberals to insist that there could be no compromise with the opponents of Home Rule. He was one of the counsel for Ireland before the Parnell Commission. And it is among the ironies of politics that his close association with Lord Rosebery should have led some Liberals to question for a moment his fidelity to a cause which he had made his own. But, though taking and expressing forcibly a view which many moderate men of that day regarded as extreme if not abandoned, Asquith never failed in fairness to opponents, was never swept beyond the cool and balanced judgment which he brought to bear on every problem of public life. Master in a high degree of the House of Commons, he was equally on a platform master of himself.

> " I can remember," said the present Prime Minister, in a speech which for tender and delicate perception he has not yet surpassed, " no instance in which, whether on the platform or in the House, he spoke words that were false or words that could wound."

It may be that equanimity so rare has to pay its penalties. It is passion, not judgment, which moves popular assemblies most. But Asquith's judicial temperament made him an ideal Home Secretary. And the remarkable skill with which he treated questions thought till then peculiarly embarrassing—especially the " sanity," as Lord Haldane justly called it, with which he settled once for all the difficulties arising from the claim to hold public meetings in Trafalgar Square—gave immediate proof of high administrative powers. He was still Home Secretary when a second happy marriage set the seal on his success. The bride had few more sincere or reverent admirers than the Head of the great College at Oxford of which Herbert Asquith was a distinguished son. When Mr. Gladstone passed from the scene, leaving a difficult and divided sovereignty to his lieutenants, it was evident that a Liberal leader destined sooner or later to assume his mantle had been found.

The present writer was not one of those who shared Mr.

Asquith's views on the South African struggle. For him, as for many other Liberals, the Gladstonian tradition pointed in another way. But it may well be that a sense of personal loyalty to friends like Lord Rosebery and Alfred Milner helped to determine the line which Asquith took. The moment that the causes of difference diminished, he was the first to find grounds for agreement with old colleagues, the first, when Mr. Chamberlain's plunge into Protection gave new life to the Liberal Party, to join in leading the combined Liberal attack. And in the great debate which followed few rendered to Free Trade such yeoman service. Never were his mastery of economic subjects and his supreme gifts of argument and dialectic more firmly or effectively displayed. As the divisions of those days closed, and the party re-united under a leader whose character and sagacity all Liberals had learned—some perhaps a little to their own surprise—to trust, Asquith took his place inevitably as the first of Campbell-Bannerman's supporters, as a viceroy on whom the ruling leader could with confidence rely. Personal rivalries died in the presence of men incapable of meanness or intrigue. One of those who had felt at first some difficulty in serving under the new Prime Minister, and whose services neither his party nor his country could afford to lose, has summed up with his own disarming candour the results attained.

> " For the two years of his Premiership the Cabinet was peculiarly free from personal differences and restlessness."

And to this result no member of the Cabinet contributed more surely than the new Chancellor of the Exchequer and Deputy Leader of the House.

It is just twenty years since Mr. Asquith succeeded to the Premiership in difficult and stormy times. No Minister in our day has had graver issues to decide on or heavier responsibilities to bear. A man of essentially moderate temper, he found himself compelled by his sense of public duty, and by the national demand expressed in three successive General Elections, to press two questions of paramount importance which roused fierce resentment in the Conservative Party. The Liberals were deeply pledged to establish self-government in Ireland, and to put an end to the veto on Liberal legislation exercised by the Conservative majority in the House of Lords. The two issues were closely connected. Both seemed to be vitally important. Home Rule would destroy the Parliamentary Union, and might destroy the Unionist Party. And the composition of the Upper House gave the Conservatives, whatever might be the results of elections, a permanent hold on power. It is strange to reflect that both of these great issues, fought at the time with a vehemence of partisanship which nearly dragged the country into civil war, have already passed into the

backwaters of politics. Home Rule, in a form almost indistinguishable from Irish independence, has been accepted by a Government which included Lord Balfour, Sir Austen Chamberlain and Lord Birkenhead. And proposals lately formulated by Conservative leaders for restoring directly or indirectly some controlling influence to the House of Lords have been reserved, may one say, for more mature consideration by the better sense of the Conservative Party? In both controversies Mr. Asquith's acknowledged moderation was of incomparable value to his friends. The years which witnessed those battles in Parliament were years to try the quality of statesmen. And never did the Prime Minister's fine judgment and fine temper show themselves more clear.

To readjust the powers of the House of Lords was a problem which bristled with difficulties. Some Liberals wished to see a new and active Upper Chamber, and this view had supporters within the Cabinet whose influence with the Prime Minister was second to none. Others, probably the great majority of his followers, dreaded the claims which might be made by a powerful Upper Chamber, and doubted the wisdom of establishing one in this country side by side with a Chamber possessing already the powers and traditions of the English House of Commons. They preferred to leave to an indefinite future the problem of creating a new House of Lords, and to concentrate on the immediate problem of how to prevent a permanent Tory majority of peers from obstructing or destroying the work of a large Liberal majority in the Commons. Only a leader of great sagacity, whom all sections of the party trusted, could have reconciled these different points of view, or have brought his followers to realise the need of uniting on the smaller and more vital issue first. Critics complained that, having limited the Lords' veto, Mr. Asquith postponed to the Greek Kalends the question of House of Lords reform. But this criticism overlooks the events which intervened, and which soon took from Mr. Asquith all hope of carrying any further projects of domestic legislation. Incomplete compared with the Liberal Cabinet's intention the legislation of 1911 may be. But posterity may yet realise the value of a measure which, while leaving ancient landmarks unaltered, removed the risk of a dangerous clash between the forces of democracy and the hereditary House. And the Minister who established by constitutional methods the definite ascendancy of the House of Commons, whichever party holds the reins of power, may be found to have strengthened both the elasticity and the safety of the constitution we possess. Whether the same consummate gifts of Parliamentary management would have sufficed to settle the Home Rule problem, had not the War broken into those

passionate discussions and silenced the violent partisans who threatened danger to the State, is a question which no prophet could decide. But few will deny that Mr. Asquith's unvarying self-command was an asset of high value at the time, and whatever the merits or demerits of the points at issue no one has ever disputed his success as a Leader of the House of Commons.

> "I think few Leaders of the House," said Mr. Baldwin, "made fewer mistakes than he in judging the temper either of his party or of the House."

To be a great Member of Parliament needs no small endowment. To be a great Parliamentary leader in days of passionate excitement calls for some of the highest qualities which Englishmen possess.

There are other traits of character that one recalls even more vividly in looking back on Mr. Asquith's career. To some who had been impressed by his reserve in earlier years, had found perhaps a little brusquerie of manner in it, he seemed to mellow as greatness fell upon him. His serenity deepened. His graciousness increased. Those who saw him sitting beside Mr. Lloyd George as the Chancellor of the Exchequer expounded his memorable Budget, and who witnessed the steady kindness with which he supported his lieutenant in all the battles which that Budget roused, will not have forgotten that habit of his mind. And as it was with Mr. Lloyd George, so it was with all the other members of his Government. Mr. Asquith never deserted a colleague, never failed to stand by him if aid were needed, never failed to stand aside if praise were due.

> "In fact," said Lord Grey in the House of Lords, "it was as if he was willing that his own personality should be a shelter in adversity, but in fair weather he would stand aside lest he should throw a shadow on any colleague who was entitled to the light."

It would not have occurred to him to take credit at another man's expense, or to refrain from defending those who acted with him. He had indeed "a loyalty deep set." In the dark days of the War this quality shone out. Lord Kitchener was only one conspicuous example of those who came to lean on the Prime Minister, to count on his generosity and judgment. Mr. Asquith may sometimes have relied on a subordinate too far. But one could wish that he had always received from others the single-minded loyalty and trust he gave.

This is not the place to dwell upon his services to England during the Great War. He took the decision which involved us in it. He faced undauntedly the effort and sacrifice which that decision entailed. He called Lord Kitchener to the War Office;

his old friend Lord Haldane had already created the expeditionary force. He carried through Parliament the proposal for conscription. He maintained with Lord Grey, often under most difficult conditions, that steadily considerate policy to neutrals, which convinced the Americans of our fairness and helped to make them our allies. He struck unwaveringly the note of fortitude to which the nation made so noble a response. In dark hours he never permitted himself to be dismayed or stunned. If his decisions were deliberately taken—some thought too deliberately in times of stress—his intellectual grasp of the problems laid before him was astonishingly quick and clear. He bore uncomplainingly the heaviest burdens and no small responsibility for other men's mistakes. When the history of those momentous days is fully written, it may be found that many hasty judgments need revision. But whatever reputations are altered or diminished, the whole truth will not lessen his.

We turn perhaps more happily, as we bid farewell to him, to other features in a personality singularly rich. Mr. Asquith was a great lawyer. He might have been a great judge. He might even, some think, have been a great theologian. He was an admirable scholar, an admirable talker. He had a mind stored with the treasures of literature, treasures not of Greek and Latin only, but of English too. Alfred Spender has given us a charming reminiscence of a controversy over certain lines which he quoted once from *In Memoriam,* and which Asquith from memory insisted were not in that poem at all. Both were right, for the lines proved to have been inserted since Asquith's edition had been bought. He was half his life a Scottish Member: there is a well-known story of Asquith, Birrell and Haldane surveying together the land where three barristers from London had pitched so successfully their electioneering tents. He spoke French far better than most of his Cabinet—an accomplishment that proved of special value. And as a speaker of English he was all his life in the greatest class of all. Lord Grey has described the characteristics of his oratory, "the beautifully clear arrangement of facts, the stately diction and the perfect form." On the platform, in his latter years particularly, as the habit of deliberate speaking grew upon him, Mr. Asquith did not always move an audience so readily as some speakers of inferior note. But in the House of Commons he had in his generation no superior, whether in exposition, in sustained, elaborate efforts, or in the unforeseen demands made on him in debate. His tributes there to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and to Alfred Lyttelton will be remembered by those who heard them as perfect of their kind.

While other speakers varied, there never seemed to be an occasion on which Asquith's speaking fell below the highest level in the House. He had trained himself by years, no doubt, of careful preparation. But his speeches were just as terse and finely phrased when called for unexpectedly as when specially prepared. He was often, indeed, at his best in debate, for he had humour and irony and no small gift of repartee. One recalls his rising one afternoon to answer Mr. Chaplin, who had incautiously challenged him in a discussion on Free Trade, and chaffing his victim with admirable good humour in sentences as courteous and as polished as they were merciless to the argument set up. And one remembers in the same connection a happy answer given as Deputy Leader of the House. It was a question of fixing a day for debating Tariff Reform. The Opposition had pleaded that on the day proposed neither Mr. Chamberlain nor Mr. Balfour could be present: and Mr. Asquith immediately agreed to change it. To discuss Tariff Reform without Mr. Chamberlain or Mr. Balfour would, indeed, be to play the tragedy of *Hamlet* not only without the Prince of Denmark but without the Ghost: "I do not presume to allocate the parts." On greater occasions, as during the War, no man expressed the feelings of the nation with more impressive nobleness and force. But his special gift in oratory, perhaps, was his extraordinary power of condensing what he had to say into speech so clear that it seemed to represent inevitably the ordered reasoning of a luminous and cogent mind.

Mr. Asquith held to the last his mastery of the House of Commons. The memorable speech which put the Labour Party into office showed his Parliamentary qualities at their highest still. When he passed to the House of Lords, he took from the University City whose spirit and training he had made his own a name which none could think unfitting, though not the name by which we knew him best. Within the sound of Oxford voices he sleeps now. And all the world pays homage to the magnanimity which was the keynote of his closing years. Few lives passed amid such sharp contentions have ended in tranquillity more dignified or more serene. *Æquam servare mentem*: he of all men had learned the lesson which he recommended once in his own stately phrasing to the students of the University of Aberdeen—to "face without perturbation the buffets of circumstance, the caprice of fortune, all the inscrutable vicissitudes of life."

CHARLES MALLET.

THE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS.

IN the early days of 1915, when the World War had run its uncertain course for six months, I ventured to suggest to the German Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, that a way to peace might be found through a revision of sea laws which would permit merchantmen, be they neutral or belligerent, to sail the seas in wartime as in times of peace undisturbed by seizure or search. The suggestion was in effect a combination of the proposals made by the British and American Governments at The Hague Conference in 1907:

(1) The abolition of contraband.

(2) The immunity of private property at sea in time of war as in time of peace.

The Chancellor was impressed, and unwisely cabled it to the German representative in the United States. Before I could return to England to discuss it with the British Government it was given out as a German proposal. Nevertheless, I began discussions in London, where the Government was willing to study the proposal on its merits; but before we had made appreciable progress the *Lusitania* was sunk. It seemed to me then that the entry of the United States into the war was inevitable and I sailed for home.

Nothing further was done in regard to the matter until 1918, when President Wilson made the freedom of the seas one of the fourteen Points. At the Armistice Conference, where I had the honour to represent the United States, the question came up for sharp debate; it was decided that, since there were various interpretations of the Freedom of the Seas, some of which the British could not settle, the problems should be reserved for later discussion.

At the Peace Conference President Wilson took the position that a revision of sea laws was not necessary for the reason that, since all nations would be members of the League of Nations, there would be no neutrals. No one could have then foretold the bitter controversy over League membership which finally resulted in the United States making a separate treaty with Germany. In view of the statement so often made in both France and England that M. Clemenceau and Mr. Lloyd George were warned, and should have known that the United States would reject the Versailles Treaty, it may be well to recall that it was defeated in the United States Senate by Democratic votes under the direction of President Wilson, and because of the reservations which Republican members insisted upon making a condition to the Treaty's ratification. If the twenty odd Democrats who voted against the Treaty had voted for it, the result would have been eighty-three for the Treaty with thirteen against—an overwhelming majority.

But that is another story, although it brings us directly to where we were before, the necessity of a revision of the laws relating to the sea.

There has been no agreement regarding this essential matter since the Declaration of Paris in 1856—a Declaration inadequate at the time it was made and almost wholly useless now under the changed and changing conditions of 1928. The United States refused to sign the Declaration of Paris for the reason that it did not go far enough towards protecting merchantmen. It was not considered that the mere abolition of privateering was sufficient, and an amendment was offered making private property immune from seizure by armed ships other than privateers. This amendment was not accepted by the other Powers, and the United States declined to sign a treaty which failed to meet the demands of the situation.

Since the Paris Declaration, there have been several abortive attempts to reach an agreement as to laws relating to the sea. The Great War caught the world unprepared to cope with the many vital questions which arose—questions which should have been settled justly and calmly during times of peace, and not left to be determined in the stress of passion during a relentless war. Even at the Peace Conference it was difficult to settle such questions because of the continuation of the atmosphere of belligerency.

The failure of the Geneva Naval Conference has emphasised the difficulties of reaching an understanding regarding the relative strength of armaments. A simple and far more effective way out would be for the sea Powers to agree to a code of sea laws making battleships of all kinds useless except for defensive purposes. The only adequate means by which this may be accomplished is through an agreement to accept the principle of the Freedom of the Seas in so far as it means the abolition of contraband and immunity of private property at sea.

There is more support for the principle of immunity of private property than might be supposed. In 1865 Italy adopted a maritime code forbidding the capture of mercantile vessels, on condition of reciprocity by the other belligerent. The United States has contended for the principle since the formation of its Government. Its first treaty, made with France in 1778, stipulated that "free ships shall also give a freedom to goods." Its first legislative assembly, the Continental Congress, which met before the Constitution was adopted, passed a resolution on October 5th, 1780, instructing their Ministers, then in Europe, to accede to the regulations of the First Armed Neutrality. It fought the war of 1812 for the Freedom of the Seas. From then on, in messages of its Presidents, in instructions to its foreign Ministers, it advocated and proposed to

the other nations the adoption of the principle that private property, of neutral and enemy alike, should be immune from seizure at sea.

At the Second Hague Conference, in 1907, two very significant proposals were made, one by the United States and the other by Great Britain.

The American proposal stated again the principle for which this nation had long been contending: the immunity of private property, of neutral and belligerent alike, from seizure at sea. The text is as follows:

> "The private property of all citizens of the signatory Powers, with the exception of contraband of war, shall be exempt from capture or seizure at sea by the armed vessels or military forces of the said Powers. However, this provision in no way implies the inviolability of vessels which may attempt to enter a port blockaded by the naval forces of the above-mentioned Powers, nor of the cargoes of the said vessels."

The British proposal was a marked departure from the attitude previously taken by Great Britain: it proposed to abandon the principle of contraband altogether. The text is as follows:

> "In order to diminish the difficulties encountered by neutral commerce in time of war, the Government of His Britannic Majesty is ready to abandon the principle of contraband in case of war between the Powers which may sign a convention to this effect. The right of search would be exercised only for the purpose of ascertaining the neutral character of the merchant ships."

Both proposals were discussed at length. Lord Reay, stating the case for the British proposal, said:

> "In the beginning, when the regulations in this regard took shape, it was possible for a belligerent to deprive the enemy of such aid without doing unreasonable harm to neutral commerce. But the conditions of the world have changed since that time; and belligerents have thus been led little by little, in order to attain their ends, to pervert the meaning of the regulations and to extend their scope to the detriment of neutrals. However, in spite of such action, the regulations are powerless to accomplish their purpose and succeed only in doing great harm to neutral commerce. Thus it is indisputable that in recent wars it has never been possible for a belligerent to deprive his adversary of the munitions which the latter needs."

He then discussed the changed conditions of modern commerce, especially as to transportation; the modern use in war of many articles also used in industry, the result of which is that if these articles are called contraband, the neutral is prevented from engaging in innocent trade; the extension by each belligerent of his list of contraband, and the vagueness of the terms used; the seizure and detention of the vessels and the innocent part of the cargo; the submission of the validity of the seizure to a Court of the captor State;

and the confusion of rules as to various forms of contraband and of penalties. He ended his statement as follows:

> "Recent experience, gentlemen, has therefore confirmed my Government in its opinion. It remains firmly convinced that in the present condition of world commerce and of human knowledge the exercise of the right of seizure results only in hampering neutral commerce without giving belligerents compensating advantages and in bringing the former eventually into the war. It is, therefore, with the firm conviction that the time has come to remove the dangers which I have pointed out, that the British delegation has the honour to propose that contraband be abolished and that neutral commerce be restored to the freedom which it requires."

The British proposal was defeated, by a vote of twenty-six to five, with four not voting.*

The vote on the American proposal was twenty-one to eleven, with one not voting.†

It is not conceivable that the British delegation, acting on instructions from its Government, did not represent the feeling of a considerable element of public opinion.

The British were absolutely right in abandoning the principle of contraband. No half-way measure will suffice. There can be no longer a distinction between articles destined for military purposes and those intended for the civilian population. On the other hand, until private property on the high seas is made immune, the troublesome and dangerous differences of opinion that arose in 1812 and 1915 are bound to return in the case of another war. What is suggested, then, is simply the acceptance of the British proposal of 1907 for the abolition of contraband and of the American proposal of the same year for the sanctity of private property at sea.

We all profess a desire to reach an agreement regarding naval disarmament and strangely neglect to seek our ends by this simplest of all methods. There is no such short cut to land disarmament, for there are many problems correlated with it.

The present attitude of Great Britain regarding this question is the main obstacle to its success. Commander Kenworthy, formerly of the Admiralty War Staff, recently said in an article in the London *Review of Reviews*: "The one nation that can be successfully blockaded is Britain, and yet we cling to the weapon which may possibly bring about our destruction." And so it would seem to a disinterested observer.

Looking at it from the British viewpoint the objection might be

* The five nations voting against it were Germany, France, the United States, Montenegro and Russia. The four not voting were Japan, Panama, Roumania and Turkey.

† The eleven opposed were Colombia, Spain, Great Britain, Japan, Mexico, Montenegro, Panama, Portugal, Russia and Salvador. Chile did not vote.

raised (1) that some Power, in the event of war, may refuse to keep the pact, (2) that it would curtail Britain's power to blockade enemy ports and prevent entry of contraband of war.

The answer to the first objection is, I think, that because of the peculiar position of Great Britain there would be no protest by any of the Powers to her having as large a navy as she felt necessary to prevent invasion. Great Britain has elected to maintain her defence through a navy rather than a large army, therefore there could be no objection to as large a navy as she desired, provided it was not used to blockade or interfere with enemy or neutral commerce in time of war. Having such a navy, if any Power at war with her should run amuck, Great Britain would be in a more advantageous position to cope with such an outlaw than she is to-day, because her navy probably would be vastly superior to any other.

With the Freedom of the Seas guaranteed by covenant between nations, there would be no incentive for the United States, France, Germany or Russia or other Powers to maintain navies larger than sufficient for police purposes. To say that such a treaty would not be regarded in time of stress is to condemn all treaties. The consensus of opinion is that had Germany not violated Belgian neutrality probably she would have won the war, since Great Britain, at least, would not have entered the lists against her in time to check her.

The second argument against the Freedom of the Seas, that the right of blockade would be practically abolished, is not of as much importance as would seem. We all know that it was a potential weapon against Germany in 1914-18, but the circumstances then were unusual and probably would not arise again, owing to the unlikelihood of there being another coalition between France, Russia and England against Germany.

If Great Britain were at war with Russia, very little harm could be done by blockading her ports, for she is self-sustaining, excepting as to munitions, which might be obtained from Germany and other nearby States. To blockade Germany would be equally ineffective unless Russia and France were both leagued against her with Great Britain. The same may be said of France if Germany and England were not allies.

Before the Great War Germany and Great Britain's interests touched at many points. To-day they touch barely at all, therefore war with Germany for the present is scarcely to be considered. On the other hand, the interests of France and Great Britain touch at many points. If war, by some unhappy chance, should occur between them, and Great Britain should undertake to prevent neutral shipping from entering Spanish, Italian, German or Belgian ports, war with the United States almost surely would

be provoked. This seems to be the only danger of war between the United States and England.

The benefits which would accrue to Great Britain through the Freedom of the Seas would be free communication with her Dominions, and the certainty that her food supply and raw materials could never be interrupted. Such a policy would eliminate the terrors of submarine warfare, for submarines could be used only against battleships and craft of war.

To-day is the psychological moment to bring about this much-to-be desired result. To-morrow may be too late to make the attempt. Events move rapidly during these post-war years, and governments should move with them. It is no answer to say that the public is unprepared for such drastic action. Responsible statesmen should explain the necessity and act—the people will follow and applaud when the beneficent effect becomes manifest. The world has suffered and is suffering from the habit of statesmen clearing up the day's work as it comes without looking for the obstacles ahead.

There is nothing so needful to be done at this moment as to bring about an agreement between the naval Powers regarding laws relating to the seas, and there is but one adequate solution to this important problem—the abolition of contraband, and the right of merchant ships to traverse the seas in time of war as in time of peace with absolute freedom.

There may be those who will see in this proposal a weakening of the power of the League of Nations in removing a formidable weapon against an aggressor State by nullifying the efficiency of Article 18. If, as President Wilson hoped, every nation had become a member of the League this argument would have great force. But we must take the situation as it is, not as we would like to have it. With the United States outside the League, it is essential that another way be found to avoid a prolific cause of war—hence a revision of the laws relating to the seas is imperative if peace between the great maritime Powers is to be assured.

EDWARD M. HOUSE.

RUSSIA, AUSTRIA AND THE WORLD WAR.*

EVEN a cursory glance through the pages of the Memoirs of the former Director of Russian Foreign Affairs, S. D. Sazonoff, is sufficient to show that the author sits in judgment on the politics of the Habsburg Monarchy without attempting to go very deeply into this complex subject, or to give an objective character to his conclusions. Indeed, he states in his introductory remarks that his notes are in no way scientifically historical observations, but rather an addition to the general mass of material elucidating the events which led to the World War. This modest and belittling description of the historical value of his work brings to mind the sympathetic personality of the author, who, with his simple, straightforward manner, his great mental activity and wide culture, remains a touching memory for me. It is not so easy, however, to detect this personality in the tenor of his actions in so far as they concern Austrian policy, especially at the time of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and during the following years up to those critical July days in 1914. Neither his prejudice nor the animosity of his attitude fits into the picture which contact with this statesman, even during the days when serious difficulties existed between Austrian and Russian relations, has left in my memory. That this attitude is not always to the advantage of his cause is obvious from the fact that his apologia becomes from time to time an indictment of himself.

We must seek for an explanation of this attitude in the atmosphere of the Foreign Office at Petrograd, an atmosphere in which Sazonoff became acclimatised, at first, perhaps, against his will—even unconsciously—during his term of office. The spirit of his predecessor still dwelt in this sultry air, and it now becomes obvious that the sober, clever, and critical Sazonoff is at first fascinated, then caught and bound hand and foot by the magic of Iswolsky's alluring policy. A paltry policy, however, when we realise that the Monarchy which had been built up on conservative principles is held out by a Minister of the Tzar as a tempting bait, in the shape of an organism undergoing disintegration, to covetous neighbours, while admitting *pro foro interno* their own lack of military preparations. This was Iswolsky's policy, and Sazonoff saw how mistaken it was clearly enough while he was the former's Ministerial assistant, and tried, as tactfully as possible, to correct it. Later, too, there seem to have been moments—unfortunately only *lucida intervalla*—when he grasped the situation and was able

* This article, in which Count Berchtold breaks his long silence, forms part of a co-operative volume entitled *Rings um Sazonoff*, which was inspired by the apologia of the Russian statesman.—EDITOR, *C.R.*

to reason without illusions. Even as late as July 27th, 1914, during a conversation with our Ambassador, Count Szápáry, he said that he considered Austria's aim perfectly legitimate, and admitted that the Balkan States, towards which he entertained "no sentiment whatever," were a "heavy burden" on Russia. Wise statements, unfortunately not carried into action later! The classical *video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor* comes to mind—a maxim which has invariably led to catastrophes.

It is extremely characteristic of Russian diplomacy that Sazonoff should make the following weighty statement in his discussions of the Annexation Crisis in 1908-9: "On this soil of political rivalry in the Near East grew the age-long enmity between Vienna and Petrograd, which was destined to lead to bloody conflict sooner or later. There was no other way out of the irreconcilable antitheses existing between them." No statesman of the Habsburg Monarchy had ever spoken, ever thought, thus! Our endeavour had always been to find some way which might lead to an understanding and to avoid the war—needless to say, without losing sight of the vital interests of both parties, and bearing in mind what seemed to us to be within the bounds of possibility.

Neither verbally nor in any of his written communications to me did Aehrenthal ever mention the idea of "the complete subjugation of Serbia under Austria's influence" as is stated in the context. Not only publicly, but in confidential talks, he always stressed the point that he hoped to have solved the problem, once and for all, by the formal recognition of the actual state of affairs in Bosnia and Herzegovina. A European Mandate, special treaties with Russia, and thirty years of cultural work legitimated our action. It was only under pressure of the political revolution in Turkey that Aehrenthal decided on annexation; for the introduction of the Turkish Constitution involved the danger that the unsettled question of sovereignty might create friction over the jurisdiction of the Turkish Parliament in relation to Bosnia and Herzegovina, and rendered it necessary to grant constitutional privileges to the occupied provinces for which the extension of the sovereignty of the Monarch over these provinces formed the indispensable preliminary.

Hostile propaganda had already seized hold of this question, reports of disturbances came from the Sanjak of Novibazar, and it was possible that the troops stationed there, which were weak in number and, moreover, placed in an exposed position, might receive a check at any moment. The consequences of such an event would be incalculable. It was not vanity that induced Aehrenthal to take this weighty step, but the earnest conviction—as he himself said—that circumstances had forced him to take upon himself the

" odium " which had been declined by all his predecessors since Andrassy.

It must be remembered, although Sazonoff makes no mention whatever of it, that the Buchlau meeting between Aehrenthal and Iswolsky, during which a decision on this question was arrived at, had a diplomatic prelude. In 1908, our entente relations, which had been broken on account of the Sanjak railway episode, were resumed by the Russian Foreign Minister, and an exchange of notes was inaugurated. In these, in the beginning of July, Iswolsky made the spontaneous statement that the possibility of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the Sanjak of Novibazar, and the problem of allowing Russia a passage through the Dardanelles, were questions he was prepared to discuss with the Viennese Cabinet. This did not mean that a political novelty was placed on the agenda by the Foreign Minister. As is well known, a convention had been concluded between Austria and Russia in 1877, after the discussions at Reichstadt, which secured for the Monarchy the possession of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the event of Turkey's collapse; and in 1878, at the Berlin Congress, it was agreed that Russia should raise no objection in the event of a final occupation of the Sanjak by Austria. Again, in 1881, when an agreement was reached between Russia and the Monarchy, the eventuality of the occupation of Russia and Herzegovina becoming an annexation was the subject of a treaty.

During the meeting in Buchlau, when the two Ministers conferred together for some hours, all the concrete points were discussed in detail until complete agreement was reached. Without establishing a causal connection between the two principal problems (the annexation of the occupied provinces and a passage through the Dardanelles), it was mutually agreed not to oppose a possible alteration of the Berlin Treaty on these subjects. Iswolsky emphasised the European character of these particular questions, and suggested that they should be placed before a conference of the Berlin Signatories. Aehrenthal, however, was of the opinion that such a proceeding might endanger their peaceful solution, and thought it would be better to inform the remaining Signatory Powers, by the usual diplomatic means, of the agreement arrived at by the two Powers most interested in the Balkans. Agreement was reached on this latter basis, and it was decided that there could be no objection if the alteration in question of the treaty were brought before a Conference called merely to register the new arrangement.

On the evening of September 16th, 1908, Aehrenthal gave me a detailed account of this conversation, of which an official report was drawn up, while on the following day Iswolsky confirmed

Aehrenthal's communication almost word for word, so that it seemed impossible that a misunderstanding could arise. As regards the date of the initiation of Aehrenthal's action, Iswolsky had asked that sufficient time should be given to Russia in which to prepare public opinion. Aehrenthal found it impossible to agree to this in view of the danger connected with delay. He confined himself to the statement that he would settle the question of the time-limit by letter. Through the fact that this communication did not reach at once the addressee, who was on a journey, but at a time when the latter had not yet attempted to prepare Russian public opinion or his French ally, Iswolsky's plans were frustrated without any slippery action on Aehrenthal's part. Thus it becomes clear that it was not a case of " general transactions " as Sazonoff states, but of concrete agreements, and that it was not due to a " rascally stratagem " on Aehrenthal's part, but as a result of Iswolsky's opportunist policy and his evasions when he found that his judgment had miscarried, that regrettable differences followed.

It seems strange when we read, as the Russian Foreign Minister asserts in his book, that Russia had preached and upheld the principle of independence for the Balkan States, and that the Bosnian crisis had shown up Austria-Hungary's Balkan policy, which was bound to lead to a clash between Germanism and Slavism. It is difficult to believe one's eyes when reading about Austria-Hungary's supposed diplomatic aims—aims she never possessed!

When in 1887 a Russian General was sent to Sofia to suppress the self-assertion which had developed under Alexander of Battenberg, and to restore Russia's supremacy there, it was the Hungarian Minister, Koloman Tisza, who proclaimed the principle of the independent development of the Balkan States to be the fundamental programme of our Eastern policy. Kalnoky, who was at that time Foreign Minister, as well as his successors, emphasised and acted on this principle at every opportunity. We need only point to the fact that Goluchowsky, in 1903, at the time of the murder of the King of Serbia, made no use of the confidential understanding that Russia would not intervene in case Austria should find it necessary to occupy Belgrade. We can also point to Aehrenthal's renunciation in 1908 of the Monarchy's treaty rights in the Sanjak of Novibazar, whereby the phrase of the Monarchy's " far-reaching aspirations " may be finally relegated to the realm of fairy-tales. Our policy was by tradition essentially conservative and organised to maintain the *status quo*. This was not only due to the wish to uphold the world's peace, but also to the knowledge that, owing to the complex nature of the structure of the

Monarchy, an increase in the population could not be assimilated. The fact that Serbian statesmen refused to understand Austria's policy, and that some over-zealous agents of certain Great Powers aided and abetted them, was the initial impulse which started the tragic development of events to which the old and venerable Monarchy was finally sacrificed. Moreover, we receive confirmation from the former director of Russian foreign policy himself that the movement which set on foot the union of the Balkan peoples was from the very first directed against the Monarchy and its territorial integrity, and that Russian diplomacy had adopted an orientation whose aims were fundamentally aggressive and dangerous to world peace, in spite of the warnings of her French ally. He admits, moreover, that neither the danger of war nor the inadequacy of " control " in such case was in any wise overlooked by Russia.

On the other hand, there is no mention of our action to try and check the danger and preserve peace at a time when our very existence was threatened. To fill this gap let us recall the fact that on August 13th, 1912, in view of the serious unrest in the Balkans, we sent an appeal for united action to the Great Powers. This suggestion was the starting point for the contact which later assumed varying forms and which—I should like to emphasise this point—led for a time to the friendly co-operation of the Cabinets of Vienna and Petrograd. Unfortunately all these well-intentioned efforts were doomed to sterility. The warning finger was raised too late. " Il ne suffit pas de menacer, il faut aussi qu'on vous prenne au sérieux." For years they had played with fire. The alliance which, as M. Poincaré declared, " must inevitably lead to a war in the Balkans with all its attendant consequences," was concluded with Russia's connivance, and no later restrictions, warnings or threats on the part of Russian diplomacy were able to banish the spirit which an inopportune policy of sentiment had so lightheartedly aroused.

How difficult it is for Sazonoff to look into our mind can be seen from his conception of the attitude of the Vienna Cabinet at the meeting of the London Ambassadors' Conference in 1912-1913. Nothing could have been more detestable than the nightmare of being dragged into a war by the revolution in the Balkans which was brought about against our will. It must be clear to everyone that, at a moment when a fundamental change was taking place in the political configuration of our boundaries, an empire of fifty million people—even when in a state of absolute territorial satiety—must have important, specific and vital interests to defend; also that the programme we were forced to draw up harboured no

evil intention towards our neighbour, but arose solely from the standpoint of self-protection.

The atmosphere was charged with electricity. Every day brought alarming reports from the Balkans. All our advances in connection with the territorial changes were met with a stubborn refusal to entertain even our minimum demands. The Conference of diplomats—all serving conflicting interests—ran its slow course. It is not surprising that public opinion in our country began to stir, and that many voices were heard to demand strong action from the Monarchy. The fire in our neighbour's house was not yet quenched; our own was in danger; defensive measures had to be undertaken. But there is a vast difference between being forced to take defensive measures and " the joy of battle " with which we were credited. It would have been far more correct to compare our attitude to that of the hedgehog—who rolls himself up and puts out his prickles when in danger—in our endeavour to safeguard our vital interests by peaceful means. Again the question which we were forced in our need to address to our allies, as to what extent we could count on their support if we should be driven into complications in spite of our endeavour to hold back, can only be wilfully misinterpreted as a war-cry.

All that Sazonoff relates with regard to the creation of friendly relations with Roumania, at the cost of Austria-Hungary's territorial integrity, is in harmony with the attitude of Russian diplomacy towards the Balkan Federation mentioned by him in another place. It recalls the historic words of Nicholas I, on the eve of the Crimean War, to the English Ambassador, Hamilton Seymour. Sazonoff's silence while driving with Bratiano in Transylvania is surely no less eloquent than the remark of the Tzar. By the side of these suggestive communications of the Foreign Minister, his later revelations pale—revelations on the much-discussed meeting of the Russian Cabinet on February 8th, 1914, at which, with himself in the chair, the possibility of " an aggressive movement in the direction of Constantinople " was debated.

We are shown a diplomacy which systematically carries on an aggressive policy under the guise of peace, and rouses bloody revolutions by temptingly humane phrases. A strictly conservative policy at home and revolutionary methods abroad: these two extremes—with their unbridgeable antitheses—brought Holy Russia, with inexorable logic, to her destruction, and swept us struggling with her into the grave.

It ill becomes Herr Sazonoff to mount the high horse when he discusses the Nationalities-policy of the old Monarchy, only to dismiss it with a few contemptuous words. The fact that this finely adjusted though, of course, imperfect system, which yet was suited

as far as possible to the varied conditions, could not have been a complete failure is shown by the circumstance that the Slovenes, who have come under Italian rule, are still hankering after the old Hungarian régime, while the German-Hungarians, who have been allotted to Jugoslavia, deem such freedom as was conceded to all the foreign elements in Hungary an unattainable ideal. One is inclined to ask whether the Nationalities-policy, practised in the Russian Empire in the Foreign Minister's own time, has remained entirely *terra incognita* to him. We need only point out that Czech Ministers, whose friendly attitude towards Russia is beyond question, had no particular liking for the Russian system and condemned it *in camera caritatis*. There is little doubt but that they would have thought twice before exchanging the relatively liberal régime of the kingdoms and countries represented in the *Reichsrat* —a régime which slowly, but nevertheless steadily, endeavoured to meet the nationalities in a friendly spirit—for the arbitrary, unyielding and at times brutal Centralism of the Tzarist bureaucracy.

It is difficult to understand Sazonoff's ignorance of the results of the scientific investigations into the causes of the war. To prove the injustice of our action against Serbia, the so-called "Wiesner Document" is quoted. This document is said to have established the innocence of the Serbian Government with regard to the murder of Serajevo beyond all doubt. This was, as is well known, the legal conclusion arrived at by the American Delegation in 1919. Since then, however, Dr. Wiesner, an official in the legal section of our Foreign Office, and surely the most competent interpreter of his own announcement, has repeatedly declared that the extract quoted by the American Delegation was incomplete and misleading, and that the conclusions arrived at were incorrect. The very part which was omitted in the American Note contained the vital part of the report—namely, the proof of a connection between the murder and Serbian officers, as well as all sorts of government officials, and further of the Serbian propaganda and the compliance of the Government. Take the text of the "ultimatum" and see whether it contains a single accusation which is not vindicated by proven facts, or a single demand which events have not justified,* quite apart from the fact that the Wiesner Telegram, which was handed in at the beginning of the examinations, was terribly confirmed by later evidence.

We have never accused the Serbian Government of taking an active part in the assassination of the Archduke in Serajevo. On

* *Der Weg zur Katastrophe*, published in the *Österreichishe Rundschau*, Vienna, 1919. A few articles in the Viennese weekly, *Das Neue Reich*, and in the Berlin journal, *Die Kriegsschuldfrage*, including the genuine and the falsified text of the Wiesner Document in the latter journal, Nr. 10, Jahrg. III, 1925.

the other hand, the agents of our Secret Service ascertained and proved beyond all question the complicity of the Belgrade Government in the crime. Without the systematic furtherance and encouragement, for many years, of all tendencies which were directed against the Monarchy, and a passive attitude towards the work of preparation by Serbian officials on Serbian territory, the outrage would have been impossible. The bulky *dossier*, full of evidence in connection with these affairs, which was submitted to the Powers on July 25th, 1914, was but a résumé of the data at our disposal. This evidence has been corroborated by many publications, and by Serbian authors also. The following may be recommended: ***The Murder of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand***, by the Belgrade Professor of History, Stanoje Stanojevic (translated into German by Hermann Wendel, Frankfurt), and ***The Habsburgs and the South-Slav Question*** by the latter author. The essay by the former President of the Serbian Parliament, Ljuba Jovanovíc, in the book entitled "*Krv Slovenstva*," is particularly to be recommended and, finally, the pamphlet by the Serbian diplomat, Bogitschewitsch, entitled *Causes of the War*. To these must be added the data recently published from the protocols of the Salonika trial of the officers of "The Black Hand." The accusations contained in these later publications outweigh our own by far. From these documents we learn that the Serbian Government was aware of the preparations for the assassination, but contented itself with ineffective measures for its prevention, and took no further steps when they proved insufficient to avert the catastrophe.

Sazonoff pretends—consciously or unconsciously—not to have had the faintest idea of the tragic situation in which the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy found herself: a situation due very largely to the wanton duplicity of Russian diplomacy. Aehrenthal had already recognised that Petrograd knew well how to search out our most vulnerable spot and use it to bring about the Monarchy's disintegration by way of her Serbian outpost. The Peace of Bucharest fostered this policy to such a degree that the Russian Ambassador in Belgrade at the time said: "A présent l'Autriche-Hongrie ne peut plus bouger, elle a deux couteaux dans les flancs." The murder of Serajevo was only one of the final manifestations of the work of destruction which was organised against us. The parts were well distributed and the time-limit was nearly up. This last act was only one of the most obvious of a system to undermine and blow up our home. It was the knowledge of the terrible danger that threatened us which drove us to action, not hatred of Serbia. "Le véritable auteur d'une guerre, ce n'est pas celui qui la déclare, mais celui qui la rende inévitable." There were two alternatives open to the Monarchy: submission to her own destruc-

tion or demands that her security should be assured. After the latter had been refused there was nothing left but to fight for existence. Has Herr Sazonoff ever found himself in such a critical situation and, if so, how did he deal with it?

With what caution Sazonoff's historical record must be read can be seen from his assertion that the communication of the Emperor Franz Joseph to Kaiser Wilhelm on July 4th, 1914, contained political discussions founded on the idea of "a ruthless war of destruction against Serbia" *before the assassination of the heir to the throne.* As a matter of fact there is no mention whatever of Serbia's destruction in the document in question, which was to be submitted to the Berlin Cabinet with the suggestion that, in view of Roumania's virtual resignation from the Triple Alliance, a new buttress in the Balkans should be sought through an alliance with Bulgaria. The reason for this document was the activity displayed in the Balkans by the diplomatists of the Dual Alliance, which had for its object the union of the Balkan States with a point against Austria. After the news of the ruthless assassination a short addition was made to the document emphasising "the danger and intensity of Pan-Serb activities which stopped at nothing"; and the new proof was adduced that, in spite of all Austria's attempts to establish friendly relations with Serbia, her enmity would also have to be reckoned with. There was no mention of a "ruthless war of destruction against Serbia."

As far as the incriminated points of the Imperial letter of July 4th are concerned, it can be seen from the context of the remaining part of the memorandum that a policy which was intent on the idea of forming new relations in the Balkans could have no intention of "destroying" Serbia, but was solely occupied with the task of putting a brake on the danger of war which the changes in the Balkans revealed to an alarming extent. The fact that we had to consider the recently manifested hostility of our neighbours, whom Russia had described as "a knife in our flank," can hardly be called aggressive imperialism, nor can it be wondered at that we should regard the thwarting of the subversive activity of this peace-destroying factor as an important task of diplomacy. As regards Sazonoff's scepticism towards our assurances of territorial disinterestedness, it is sufficient to mention that our principle of non-aggression was unanimously agreed upon by the Cabinet and the Emperor's authorisation was announced.

Unfortunately, the facts of the case do not agree with Sazonoff's statement that Serbia agreed to all our demands with but one single exception. Our postulate consisted of ten points, of which the first six were of a political and the last four of a legal character. Of the political points, which dealt with the disclosure of the truth,

the expiation of guilt and the restoration of confidence, the Belgrade Government did not accept any. Moreover, reservations and restrictions were added to each which made the guarantees demanded by us purely nominal. We pointed this out in detail in our circular telegram on July 27th, 1914. Indeed, the Serbian Government must have realised the futility of its reply, for the order for the mobilisation of the Serbian Army was given some hours before it was handed in.

The Russian statesman set himself an unprofitable task in his endeavour to prove that our mobilisation took place before that of his own country. The mobilisation of four military districts on the morning of July 29th with orders to march against Austria is supposed to have been due, on the one hand, to our declaration of war against Serbia and, on the other, to continued reports received at Headquarters of mobilisation in Galicia, on the Russian frontier. Neither from the conversation Szápáry held with Sazonoff on July 29th, nor from the state of Russian public opinion at that time (telegram of Szápáry, July 29th, Nr. 173), does it seem evident that our state of war with Serbia should have been the cause of such a fatal step. It is certain, however, that at the time when the aforesaid mobilisation was being carried out our relations with Russia were as friendly as ever. (My conversations with Schebeko, July 28th and 30th, and those of Szápáry with Sazonoff, July 27th, 29th and 30th.) The idea that we had refused to discuss matters with Petrograd was due to a misunderstanding and was documentarily disproved later by conversations which had taken place simultaneously at Petrograd and Vienna.

We had always defended the standpoint that the guarantees we demanded were absolutely essential to our security, and that it was, therefore, impossible to make them the subject for discussion later. But this standpoint did not by any means exclude our desire to continue the *pourparlers* with Petrograd, as it was of the greatest importance to us that we should arrive at an understanding with Russia. That these intentions were sincere can be seen from the course the conversations took, for they show that we were not only ready to treat with Russia on the broadest possible basis in regard to all the difficulties between us, but were prepared to discuss the text of the note. Further, we had not a single Reservist in our Army Corps near the Russian Frontier at the time mentioned—July 29th—and all our military power was, without exception, concentrated in the southern Corps. The order for the general mobilisation was only given on July 31st. Sazonoff's references to Austria's mobilisation against Russia, by which the latter was forced to mobilise as a "defensive measure," cannot wipe out the chronological sequence of events. It is characteristic

that he tried to evade Szápáry's correction with the significant phrase, " let us leave chronology alone." Without chronology, however, it is impossible to write accurate history.

When the Russian Minister declares that he had lost interest in the discussions started between us the moment that war broke out between Austria-Hungary and Serbia, I am not prepared to agree with him, as such an assertion, even if taken literally, is in direct contradiction to his conversation with our Ambassador. Moreover, in such case he would declare himself to be an adherent to the fatal policy of solidarity, which by its unreasoned defence of a gravely compromised and destructive régime in the Balkans produced a European conflagration.

I believe that I have given sufficient proof by the examples I have quoted—and I could quote many more—that the doubt I feel of the author's ability to judge off-hand the policy of the Habsburg Monarchy is not unreasonable. It is an entirely different matter, however, with regard to the foreign policy of Tzarist Russia. Nobody could be a better judge than he who piloted his country through this critical period himself. His statements on the point are—apart from a few romantic and fine-sounding phrases on the subject of national independence—undoubtedly of real historical value. He shows us in clear-cut outlines the guiding principles of this policy with its strange cross-currents and its sinister aberrations. A world that is searching after truth will not blame him for lifting —perhaps unconsciously—the veil from secret motives which up to now had only been suspected, careless of the effect on the moral prestige of Russia's proud diplomacy—all the more so because historical research has not yet been concluded, and Clio is still waiting before she takes up her golden pencil to record her final verdict.

COUNT LEOPOLD BERCHTOLD.
(*Austro-Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs,* 1912-1915.)

INDIAN REFORMS AND THE SIMON COMMISSION.

THE British in India have frequently been accused of blundering, if well-meant, efforts to " hustle the East." But during the last twenty years there has arisen a section in India whose chief occupation is " hustling the West." Indeed, this section is bent upon hustling the British out of India altogether. With them history has no meaning, and words and facts bear no relation to one another. Any prominence they possess and any success in life that they have achieved have only been made possible by the opportunities which English education and British standards have made available to them, but, above all, by the security and peace which they have enjoyed under a well-ordered system of government. And yet these very people have been audacious enough—or blind enough—to describe the system of education by which they have arisen to their present eminence as inducing a " slave mentality " in the pupil. If these men are slaves, they are exceedingly abusive ones.

The majority in the Indian Legislative Assembly which voted for the boycott of the Simon Commission is led by and largely composed of men of this cast of mind. It is worth while examining the motives by which they are actuated, for, on the surface, their action would appear to be an exhibition of childish petulance, which it is difficult to reconcile with the intellectual capacity that they undoubtedly possess. If these men had a genuine desire to co-operate with a friendly race in bettering the lot of their fellow-countrymen, then their action would indeed be childish folly. But this is not their objective at all. As a diligent observer for many years of the Indian Press, and of the genesis and development of the Swarajist movement, which has now culminated in the declaration across the floor of the Assembly by leading politicians that their goal is absolute independence outside the Empire, I would summarise the movement as follows.

For many years in the last century there had been outbursts, sometimes very virulent ones, in the Indian Press, but these were directed against a particular policy, or particular measures or incidents, never against the presence of the British Government in India. The great event which altered this attitude was undoubtedly the victory of Japan over Russia. An Asiatic race had defeated a great European Power. From that time forward the ambitions of the advanced politicians soared to much higher flights of fancy. If Japan could defeat Russia, obviously, they said, Indians could oust the British from India. The differences between India and Japan, and between Russia and Great Britain, were noth-

ing to them. The superstition of European invincibility had been shattered. Lord Curzon's Partition of Bengal was a splendid pretext for the expression of the new doctrine. Bengali lawyers and journalists fanned the agitation; students and schoolboys were enlisted to defy authority, and many of them were corrupted into becoming Anarchists. "Out! cursed Feringhi! or the sacred motherland will be red with your blood," was the constant invocation of the Anarchist Press, but it was not until bomb outrages had actually occurred that these organs were vigorously suppressed.

The National Congress of 1906 was the first to declare for Swaraj, with the explanation attached that this only meant "self-government on the Colonial system." This much caution was exercised to keep clear of the law of sedition. In 1907, at Surat, the Congress split into moderates and extremists, the latter remaining out in the cold for some nine years. The outburst of sedition and anarchist crime continued till 1910, by which time the Morley-Minto reforms to reconcile the moderates, and the suppression of sedition to check the extremists, had prepared the way for the happier events connected with the Royal visit and the King-Emperor's Coronation Durbar. By this time Bengal itself was getting tired of the Partition agitation and the fruitless *Swádeshi* movement and boycott of British goods. The announcement by His Majesty of the annulment of the Partition, the re-distribution of Old Bengal, and the declaration of the new Capital at Delhi, took away the breath for the moment of moderate and extremist alike. Looked at from one point of view, it was a great political stroke; from another, it was a disaster. The Mahommedans of Eastern Bengal, and in sympathy with them the Mahommedans throughout India, who had loyally supported the Government during the Hindu agitation, felt that they had been completely sold. "No bombs, no boons," was the bitter jest passed round among Mahommedans, disgusted at the victory (as they regarded it) of anarchism over loyalty. Nor were the anarchists themselves placated. For within a year the attempt was made on Lord Hardinge's life when he made his first official entry into the new capital.

The general sedition among extremists was once more simmering up when the outbreak of the Great War and the wonderful demonstration of loyalty of Indian princes and peoples, at that time entirely untouched by the agitators, temporarily silenced these men, for they, too, did not know what was in store. But the silence was very temporary. The splendid rally of the great Dominions evoked comment in the British and Dominion Press as to the wider measure of independence which would be their reward after the war, and the Indian agitators saw and noted. This was the cue to

follow, and they followed it. Annie Besant's "Home Rule" demand, at first scouted as impracticable by the advanced Indians themselves, was presently caught up by the extremists. But the vast population was still entirely unmoved. And then came Mr. Montagu, with the purpose of deliberately disturbing "their placid and pathetic contentment."

With frantic haste Mr. Montagu forced the pace, suppressing, belittling or ignoring the advice for greater caution tendered to him by many who could distinguish, as he could not, between what was real and what was artificial in the Indian ferment. What was pathetic was not the "placid contentment" of those masses, a mighty tribute to the justice of British rule, but the infatuation of a British politician who could, in a world still in the throes of the gigantic conflict of 1914-1918, declare that it was his set purpose to disturb the tranquillity of teeming millions of men. Gandhi and the agitators learnt a lesson. They, too, must disturb the contentment of the masses. Had not the Secretary of State himself described it as a laudable action? The grant of the reforms was made to the accompaniment of the mendacious campaign on the Rowlatt Bills, the Khilafat agitation, the Punjab disorders, and, finally, the non-co-operation campaign, during the duration of which the laws against sedition were broken with complete immunity. In the early days of this agitation Mr. Montagu, fearful for his reforms, granted an amnesty to wholly defiant and unrepentant men in the vain and futile hope of placating the agitators, who regarded his weakness as a triumph for the enemies of British rule. Thus emboldened, these men boycotted the Duke of Connaught in 1920 and the Prince of Wales in 1921, and it was only after the last of these insults that more vigorous action against overt sedition, culminating in the arrest and imprisonment of Gandhi, brought that particular movement to an end.

The boycott of the Simon Commission by these men is therefore not a mere gesture of childishness. It is their reading of the history of the last ten years, that insult and defiance will squeeze out more concessions than friendly co-operation. In vain has Sir John Simon gone to the very limits of conciliation in his effort to win their confidence. The provincial Legislatures have been following the lead of the Assembly, and in the U.P. Council the Hindu Ministers, supposed to be Ministers of the Crown, were afraid to record a vote in favour of co-operation. It is not Indian patriotism seeking self-government that Sir John Simon is up against. It is Brahman thirst for place and power. Twenty years ago the late Mr. B. G. Tilak was reported as saying: "Let us get rid of the unwelcome guest in the verandah and we can then settle our own differences inside the house," and a speaker at the recent

Congress meeting in Madras said that chaos in India was preferable to peace under British rule. These Brahmans are really in earnest when they decided to shed the epithet " Dominion " before the word " Swaraj." They know that there would be chaos in India if they were to succeed in hustling the British into abandoning their mission there, but they calculate that Brahman astuteness and religious prestige will once more win through, and that, whatever happens to others, their caste and class will be able to reassert its supremacy. They know that under the present régime other castes and classes are learning to dispute Brahman superiority, and time presses, for if their prestige has once faded away it might be too late for its revival.

Brahman confidence is no doubt vainglorious, but there is at least some method in their defiance. The same cannot be said of the non-Brahman castes and the few Mahommedans who are following their lead. Whatever happened in the chaos that followed the withdrawal of the British, and even if Brahmans managed to establish their old prestige, these other Hindu castes—the literate castes as they may be called, which make up most of the balance of the English-knowing Hindu intelligentsia—would speedily subside into their former position of scribes and writers. Their support of the Brahman attitude is sheer folly. British impartiality has been the ladder by which they have climbed to the topmost branch of the tree, and they are now hacking at that high branch on which they are supported. If that branch should be severed, their downfall will be great.

Of the non-Brahman class Sir Sankaran Nair is at the moment a notable representative. If his attitude to the boycott of the Simon Commission is a sign of true repentance, well and good; but if one is to judge him by his article in the February number of this REVIEW, there is little to distinguish him from the Brahman extremists. He commences his article by declaring that the Commission should have been entirely Indian, that the Englishman, through ignorance of their needs, is unable to adjudicate fairly between the various class and race interests in India. The chosen representatives of these classes, he thinks, would in conference have hammered out a new Constitution, acceptable to all of them, which would have commanded the support of an overwhelming majority of the British electorate.

He next discusses his second choice, a mixed Commission of Indians and Englishmen, affirming that those very class representatives (who according to him in a preceding page, if only not interfered with by Englishmen, could have evolved an ideal Constitution) would be the very worst members of a Commission because they would be prejudiced and partial. What he now

requires are Indian super-statesmen, superior to all class considerations. These should have been selected as colleagues to the British Commissioners. After the presentation of these mutually destructive arguments he also affirms that India is waiting for Great Britain to carry out the Liberal policy under Mr. Gladstone, namely, to withdraw from India as soon as English-educated Indians, acquainted with the benefits of British rule, genuinely considered this course to be necessary in India's interests. He does not inform us where to find this enunciation of Liberal policy. He next makes two extraordinary statements. First, that the majority of Indians who rallied to the Empire in the War were induced thereto by Mr. Lloyd George's promise of self-determination. The gallant Indian troops fought because they were true to their salt, and the men who flocked to the Labour Corps were induced to do so by the extremely high wages offered to them. Of those who went out of the country not one in a thousand had ever heard of " self-determination," or would have understood what it meant if they had heard it. Moreover, Mr. Lloyd George's message was issued in April, 1918, and not a single one of the new recruits enlisted after the message ever went out to fight, because the Armistice had occurred before their training was complete.

The next extraordinary statement that he makes is that Indian casualties due to the War were numbered in millions, and exceeded the casualties of all the Allies put together. The Report on the Indian Census of 1921, published in 1924, gives the exact figures of Indian war casualties, which numbered 58,238. The only possible explanation of this reckless assertion is that the writer has included the whole of the mortality due to the influenza epidemics of 1918 and 1919 in war casualties. That epidemic was a most terrible scourge, but to record it as a measure of India's services in the War can only be charitably described as Oriental hyperbole *in excelsis*.

Again, Sir Sankaran Nair writes: " The questions between the Hindus and Mahommedans can be settled by them alone in mutual consultation. The tension between them has been due to the fact that a third party is the arbiter." A more mischievous and untrue statement it would be difficult to conceive. It is true that the Moplas were settling their differences with the Nairs of Malabar (of whom Sir Sankaran is a distinguished member), but their methods were murder, outrage and forcible conversion, when the interfering British intervened to save them. What would Sir Sankaran Nair have said if the British authorities had told his kinsmen to settle the matter themselves in friendly co-operation with the Moplas? Even if Sir Sankaran Nair is kind enough now to treat with the Simon Commission, yet, if his article correctly represents his

honest opinion, he appears to be in agreement with the Brahman extremists : for he concludes his article by making it clear that if Great Britain does not concede in full the Constitution which educated Indians demand, then India will at the first favourable moment throw off British rule, and England will then sink to the level of a second-class power. The Nairs had no cause to be grateful to Brahmans. They had no cause to be grateful to Mahommedans. Is Sir Sankaran representing them correctly in reserving his ingratitude for their best friends, the British? Was a Nair ever a High Court Judge or an Executive Councillor of the Empire of India in pre-British days? and what would be his fate if Great Britain should now withdraw her beneficent protection? There must be very few of the non-Brahman Hindu castes who are genuine supporters of the Brahmans, but the pity is that so many of them fear to state their real opinions, for they dread being held up to scorn and ridicule in the Brahman Press as traitors to their country.

As for the few Mahommedans who are among the malcontents, they are mostly the residue of the now discredited Khilafatists, or are actuated by personal animus. The alliance between these and the Brahmans is wholly unnatural and cannot endure. Broadly speaking, the demand of the vocal political intelligentsia is simply this : that as they are quite capable of governing the whole of India, therefore, Great Britain should withdraw from the task. They might, perhaps, allow Englishmen already in the Services, as an act of grace, to serve out their time, provided that they are prepared to bow the knee to this oligarchy, but they want no more British to come, for they consider them unnecessary. This was the evidence tendered by a Bombay millowner before the Lee Commission. But how many people know that this same man had specially petitioned the Commissioner of Police, when he wanted a police guard to protect his mills during a strike, that the guard sent *must* be accompanied by British officers? This is just one illustration of the unblushing untruths which men of his kind will express before a body like a Commission, where there is little danger of cross-examination to test the genuineness of their opinions.

The great difficulty which faces Sir John Simon and his colleagues is that all witnesses giving their evidence in public will talk as if democracy was their cherished ideal, though there is not a single man in India who really wants it. The political intelligentsia will try to make the Commission believe that they genuinely desire it, because only on the theory that they represent the people at large can they claim to be given the powers that they are demanding. The non-literate classes will employ educated or half-

educated men to be their spokesmen, and these too will affirm their adherence to democracy, though the concessions that they ask for are a direct negation of the principle and consist of requests for communal representation on so grand a scale as would convert legislative bodies into unwieldy medleys of men and a babel of tongues. The real sentiments of the talkers are obscured under a verbiage of alien political jargon bearing no relation to the facts as they are; while the great silent masses are watching, waiting and wondering what is to come out of all this pother. They are just like the ignorant client who judges his English-speaking pleader by the length and apparent volubility of his speech, of which he does not himself understand a single word. Some of them have been persuaded to think that " Swaraj " means insignificant taxation in a millennium of high wages and universal cheapness.

In the meantime an easy-going British public, good-natured, but too far off and too indolent to master such distant problems, has been labouring under the impression that every Indian who is fluent in English and has some nice democratic catchwords on the tip of his tongue, has shed all his Oriental traits and traditions and has become a genuine champion of the people's rights in the most approved British style.

In 1919, Parliament, full of generosity, imagined that it was rewarding India for her great services in the War by bestowing on her the scheme of Constitutional reforms so cleverly engineered by Mr. Montagu. It was doing nothing of the sort. It was exalting the small section of men who sent no man to fight, whose share of war contributions was insignificant, who had consistently opposed and traduced the British name and fame, and some of whom had voted against any pecuniary contribution whatsoever to Great Britain's war expenses. It was no reward either to those who fought or to those who generously helped with their resources, to put them under the heel of men who were not their natural leaders, and whose newly given authority, when you come down to bedrock, rests not upon the choice of the people, but upon the support of British bayonets. The result has been that what was intended to produce unity has caused nothing but disunion and has embittered racial and religious animosities to an extent never before experienced since British rule was first established. The masses of India were given, not what they wanted, but what Mr. Montagu and those who took their opinions from him thought that they ought to want. What the masses want is not " self-government," interpreted as government by one caste or clan, or two or three castes or clans, but to be " godly and quietly governed," that is, by some impartial authority, which will ensure them religious liberty, security and justice. Such, however, was the obsession

cast over India by the reforms, that her spokesmen cannot shake off the idea that the repetition of a creed, affirming a faith in democracy, is the one indispensable preliminary to the success of any representations that they wish to make on behalf of their own class or section.

From this tangle the Simon Commission have to find a way out, and they can only do so if they make a fresh start on lines that correspond to the conditions actually prevailing, in which vast heterogeneous races are held together by an impartial paramount power. The way would not have been so difficult if the ground had not been queered by the attempt to introduce Mr. Montagu's "First Aids to Democracy." Lord Morley was much wiser in frankly recognising that a Parliamentary system was impossible in India, and that the best material for legislative bodies were representatives of the principal classes and interests obtained by election, where election could give representative results (only possible when electors and elected are within a common denominator), or, failing this, by nomination. Among the classes entitled to representation the educated middle classes which constitute the political intelligentsia would be entitled to an important share, but not to the dominating position that the faint simulacrum of democracy introduced by the reforms has resulted in giving them. The claim of the Legislative Assembly to reflect the opinion of the people at large has been directly negatived by the reception given to the Commission by all those who are not under the heel of the extremists. The Assembly consists of kaleidoscopic groups of politicians, the attitude of most of whom towards the Government is destructive and obstructive, but never constructive, unless the matter under consideration is absolutely non-controversial and raises no racial issue. With such a legislature the Government can carry on only by a policy of continual concessions to clamour, each concession serving as the basis of a fresh demand. The Government has to submit to defeat after defeat, but it cannot resign, and there is nobody to take its place.

No Government can function if it is in a permanent minority in its own legislature. The reform of the constitution of the Legislative Assembly is one of the most important tasks before the Commission. The provincial legislative Councils are a reflection of the Assembly, but are necessarily more in touch with local needs. The system of *responsible* Ministers is a pure farce and fiction. The tune to which they dance is not the tune called by the electorates that return them, but the ambitions of the narrow section to which they themselves belong. It is not their fault if they have failed, for they have been set the impossible task of serving two masters. Call them Ministers if you like, but let them be placed

in the position now occupied by Indian Members of Council. A Governor with four Ministers, two British and two Indian, aided by better representative provincial Councils, in which lawyer politicians are an element but not a predominating element, would be able to function with reasonable efficiency, and there would no longer be a necessity for the absurd distinction between reserved and transferred subjects—a system under which a Minister is liable to be treated with contumely by a vote of the Council, unless he is a party to manœuvres of which he may personally disapprove. There is no reason whatever to belittle the intellectual capacity of the leaders of the Indian intelligentsia. The task of governing India as a single country is beyond their powers, not because of any intellectual defect in them, but because India is too divided into races, creeds, nations and languages to enable any composite body on any sort of democratic basis to command the obedience of the whole.

REGINALD CRADDOCK.

JOSEPHINE BUTLER:

1828-1928.

I CANNOT recall the name of any modern man or woman who has left such a lasting influence for good over the whole world as Josephine Butler. It is therefore fitting that her centenary should be kept with sacred joy in the country of her birth, and that those, now very few, who had the privilege of her personal friendship should attempt, as well as they can, to convey to the present generation the secret of her power and of her invincible strength.

The late James Stuart, for many years her ardent fellow-worker, has left on record his vivid impression of her personality.* He wrote not long after her death that the world was different and better because she had lived in it, and declared that she had helped to raise the character of all who were brought into contact with her. He states, what we can well believe, that her personality was most attractive, that she was " very beautiful and of a gracious presence," of an artistic temperament; a good painter and a very good musician; a bold rider, and a devoted lover of horses and dogs; " very full of humour, and, while deeply in earnest, had the faculty of being, at times, charmingly gay." She was devoted to her husband and her home, and the love which she gave was warmly returned without cloud or break. He also wrote of the deep impression which her look and her voice made on those who heard her, for the first time, speak on the subjects which she had made her own.

Professor Stuart's testimony does not stand alone. The late Canon Henry Scott Holland wrote of her and of the wonder and beauty and power which she put forth over the men and women of her own day by her personal heroism and self-sacrifice, for what she felt was the highest of causes. " From her," he wrote, " they had learned the splendour of life, and the mystery of sacrifice. Through her a high vocation had come to them and they had been touched to finer issues. . . . A certain fear fell on us as we saw her. She bore the marks of a sad and terrible consecration. She had a magnetic influence over the spirit, and she laid on us the compulsion of a call to the service of the broken and wounded." Madame Avril de Ste. Croix, speaking of the influence of Josephine Butler in France, summed it up in one notable phrase: " Her name," she said, " is in itself a banner."

When she visited Cambridge or Oxford she would have interviews, short, but with very lasting results, with scores of undergraduates, whose outlook on life was permanently changed and ennobled by what they felt to be her main object. She was the most selfless of women and the loftiness of her aims gave her

* The Introduction to Josephine Butler. An auto-biographical Memoir, edited by G. W. & A. Johnson. Bristol. Arrowsmith.

great sagacity and insight, and made her, more than most people, a seer—one who could readily distinguish the true from the false, and could therefore test the persons and activities of the time with true vision and power. While another woman, her younger contemporary and the near relative and daily companion of the political leaders of the hour, was writing and speaking of the enfranchisement of women as something " entirely odious and ridiculous," Josephine Butler at once saw in it a means of restoring the balance of justice and of lifting, so to speak, by sheer force, the poor and neglected out of the mire of the gutter, and raising them to the responsibility and dignity of citizenship. She was, therefore, keen from the first to promote the extension of the franchise to women and to open to them new avenues of education and employment; for she was convinced that these changes would lead to purer manners and juster laws.

Her cosmopolitanism was another of her remarkable qualities. She was a keen lover of her own country, and particularly of her own district in it. She was, and always remained, a Tynesider, a Northumbrian. After her husband's death she returned to her beloved Border country and spent there the remainder of her days.

Englishwoman through and through as she was, no one has ever worked more devotedly than she to spread the gospel of purity of life in foreign countries. Consequently, she founded a school of thought in France, Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, and other countries, which continues to bring forth good fruit to the present day. Among her contemporary supporters she counted William Lloyd Garrison, Victor Hugo, Élisé Réclus, Emile de Laveleye, Mazzini, Garibaldi, Edmond de Préssensé, Giuseppe Nathan, Père Hyacinthe and many others. In France, Belgium, and other countries formerly apparently impregnable strongholds of the State regulation of vice, her influence twenty years after her death is still an active force, and books and essays are now appearing echoing the principles of which she was the foremost teacher.

Then, again, she was among the earliest and the strongest to teach and to practise the duty of international co-operation in all good causes. The World's Women's Christian Temperance Union (U.S.A.) was started at an earlier date: but as directly springing from Josephine Butler's precept and example we may reckon the International Abolitionist Federation, the International Council of Women, the International Women's Suffrage Alliance, and in part, at any rate, the greatest of all International organisations—the League of Nations.

The yeast of Internationalism in Mrs. Butler's own subject is still working, and what a few years ago would have been considered miracles are actually taking place under our eyes, if we have the

strength to open them. Some other countries most backward on the subject of State regulation have been shaken out of their self-complacency. A great deal of this awakening dates from the adoption by the League of Nations of the White Slave Traffic Convention at the Assembly of the League in 1921; but this again would never have been accepted if it had not been for the good seed sown by Josephine Butler. Reports on the subject are now received yearly at Geneva from most of the countries which are members of the League and progress is almost constantly reported from one country or another.

"Almost every year, for example, some country reports that it has abandoned or is abandoning the pernicious system of licensed houses of prostitution. The latest moves in this direction are being taken by Japan and France. In Japan a remarkable draft law has been prepared by the Government for submission to Parliament providing that, from the date of the passage of the law, there shall be no further registration of licensed houses of prostitution and that existing houses shall be finally abolished in 1933." (*Headway*, May, 1927.) The Japanese Delegates in 1924 decided that they could not face the world again (at the League of Nations Assembly) if their women (geishas) continued to be known almost everywhere as prostitutes.*

"In France an extra-Parliamentary Official Committee of sixty members has reported *unanimously* against the licensed house system, and it is anticipated that their recommendation will shortly be embodied in a Bill." (*Headway*, May, 1927.) In Turkey the age of marriage for girls has already been raised to fifteen, while in Japan it is proposed to raise it to sixteen. These changes even in countries formerly considered the most backward on these matters, must be attributed to the movement inaugurated by Josephine Butler. She in fact sowed the seed from which this harvest is being reaped. It is becoming every year more and more of a scandal that in Great Britain the marriageable age of girls is still only twelve. The excuse for this, so often given, that the law has become a dead letter, should not shut our eyes to the fact that England is setting a bad example to other more backward countries, and that even in our own the legal age for marriage for girls may afford a cloak for hideous wrong-doing; while it is a deep discouragement in those countries where a definite movement is beginning to grow up for the creation of a higher moral standard for both sexes.

While to-day Josephine Butler is regarded almost as a saint, it should not be forgotten that in the sixties and seventies of the last century she endured every kind of newspaper and platform

* See part 1 of the Official Report upon International Traffic in Women and Children which Dame Rachel Crowdy has done so much to make known during the last year.

attack. She remained calm and tranquil through it all. Her own conscience upheld her, and she had besides the immensely valuable support of her father and her husband, and of all her own family, besides a rapidly widening circle of friends and followers. She remained from the first calmly confident that the principles which she expounded must in the end prevail. Therefore, however dark from time to time the immediate outlook, she never for a moment despaired. Indeed, she had many sources of consolation, and not the least, I believe, must have been the conversion of an important group of the members of the Royal Commission appointed by the Government in 1870 to consider the operation and working of the C.D. Acts: from having been ignorant supporters, they became well-informed and convinced opponents of the whole system. Moreover, in the course of the evidence given before this Commission the principles she had from the first upheld received the public support of the leading political philosopher of the age, John Stuart Mill; and one of the Commissioners, an ordinary hard-headed Lancashire business man, on being asked what was the effect on the Commission of Mrs. Butler's evidence replied: "I am not used to religious phraseology, but I can only convey to you what I mean if I say that when she was speaking one felt that the Spirit of God was there."

It is in my power to corroborate from my own personal experience what Professor Stuart wrote of the deep impression she made on those who heard and saw her for the first time. I had never heard or seen her until the autumn of 1885. I had long revered her and the work for which she stood, but it was only during the fierce campaign which ensued after Mr. Stead's publication of *The Maiden Tribute* that I first heard her at a large London meeting. It will be remembered that the Royal Commission of 1870 had recommended legislative action for the protection of little girls who were being bought and sold "for infamous purposes" in London and other large towns. But this recommendation had been completely ignored by Governments and Parliaments for fifteen years. At the meeting of which I am writing there were several good speakers but when Mrs. Butler rose the whole atmosphere seemed changed. I shall never forget her and her look and voice as she spoke of this infamous traffic. "There was a time," she said, "when I could have dipped my hand in the blood of those men for whom the children were sacrificed." Then she went on to warn her hearers that hatred was a barren passion and that the world had never been, and never would be saved by hatred; but that it had been saved by love and compassion. "Deeper experience," she urged, "had shown her that the spirit of vengeance was not only wrong but futile": "that these men, guilty as they were, were themselves

victims of bad laws, bad social influences, plunged very often from boyhood into a bad moral atmosphere, in which wrong had been made to appear right, and selfish gratification of the senses easy and natural, almost inevitable." "Those men," she urged, "must be saved too, and a nobler ideal of manhood must be placed before them," and she continued to this effect: as long as our methods of dealing with social evils are based upon the vendetta, and confined to one sex, they can lead to nothing but increasing savagery: should we not rather endeavour to investigate the causes which have made these men what they are, and seek to remove or to ameliorate them? And this was the woman, I reflected, whom newspapers had denounced as "an indecent maenad."

Shortly after this meeting I met Mrs. Butler personally and received the honour of her friendship. We worked, not without success, and with the aid of helpful friends, foremost among whom were Mr. and Mrs. Bunting, to obtain for Mr. Stead, while in prison, in December, 1885, the treatment of a first-class misdemeanant. After this personal contact with her I never knowingly neglected an opportunity of seeing her when she was in or near London; and the more I saw of her the more I appreciated the wonderful power of her personality, and came to understand the sources of her strength. She was a matchless leader; full of courage and self-sacrifice, perseverance and decision. We can now thank God for her and pray that her example may guide us still.

MILLICENT G. FAWCETT.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM IN ITALY.

PROFESSOR RICCI, in June, 1925, thus described the functioning of the Italian Chamber of Deputies under the Fascist régime:

> "Italy no longer has a Chamber of Deputies. The Chamber discharges its legislative duties by simply carrying out day by day the orders received from the Government and constantly repeating three operations which the newspapers describe as follows: (1) Jumping to its feet; (2) giving a frantic ovation to this or the other Fascist personage; (3) intoning the Fascist hymn 'Giovinezza.' A Chamber of youngsters that leaps to its feet every instant, goes into ecstasies and breaks into song, may pass into history as a pretty example of a combined gymnastic and choral society, but not, I think, as a model legislative body. If by any chance, instead of a Fascist personage, one of the few dissentient members ventures to speak, the musical revels change into a chorus of howls and execration; no speech is tolerated which is not one of hosannas to the Government. The Government benches join in the chorus, and—a habit unknown in the past—vilify the Opposition members, present and absent alike, with the assent of the Speaker."*

From such a Chamber, after the "discovery" of Zaniboni's "plot," the Fascist Government secured assent to a series of laws which put the relationship between the Cabinet and the Chamber on an entirely new basis.

A law of December 24th, 1925, enacts that the Prime Minister, who in future is to be called "Head of the Government," shall be appointed and dismissed by the King. The King maintains him in power until "the system of economic, moral and political forces," which brought him to power, shall come to an end. This "system of forces" is not voiced by Parliament, for the Head of the Government is independent of any Parliamentary vote of confidence or censure. No motion can be laid before the Chamber or the Senate without the previous sanction of the Head of the Government, who can thus suppress any discussion which might lead to a vote of no-confidence.† Nor must one imagine that the King could turn out the Head of the Government—i.e., Mussolini—were he to perceive that "the system of forces" had come to an end. In a speech to the Chamber on May 26th, 1927, Mussolini declared:

> "I have become convinced that I must carry on the task of governing the Italian nation for ten or fifteen years yet. It is a necessity. My successor is not born yet."

* Umberto Ricci, *I compiti del liberalismo*, p. 21.

† Commendatore Villari, *The Fascist Experiment* (London, Faber and Gwyer, 1926), p. 223, writes ingenuously: "Article 6 lays down certain rules strengthening the position of the Premier, and protecting the Government from surprise votes on mere questions of procedure. Thus no question may be placed on the agenda without the approval of the Premier, but Parliament is not prevented from discussing and criticising the action and policy of the Government."

Thus for the next ten or fifteen years the royal prerogative will have to remain in abeyance. The Head of the Government shall lay the names of Ministers before the King; Ministers are responsible to the King and to the Head of the Government, not to Parliament. All executive power shall be concentrated in the Head of the Government; the Ministers are merely the executors of his will; the Cabinet is no longer a deliberative body, but a consultative body for the Head of the Government.* Anyone who by word or deed disparages the Head of the Government is liable to imprisonment for a period of from six to thirty months.

A further law of January 31st, 1926, authorises the Government to modify any existing law and to make new laws by Royal Decree in virtually every field of public administration, " whenever reasons of urgent and absolute necessity require it." The sole limitation to the legislative omnipotence is the obligation placed on the Government to secure the confirmation of its legislative decrees by Parliament within two years of their date; if such confirmation is not secured, the decree " ceases to be operative from the day of the expiry of the two years." In the Senate on December 14th, 1925, the Minister of Justice explained what would happen in this case:

> " If in Parliament there are various currents and opinions as to the approval and ratification of a decree, and it proves impossible to secure agreement within two years, it will certainly be possible to prolong its operation by a special law. If in an extreme case it proves impossible to secure agreement and the case is one of urgency, a fresh legislative decree will be promulgated."†

All these laws were rushed through the Chamber virtually without discussion.

In the spring of 1925, the Communist deputies, splitting off from the other Opposition groups which had withdrawn after the Matteotti murder, returned to the Chamber, and tried to exercise the right of discussion. At the sitting of November 19th, 1925, one of them ventured to declare that " the demonstration with which the Chamber had received the *Duce* did not represent either the views or the consent of the workers." At this, he and the other Communist deputies were driven out of the Chamber, thrown into the street, and bludgeoned. Afterwards the Speaker declared that " the words of the Communist deputy had clearly been ill-advised, as the minority must not shock the now unanimous feeling of the Chamber and the country."

* See the speech of Senator Mosca in the Senate of December 19th, 1925.

† Commendatore Villari writes: " Other clauses tend to simplify Parliamentary procedure and make legislation more rapid." (*Fascist Experiment*, p. 226) *Sancta simplicitas!*

The *Impero*, commenting on these incidents (November 20th, 1926), wrote:

> " Corporal punishment administered to anti-Fascists is perfectly in line with national hygiene. Fascism is Italy. Anti-Fascism is anti-Italy. Thus blows dealt out to anti-Fascists who offend Fascists are not partisan deeds but acts of national defence."

A few days later, on November 24th, a small group of " Democratic " deputies, whose leader was the Duke di Cesarò, and which had abstained from attendance in the Chamber since June, 1924, decided to return, and sent an official communication to the Speaker:

> " As the threat has been made of using violence to prevent us from entering the Chamber, we ask that all our colleagues in the Chamber be informed of our intention."

The Speaker replied on November 26th that he was " unable to guarantee to the signatories the exercise of their Parliamentary mandate." The group in consequence declared that violence was thus " implicitly legalised by the Speaker," and that " this situation destroyed the constitutional validity of the legislative work of Parliament."

Two months later, in January, 1926, the deputies of the Christian-Democratic Party also decided to return to the Chamber. But on January 16th the Fascist deputies drove them out of the House of Parliament. And on January 17 Mussolini himself declared to the Chamber that no Opposition deputy would be permitted to take part in the session, unless he first " explicitly and officially " declared that the Fascist régime could not be called in question, that all past attempts at opposition were devoid of legitimate basis, and that he had no connection with those who were continuing anti-Fascist activities beyond the frontiers:

> " When they have accepted and carried out these conditions, the seceders may hope for our tolerance and a return to this Chamber. Failing the acceptance of these conditions, so long as I am at this post—
>
> *Voices*: Always!
>
> *Mussolini*: And I promise myself that I shall stay here for a while (loud applause)—they shall not come back. Neither tomorrow nor at any time."

These " revolutionary " measures against the Opposition were " normalised " after the Zaniboni attempt. On November 9th, 1926, when the Chamber re-opened, all the Communist deputies who came to Rome to take part in the sittings were arrested. Article 45 of the Constitution of the Realm runs: " No deputy may be arrested while the Chamber is sitting except when taken *in flagrante delicto*." Obviously it was a flagrant crime for the

Communist deputies to try to take part in that sitting. No Opposition deputy could approach the House of the Chamber. The Chamber opened its session by declaring that 147 members had forfeited their seats by their abstention from the Chamber after the Matteotti murder (June, 1924). Among those deprived of their seats were the Communists, the deputies led by the Duke di Cesarò, and the Christian-Democratic members. No law, no precedent in Italian constitutional history authorised this measure. A hurried and unconstitutional majority vote did away with all legal obstacles.

The abject condition to which certain non-Fascist deputies have fallen can be gauged by the following letter sent in August, 1927, to the Prefect of the Province of Bozen, Signor Ricci, by Herren Sternbach and Tinzl, two German deputies of South Tyrol :

> " In reference to the interviews which we had lately with you, we beg to inform you that we shall not take part in either the congress of racial minorities at Geneva, or that of the Interparliamentary Union in Paris, for both of which we had announced our attendance. This is in order to avoid even the appearance of an attitude which might be interpreted as not favourable to the Government. As concerns publications and communications to the foreign press, we can only repeat explicitly that we have absolutely nothing to do with them. We are anxious to express our perfect goodwill in accepting any further advice to facilitate a policy of conciliation."

Now the Chamber is stripped of all its powers and the Opposition deputies have been unseated or cowed into submission, only one last logical step would be taken, the total abolition of the Chamber. The Senate alone would be left. It consists one-fifth of generals, one-fifth of high officials, one-fifth of big landowners, one-fifth of big industrialists and bankers, and one-fifth of University professors and Fascist intellectuals. It therefore contains the groups which control Italy through the Fascist Party. As the Senators are appointed by the King, *i.e.*, by the Prime Minister, there is no danger that a popular election would give unpleasant surprises. Moreover, the number of Senators is not fixed. The Prime Minister, by introducing the requisite number of new-baked Senators, can down all opposition, assuming that in such an assembly an opposition might arise.* In short, the Senate, as it exists to-day in Italy, ought to be the ideal Chamber for a Fascist régime.

* In a speech held at the Conference of the Fascist Party on June 22nd, 1925, Mussolini said : " Our opponents place their hopes in the Senate. But the Senate will pass our Bills, first of all because the Government has the majority in it; secondly, because we will back them; and thirdly, because the Senate, with its noble patriotism, will certainly not wish to assume the responsibility of a struggle and a crisis, the consequences of which would be very serious."

But whether the King is reluctant to abolish the elective Chamber and thus strike the death-blow to the Constitution, or whether the Fascist leaders themselves realise the inexpediency of abolishing in Italy every form of elective representation, whilst all other civilised countries are still infatuated with this ridiculous prejudice, the fact remains that the Fascists have not yet abolished the Chamber. They confine themselves to a less ambitious programme : that of retaining side by side with the Senate nominated by the King, an elective Chamber, on condition that this latter is " without an Opposition."

Under Fascist rule, opposition is unthinkable :

> " There is absolute incompatibility," explains the *Popolo d'Italia* of November 30th, 1925, " between revolution and opposition. Opposition is counter-revolution. It must be either the one or the other. Revolution not only rules out external opposition, but does not even tolerate internal opposition. Revolution does not allow heresies. It is necessarily *totalitaire*, centralising, orthodox. Heresy during the French Revolution fell frequently under the action of the guillotine. This is the fate of Oppositions."

The method by which the " Chamber without Opposition " will be nominated has been fixed by the Grand Council of the Fascist Party in its meetings of November 11th, 1927, and February 8th and 20th, 1928. Deputies will be " elected " by the Organisations of Employers, Employees and Professional Classes, which are juridically recognised as organs of the " Corporative States," and by such bodies of national importance of a cultural, educational or charitable nature as are designated every three years by the Government on the recommendation of a committee composed of five senators and five deputies. The General Councils of the six National Confederations of Employers, of the six National Federations of Employees, and of the one National Confederation of the Professional Classes will meet in Rome, and each Council will propose names for its share of the 600 candidates allotted to the Confederations. The other bodies will put forward 200 names. From the 800 names the Grand Council of Fascism will draw up a final official list of 400 candidates, adding as it thinks fit persons of distinction, whether in the sciences, letters or politics, not included in the preliminary list.

To understand the working of this system it is necessary to know how the General Councils of the Confederations and the Grand Council of Fascism are formed. The President of each Confederation has been appointed by Mussolini. Within the Confederation of Employers the vice-presidents and secretaries of the Provincial and National Organisations are elected *by the members*. Within the Confederation of Employees, it is the President of the Confedera-

tions who *appoints* the secretaries of the Provincial and National Organisations. *The General Councils of the Confederations are formed by the Presidents and Secretaries of the Provincial and National Organisations.* That means that within the Organisation of Employers will be elected representatives of the employers who will draw up the list of the proposed candidates; whereas within the Organisation of Employees the list will be drawn up by their officials appointed by the President. The General Council of each organisation consists of about 250 to 300 persons. Consequently the 600 candidates allotted to the seven organisations will be designated by some 2,000 persons. As regards the Grand Council of Fascism, it is formed by the Ministers in Mussolini's Cabinet, by the Central Executive of the Fascist Party, and by whoever Mussolini may think fit to attend the meeting of the Council. As a rule the Grand Council consists of some 20 to 25 persons.

When the Grand Council, i.e., Mussolini and his councillors, have drawn up the ultimate list of 400 candidates, the list will be " voted " by the country. The whole country will form for a single electoral unit. The ballot will bear the formula : " Do you approve the list of deputies designated by the National Grand Council of Fascism?" The electors are to give the answer " Yes " or " No." If the majority answers yes, the 400 candidates are elected *en bloc*. The franchise is granted to all Italian males of twenty-one, or to married men over eighteen with children, on certain conditions. Among these conditions are the requirements that the elector pays a contribution to a Confederation or pays at least a hundred *lire* a year in direct taxation to the State or local authorities, or enjoys a stipend or pension from the State or local authorities, or is a member of the Roman Catholic or another recognised Church. Thus universal male suffrage, after being driven out by the door, returns by the window, but as a ghost, not as its real self. Since there is no opposition Press, no opposition party organisations, no possibility of propaganda against the party in power, no opposition candidates, how could the voter answer no? If any one was found to have answered so, he would be sent to the islands or straight off to another world.

Be that as it may, the Bill makes provision even for the hypothetical case of the list failing to gain a majority. Then fresh elections will be held on the following lines. The country will be divided into provinces, each of which will elect ten deputies on an average. In each province only Fascist organisations having more than 5,000 electors will be allowed to put forward candidates. Each list of candidates shall contain no more than two-thirds of the seats assigned to the province. The votes obtained by each list in all provinces will be summed up in a single national total. The list

which obtains the highest national total will in all provinces receive two-thirds of the seats; the other lists will in each province share up the remaining seats in proportion to the votes they had obtained there. Since only Fascist organisations are allowed to put forward lists, it follows that all the elected will be Fascists even in the case of a second electioneering campaign.

Signor Rocco explained the advantages of the new system in an interview with the *Paris-Midi*, February 10th, 1928 :

> " The country will be able to express its opinion about the candidates proposed and the policy they represent. If by an extraordinary chance a difference were to appear between the answer given by the nation and the preliminary selection made by the authorities representing the nation, this would be simply the sign of a misunderstanding which it would be well to dissipate. But we shall always be sheltered from chaotic elections and surprise outbursts of public opinion."

But it is evident that there will never be " misunderstandings " to dissipate. The official list will always obtain, if not unanimity, at least a majority. Signor Forges-Davanzati, in the *Tribuna* of February 21st, 1928, rightly remarks that " there is no interest in the alternative system of elections; these provisions have been introduced as a merely formal hypothesis." The " merely formal hypothesis," has, however, its uses as an export article. It will make foreign countries believe that—in the words of the *Tevere*, February 21st, 1928 :—"Fascism respects all the rights of opposing currents of thought " : this is proved by its permitting a genuine election, if the official list of 400 is rejected. What does that mean? It means that Fascism " renounces its function as a totalitarian régime, and enters the electoral field on equal footing with its adversaries, as if it were a political party."

Even Signor Rocco's allusion to the " opinion of the country " is an export article for the readers of the French paper whose correspondent he was addressing. At home the Fascist leaders boast that they do not care a fig for the opinion of the country. Signor Michele Bianchi, one of the biggest personages of the régime, in a speech at the National Congress of the Fascist Party, on June 22nd, 1925, laid down the following axiom :

> " The essential novelty of the Fascist State is that in its central organs it must be refractory to so-called changes of opinion."

Mussolini at the same Congress said :

> " There are certain gentlemen who define themselves as officiating priests of a mysterious divinity called public opinion. We do not care a damn for this public opinion. Fortunately we are still an army."*

With special reference to elections as a channel of expression

* *Stampa*, June 23rd, 1925.

for the opinion of the country, Cesare Rossi, chief of Mussolini's Press Bureau from the March on Rome till the Matteotti murder, writes :

> " In our frequent discussions of the prospects of the elections of April 6th, 1924, I regarded our defeat as impossible for psychological reasons. Signor Mussolini, on the contrary, kept repeating : ' If things go badly next Sunday, so much the better; I will rip the toad up; on Monday I will make the two hundred thousand guns of the Militia all vote together."

By the new method of national representation devised by Fascism " the humbug of universal democratic suffrage has been solemnly buried," as Mussolini said in his speech of May 26th, 1927.

But this unfortunate Italian democracy always manages to come to life again.

> " You must have a dictatorship during every revolutionary period" declared Count Thaon de Revel to the *New York World*, September 15th, 1927, " but within two years [i.e., in 1929] the Corporative State should be established. Then the Dictatorship will cease and you will have a democracy. The Corporative State of Fascism is essentially democratic."

A democracy? The Fascist State essentially democratic? Why, of course it is. The one little difference between the Corporative State and a democratic régime is " that you vote as a member of a guild rather than as a citizen." This bright discovery has already been made by Sir Leo Chiozza Money. He wrote :*

> " It is no more tyrannical to be limited to industrial constituencies than to be limited under the Parliamentary system to vote in a single Parliamentary division and no other."

Both gentlemen overlook the fact that, without equality of rights, without freedom of vote and without competing parties, it is a mockery to speak of democracy.

As always happens, Mussolini goes one better than his admirers. Fascism, he proclaims, is " the true democracy."

> " The other democracies are gnawed by a terrible malady—namely, the absence of understanding. On the one side is Capitalism, shut up in its crenellated tower, on the other side is Labour, organised and armed by the double force of Socialism and Syndicalism, covering the plain and always ready to deliver an assault against the dominating tower. And between the two camps, beneath a fragile, futile tent, is the bourgeois State, endlessly deliberating, receiving blows from both sides, and never even successful in playing the part of disinterested arbitrator."†

After having " Fascistised " Italian institutions, Mussolini " Fascistises " international political terminology.

G. SALVEMINI.

* *Daily Mail*, February 7th, 1927.
† Interview with *Paris-Midi*, February 8th, 1928.

GERMANY AND THE FUTURE.

THE imminence of the German elections in consequence of the break-up of the Centre and Reich Coalition affords a suitable occasion for attempting a general review of the situation. It is perhaps peculiarly difficult in the case of Germany to give a clear idea of the various currents and tendencies which make up the life of the country. Politics are especially complicated. The parties of the Left try to find common ground in the " defence of the Republic," and denounce the Nationalists as Monarchists. Similarly the Right cries out about the " Socialist Menace " and denounces the Left as " Marxists." Yet the writer has only met one Nationalist who could indicate a candidate for the Crown. This was a lady, said to be a particularly rabid Monarchist, who suggested that, as the Crown Prince's son was top of his class, he might thus be suitable to lead the German nation. Of such stuff is the Monarchist menace formed! Again, it is equally difficult to find a Socialist who advocates any extensive measures of nationalisation or socialisation. A half-hearted attempt in this direction was made after the Revolution and proved a complete fiasco. The Communists, ruled from Moscow, naturally do not count. In fact, the Monarchism of the Right is limited to a vague feeling that a constitutional monarchy suits the character of the German people and to a desire to parade the old black-white-and-red flag; while the Socialism of the Left is but a tendency to encourage public authorities to engage in private enterprise, and a desire to further the interests of the industrial workmen who are their principal support.

The immediate cause of the break-up of the Coalition is, as usual in such cases, comparatively trivial. The Centre Party, which by its connection with the Christian Socialist Trade Union extends a good way to the Left, was never a particularly amenable stable-companion to the Nationalists. One of its principal objects in entering the Coalition was to carry a measure providing for denominational schools, for which it had the support of the Lutheran Nationalists as against the Rationalist Left. This measure, however, could not be put through in its entirety owing to some opposition by the People's Party, and the Centre have expressed their annoyance by indicating their intention to withdraw from the Coalition. The Government is thus actually in a minority, though it has been agreed to allow it to remain in power until the end of March in order to enable the passing of certain special measures of particular urgency, of which the most important deals with the relief of agricultural distress. This has been done at the pressing

instance of the President, and the elections will thus not take place till the end of May.

It is generally expected that the result will show a considerable swing to the Left, and it is quite possible that in the new Reichstag it will be necessary to take the Socialists into the Government. The question then arises whether the People's Party, and with them Stresemann, will remain in power. If they do so, thus constituting the so-called Great Coalition, there is likely to be considerable conflict within the Cabinet between the industrial interests of the People's Party and the Extremists of the Left. It seems virtually certain that the Nationalists will be out of office, and one of the principal questions for the new Reichstag will be the inclusion or non-inclusion of Stresemann. Stresemann has, however, survived so many political crises, and has created such a strong position for himself, that almost anything is possible. In any case there will be no material change in the foreign policy of the country and, as far as domestic policy is concerned, the shifting of power will mean little more than a change of names and perhaps some progress in the direction of reduced tariffs. The Socialists if they are returned in strength will, like the Nationalists before them, talk big and do little, particularly as the Parties of the Centre must continue to hold the balance.

Turning from the details of politics to the general development of the nation, one realises that there are few countries more interesting than Germany both to the serious student of Political Economy and Social Science and to the merely casual observer. A great nation is finding its feet. Germany to-day is not merely recovering from a catastrophe which might well have ended her career as a first-rate Power; she is completely remaking, reconstructing her corporate life. This, we are almost daily informed, is a revolutionary age, and indeed there must be few countries where the words "before the war" do not evoke the idea of an age irrevocably past. Yet apart from Russia, which is in a class by herself, Germany is probably the only great nation the continuity of whose development has been almost completely broken and where everything has to be worked out afresh, as it were from first principles. It is perhaps not easy for those whose stay in the country is limited to a few weeks or months in Berlin and the other large cities to realise to the full what is happening. In such circumstances one's attention is apt to be concentrated on more superficial if important matters, such as the recent remarkable return of prosperity, the energy with which the people go about their business, the attitude towards foreigners and, for those who knew the country before the war, the lack of military uniforms in public places. The two main characteristics of Germany to-day are, firstly, a great and wide-

spread uncertainty as to the present and, secondly, an illimitable confidence in the ultimate future. This is why the Germans are working so hard to surmount their immediate difficulties, and why they adopt an almost universal attitude of "wait and see" with regard to future developments.

Here indeed is the key to the happenings in almost all departments of the national life. The difficulties of the present are so manifold, and complicated by the almost complete lack of precedent and by dependence on many factors external to Germany, that a really coherent and organised national policy is extremely difficult, almost impossible. Thus the nation slipped into inflation quite unwittingly, and having once started, speedily reduced its currency with German thoroughness to a complete absurdity, even priding itself on the efficiency with which the technical details of the collapse were arranged. No less a person than Dr. Schacht cannot help praising the valiant efforts of the Reichsbank note-printing department in coping with the necessary billions. Similarly the Republican Constitution, the work of the Socialist Left and constantly attacked by the supposedly Monarchist Right, is yearly becoming more firmly seated under the Presidency of a loyal servant of the Hohenzollerns, with Nationalist Ministers occupying most important posts, including the Ministry of the Interior. In Germany to-day policies and declarations of principle are at a discount; hard work, technical skill and successful opportunism at a considerable premium. One may perhaps say that the nation needs Stresemanns and not Bismarcks, though the old Chancellor had a very fair dash of opportunism in his make-up. The fence, indeed, is the only place for an intelligent and self-respecting German statesman, and if by taking a firm seat thereon he can secure continuity of administration, and to some extent even continuity of policy, he has deserved well of his country.

The prevailing unsettledness, the search for new and solid foundations, is perhaps most faithfully reflected in the social life of the capital. Before the war, apart from outstanding exceptions such as Ballin, Rathenau and Krupp, society was divided into more or less watertight compartments, with the result that everybody knew just where they were, what type of career to choose, how to behave in given circumstances and so on. All this is changed: the Court as a gravitational centre has disappeared; the older members of the comparatively impoverished aristocracy have retired to the country; and the result is an inextricable jumble which as yet shows no sign of developing ordered coherence. The Germans fully realise this, and it is one of the principal reasons for a certain social inferiority complex which, in fact, was not unknown before the war, when, according to Emil Ludwig,

no less a person than the ex-Kaiser was a sufferer. A German friend of the writer was recently in London for the first time. On being asked what struck him most forcibly, he replied that it was the extremely natural and matter of course bearing which he had observed among all classes. In Germany it may be said with some justice that hardly anything is a matter of course, unless it be work. A new social tradition, a new governing class, are in process of formation, and it is extremely difficult to foretell their future form. It is, however, probable that they will develop on lines very different from those followed by French society since 1870. There are signs that the impoverished aristocracy, instead of withdrawing itself from public life, is on the contrary preparing to take an active part in it. The older members have, it is true, largely retired to their country estates, but the younger men are entering politics, the professions and business, and starting with comparatively small means at the bottom of the ladder. The German society of the future will certainly be—to employ a much abused word—largely bourgeois, but it will probably be powerfully leavened with one of the strongest elements of the past, the disciplined aristocratic tradition.

The most remarkable of all developments in Germany since the war has been the speedy economic recovery which has taken place since the stabilisation of the currency and the institution of the Dawes Plan. The absurdity of the inflation paved the way to a complete reversion to sound principles of finance; these principles were strengthened by the sound advice of the experts, and the relaxation of intense political and economic pressure from abroad allowed the nation to turn round and start afresh. Once placed on the right road, technical efficiency and energy enabled immense strides to be made. A thorough reorganisation of industry on modern lines was taken in hand, and here the destruction of established traditions and ideas, the new uncertainty of existence, proved of value, since far-reaching changes could thus be made in a few months which in countries like England would take years. The British coal industry is perhaps the best instance of the inertia which has to be overcome by would-be reformists of industries with firmly-rooted traditions. This inertia was comparatively insignificant in Germany, and thus the new tendencies towards larger units and horizontal amalgamation—which, indeed, were not quite novel to the country which developed the cartel system—had free play.

While the results of industrial reorganisation on the one hand, and of hard work, renewed confidence and an abundance of foreign loans on the other, have certainly been remarkable, much misapprehension exists about the real economic position of the country. The war and inflation periods, it is true, left Germany with the

bulk of her productive machinery and man-power intact, and of this she has made full use. Developments since stabilisation have shown, however, that these factors are but a part, and not even a very large part, of what we call wealth or capital. A great part of this consists of comparatively intangible factors, credit, goodwill, organisation, efficient market distribution and so on, which had been virtually destroyed, and thus needed to be re-created in order to set the economic life of the nation going. It is exceedingly difficult to visualise in terms of national wealth the vast losses of individuals of the property-owning and *rentier* classes since the war. One cannot help wondering where all the money went, since apparently factories, land, buildings, railways, roads, etc., are all intact. It is not correct to say that the great enterprises and capitalists have gained what others lost, since in fact shareholders in the principal enterprises have had heavy losses, though these are not comparable with those suffered by investors in so-called " safe " securities. Nor can it be explained by the almost total loss of pre-war foreign and colonial investments. The fact is that the dislocation, misdirected energy, and dilapidation caused by the war and inflation periods represented capital losses far greater than is usually realised, and they can only gradually be replaced. To an Englishman, coming from a country with great inherited and invested wealth, the product of centuries, it seems strange rarely to meet a man who is not entirely dependent for his livelihood on what he earns. Yet that is the case in Germany to-day, and it may perhaps in the long run prove a source of strength. The energy and effort required to reconstitute lost fortunes should be valuable.

There is one problem which overshadows all others in importance and in daily influence on the economic life of the country—the eternal problem of Reparation, now again in the limelight after some three years of comparative obscurity. The views of the Germans on the question are the natural corollary of their general attitude toward the political and economic difficulties confronting them, which I have endeavoured to describe above. The Government's so-called " policy of fulfilment " is sincere, but conditional. There is no attempt to take a long view : German Reparation policy is purely a question of expediency, of commonsense opportunism. Fundamentally—apart from the wildest and most irresponsible elements of the community—all shades of opinion are agreed. The apparent differences between the various parties are merely a question of method, not of principle. The Right prefers to attack the Dawes Plan, the Left to approve it, but both are agreed that Germany should sit tight, wait for the expected transfer crisis, and, when the time is ripe, obtain the most advantageous settlement

possible. The average German does not view the payment of Reparation in the same way that the average Englishman looks on the payment of the American Debt. He takes no particular pride in it; he sees no real moral obligation to pay; he only looks at it as an indemnity, one of the penalties of defeat, of political weakness. He realises, however, that the Dawes Plan was a step forward, though in no sense a final settlement, and it is obviously expedient for Germany to meet her obligations for the present. It is useless for Reparation creditors to be indignant at this attitude. They alone are responsible for it. For one thing, they chose to base Reparation payments on the obviously, in the long run, untenable thesis of German sole responsibility for the war; and, for another, they failed to arrange a settlement of the debt within Germany's capacity of fulfilment. Up to the present, over nine years after the Armistice, Germany has never been offered a settlement of Reparation debt which she could conceivably be expected to accept. It is thus quite natural that the Germans, should the political and economic constellation make it possible and expedient, would be prepared without a qualm of conscience to refuse further payments.

The question of what can be done arises. Mr. Parker Gilbert in his last report stated that "neither the Reparation problem, nor the other problems depending upon it, will be finally solved until Germany has been given a definite task to perform on her own responsibility, without foreign supervision and without transfer protection." That such a final settlement must take place eventually, a settlement definitely recognised by Germany, enabling her to see daylight ahead, to look forward to the time when she will be free from her burden, is obvious. Germany cannot be expected to continue the Dawes payments in perpetuity while the nominal total of her debt mounts up gradually at compound interest from 132 milliards of marks presumably to infinity. In the interest of the creditor Governments themselves the Reparation problem must, moreover, be placed upon an entirely new basis. It must be commercialised. The element of political compulsion must be removed. M. Poincaré maintains that his Ruhr enterprise created the "will to pay." This may be. But a "will to pay" created by such means will obviously only continue as long as the political pressure or the threat of it exists.

The outlines of the necessary Reparation settlement thus take shape. The final total must be determined. By the issue of bonds on the capital markets of the world, the product of whose sale would be paid to the creditor Governments, private capitalists would be substituted for Governments as creditors of Germany. Germany would thus feel more strongly that her credit was at stake

in making her payments. For such a settlement it would be worth while making considerable sacrifices. It should not be forgotten, too, that there is a moral as well as a technical side to Reparation. Few impartial neutrals would deny the justice of imposing on Germany a proportion of the burdens left by the war, particularly for the reconstruction of devastated areas, etc., in view of the fact that her own territory was almost completely spared. There is also much to be said for the principle that the burden imposed on Germany should be at least as heavy as that on her late opponents. Yet really justifiable grounds for Reparation payments were neglected at Versailles, and the present legal and "moral" basis is a paragraph which Germany was forced to sign at the point of the bayonet, to the effect that she and her Allies were solely responsible for the war. This is an obviously untrue statement which, as is only right and proper, stinks in the nostrils of every decent German. Were it not so the designation "Hun" might indeed be appropriate. It also entirely obscures and virtually destroys, not only in German eyes but in those of most thinking men, the true justification for Reparation. Is it too much to suggest that in the final settlement a paragraph should be adopted placing the whole principle of the payments on a different and sounder moral basis? There is no need to hurry unduly with the settlement, to force on negotiations before the time is ripe and the working of the Dawes Plan has thrown greater light on Germany's capacity to pay and transfer. Yet all the more should we consider it in all its bearings, and endeavour to make sure that when it eventually can be carried out it should be lasting, and should really contribute towards the reconciliation and pacification of Europe.

The space taken by the discussion of Reparations, a problem which in its immediate importance overshadows all others left by the Versailles treaty-makers, makes it impossible to deal with these at adequate length. Alsace-Lorraine is fortunately no longer a problem; the renunciation entered into at Locarno is sincere and genuine. But the eastern frontier, both in connection with the "corridor" and the Upper Silesian settlement, is unlikely ever to be recognised in its entirety. A new Alsace-Lorraine has been created as a monument to the incapacity of politicians to learn from history. Here nothing can be done for the present; one can only hope for the best. The acid test of the League of Nations will be not its ability to maintain existing treaty frontiers in perpetuity, but to carry out without bloodshed the alterations demanded by the logic of events.

The settlement of the manifold problems left as a legacy by the Great War cannot, it is true, be regarded exclusively from the point of view of the nation whose responsibility for the catastrophe,

while undoubtedly not exclusive, was yet considerable. In order to ensure lasting peace, the interests of all concerned must be considered; as far as possible, legitimate grievances should not be left, and the object should be to find solutions which can be honestly and sincerely accepted by all. A spirit of compromise is necessary; positions, however firmly taken up in the past, should not be made the subject of rabid intransigence. Twentieth century "democratic" statesmen could read the story of the pacification of Europe by the "reactionaries" after 1815 with profit. Germany, for one, is not intransigent; she is far too unsettled; she is living too much in the present to adopt positions from which she cannot recede. Yet she is a vigorous and expanding nation, and the policy of sitting on the safety valve has never been sound. Compromise on some questions, such as the Union with German-Austria for instance, which, inasmuch as it enlarges Southern German Catholic and Democratic elements, would not increase her offensive strength but rather the reverse, might well facilitate definite settlement on the Locarno principle of other difficult territorial problems. Internal administrative reform is a ticklish enough question as things are, and the nationalist Prussian elements represented by the *Kreuz-Zeitung* view the "Anschluss" with considerable disfavour. Yet this would be an obvious act of justice and in conformity with the principles so vociferously enunciated at Versailles. As time progresses, it becomes ever clearer that, just as the internal life of a nation is constantly changing, just as families and firms rise and fall, estates change hands, cities expand and decay, so in the domain of international politics nothing is nor should be immutable. Why international changes should almost invariably be accompanied by bloodshed is a question on which statesmen might do well to ponder.

H. Powys Greenwood.

HENRIK IBSEN.

(Born March 20th, 1828.)

WHEN the hundredth birthday of a poet comes round, the world has usually arrived at some definite opinion concerning the place he is to take in the history of letters. But whether this point has yet been reached in the case of Henrik Ibsen is doubtful. It is true, the atmosphere of *ira et studium* which lay so thick and perplexing over him in the 'eighties and 'nineties of last century has long been dissipated; and much new material has come to light since his death which has made his mind and art clearer to us. But we are still far from agreement as to how his problematic genius acquitted itself of its task; how he fulfilled that "calling," the responsibilities of which none of the greater children of his brain is ever allowed to forget.

Of the early Ibsen much need not be said at this late date; the apprentice-years of a poet have usually but small interest outside his native land. Ibsen's childhood and adolescence in his native town of Skien in south-west Norway, and then as an apothecary's assistant in the still more provincial Grimstad, even his years of stage-managing in Bergen and Christiania, need only be recalled to demonstrate how persistently adverse fortune and discouragement dogged his steps until his thirtieth year was behind him. Such experiences were not of a kind to give Ibsen a rosy outlook on the world, or inspire him with very warm feelings towards the land of his birth. His first dramatic experiment, the tragedy of *Catiline*, had much German "Storm and Stress" in its composition, but foreshadows significantly the Ibsen that was to be. He soon acquired the facile technique of Scribe, and applied it to historical themes in the taste of the day. *The Feast at Solhaug* brought him in 1856 his first taste of popular favour. In those early days Ibsen fought more stubbornly than any of his contemporaries for Norway's emancipation from the leading strings of Danish taste, a fact that was forgotten by his countrymen when they later came under his lash. With *The Warriors at Helgeland* (1858), a skilful blending of the *Volsunga-saga* with Norse family sagas, and written in a bald and even brutal prose, he definitely threw down the gauntlet to the smooth iambics of Oehlenschläger. But even then the honours fell, not to his uncompromising declaration of Norway's independence, but to the suaver romantic sentiment of his friend and rival Björnson.

Love's Comedy (1862) is a satiric comedy in sparkling verse which was a puzzle to its contemporaries, and still is to us. It made the impression of being a somewhat chilly repudiation of romantic love as a factor in marriage; but may Ibsen not, even at this early stage, have dimly felt that, in bestowing his Svanhild on an elderly suitor,

instead of on the rather specious egoist Falk, he was sparing her the fate of the unhappy wives of his later plays? The grinding poverty of Ibsen's Christiania years and the rebuffs to which his prickly genius exposed him were mitigated by one pleasant experience. His reception at a festival at Bergen in 1863 showed him that he was, after all, making headway in popular esteem; and in a sudden accession of self-confidence he wrote within a few weeks *The Pretenders,* his first masterpiece. In the manly Haakon, proud and self-reliant in his "kingly thought," his antagonist, the doubting Jarl Skule, "stepson of God on earth," and the dark figure of Bishop Nikolaus, he has created personalities of Shakespearean stature. *The Pretenders* is, with Kleist's *Prince of Homburg,* Grillparzer's *King Ottokar's Fortune and End,* and Strindberg's *Master Olof,* one of the four historical tragedies of the first rank which we owe to the Teutonic peoples since the passing of Schiller.

At last the hour of release came; the long tunnel ended, Ibsen emerged into the sunshine—the sunshine of Italy. The Storting granted him a stipendium which allowed him, in 1864, to turn his back on his unappreciative country and settle in Rome. Meanwhile, new clouds had risen on his horizon: Norway cruelly disappointed his pan-Scandinavian dream by her refusal to assist the Danes in their stand against Prussian-Austrian aggression. He poured out his resentment in the noble verse-tragedy of *Brand,* which, published in 1866, marked his "break through" to fame, and the end of his long struggle with economic difficulties. *Brand* was the right book at the right moment; it dropped into an age of shallow literature like a thunderbolt, stirring the religious conscience of the Norwegian people, and shaking them out of their inertia. Its effect has been aptly compared with that of Carlyle on ourselves a little earlier in the century. But in our day it is not easy to recapture the spell which *Brand* exerted sixty years ago; for better or worse, the note of religious intensity has passed out of our life, and we are less able to look sympathetically on this ruthless apostle of "all or nothing"; we are inclined to see Brand's tragic guilt in the light of Ibsen's own later wisdom, chiefly as a failure to understand the ways of God to man. Brand commits what the ageing poet regarded as the greatest of all sins against the Holy Ghost; he kills the "love-life" in those nearest to him. He has worshipped the Jahve of the Pentateuch, only to learn in the terrible *peripeteia* of the tragedy that the true God is not his God, but a "deus caritatis."

Peer Gynt (1867), with its exuberant poetic beauty, represents the flood-tide of Ibsen's imagination; it has surely more of the stamp of eternity upon it than *Brand.* Its first three acts are an apotheosis of the Norwegian folktale in the most fascinating of settings. We find

it more difficult to-day to accept the long fourth act in which a Peer, hardly recognisable as the Peer we know from the earlier part of the poem, is led through fantastic adventures in America and Africa, and presented with a satire that has long lost its sting; but the last act, with its unabashed romanticism, brings back the atmosphere of the beginning, and we close the book with the impression that here, if anywhere, is the Northern *Faust. Brand* had been a tragedy of excess of will power; *Peer Gynt* is the tragedy of the lack of it. Brand had risen to tragic greatness by sacrifice of self; Peer Gynt lives only for himself; in his encounter with the "great Böig"—symbol of the numbing forces that wear down the will—he learns to "go round," not to fight through; to choose the primrose path of compromise; ultimately, by a last stroke of irony, to be crowned Emperor of Himself in a madhouse in Cairo. This prince of egoists, so far from realising himself, loses his own soul, and is in the end good enough neither for heaven nor hell; into the button-moulder's ladle he must go to be melted down and re-formed anew. But the true Peer Gynt, the poet will have us believe, lives in the heart of Solveig, whom he had won unwittingly, and forgotten; like Faust, Peer Gynt is saved; and so, again, "das Ewigweibliche zieht uns hinan."

Emperor and Galilean (1873), the last of the three great dramas of these years, occupied Ibsen for nearly a decade; he put all his best thought into it; he hoped that it would be his masterpiece. And yet it was his one conspicuous failure. But every student of Ibsen must come to grips with *Emperor and Galilean,* if he will penetrate to the real Ibsen; for it contains the key to all his after-work. Problems are intoned here which never ceased to occupy him: the conflict of hedonism and asceticism in his temperament: and that deep-seated determinism which was Ibsen's ultimate solution of the life-problem. With this long ten-act drama he comes, moreover, for the first time within the circle of his great predecessor Hebbel, whose dramas play similarly against spacious spiritual backgrounds.

But before *Emperor and Galilean* was finished, Ibsen had turned over a new leaf; he abandoned the drama of the historical past and looked to the world around him. Now begins the European Ibsen. He put the theatricality of Scribe behind him, studied the finer art of Augier and Otto Ludwig, and, following the lead of Dumas *fils,* brought modern social problems into debate. *The Young Men's League* (1869) was his first essay in this new style; but the modern Ibsen does not actually begin until *Pillars of Society* in 1877. This effective comedy in which a respected "pillar" of society is shown to be a hollow sham, and duly, if not very convincingly, reformed, was followed by *A Doll's House* (1879), which reverberated throughout Europe; and by the still more disconcerting tragedy of *Ghosts*

(1881); finally, by the personal *apologia, An Enemy of the People,* in 1882. These four social dramas represent the phase in Ibsen's work when he most effectively—to use a phrase of Hebbel's—grasped the spokes of the time-wheel; sought to be a physician of the world's ills. They are all " plays with a purpose "; and all turn round one idea : society as the enemy of the individual, fettering and ensnaring him with its false conventions. The ideas for which Ibsen fought here hardly ruffle us now; it is even difficult for us to understand why they should ever have raised so much dust. We are all agreed about the premises of a true marriage, and we no longer recoil in shocked indignation at the revelation, in *Ghosts,* of the consequences of a wrong one; only very young souls still feel, as we used to feel it, the thrill of Nora's slamming of the door, or of the insane degenerate's cry for the sun. But we cannot cease to wonder at the marvellous technical excellence of Ibsen's art from the *Doll's House* onwards. The letters dropped opportunely into the letter-box in that play are the last stirrings in him of the old Adam, Scribe; and after Dr. Rank, the Dumas *raisonneur* ceases to trouble. *Ghosts,* in which a life-tragedy of thirty years is marvellously unrolled within the narrow limits of a unity-governed drama, is, in fact, an adaptation of the oldest art of all, that of the *Œdipus Tyrannus.* And in the years to come Ibsen's hand never lost its constructive cunning.

After *An Enemy of the People,* Ibsen abandoned his rôle as critic and reformer of society; his zeal for such things seemed suddenly to relax. In *The Wild Duck* (1884) he turns, as it were, upon himself; the Haakon with the " kingly thought " loses faith in his calling; only a little before fighting with his Dr. Stockmann, his back to the wall, he is now assailed, to all appearance, by paralysing doubt. " Have I not been taking too seriously," he seems to ask himself, " the sores of the social body? Might not the people in these plays of mine have been all better and happier, had I left them in undisturbed possession of their ' life-lies' "? *The Wild Duck* is thus a turning-point in Ibsen's work; but of all his dramas it is, without exception, the richest in living figures; and there are pages of dramatic dialogue here which have not their equal in the modern theatre.

The works of Ibsen's last period are not so easy to bring together into a homogeneous group. They are all pre-eminently personal dramas, all concerned with problems of the individual life—ultimately, quite frankly, with the poet's own life. If social questions are touched on at all, it is in a constructive spirit : in *Rosmersholm* (1886) with Rosmer's fantastic dream of the regeneration of society by a new race of noble men and women; in *The Lady from the Sea* (1888) with untrammelled freedom of choice as a solution to the

marriage problem of the *Doll's House* and *Ghosts.* Only in *Hedda Gabler* (1890), a drama in which Ibsen encroaches on the particular domain of the modern French theatre, does the false marriage still end in a wholly tragic discord. But the years were beginning to sap the vitality of Ibsen's art. His people are, more and more, clothed in the drab robe of constructive schematism; they cease to live the spontaneous and natural life of Nora, Helene Alving, Dr. Stockmann and the Ekdal family. Allegory and the symbol were beginning to exact their tribute.

In 1891 Ibsen returned to take up his abode permanently in Norway; the fatted calf was killed for him, but his relish for it was small. The last four dramas written in Christiania, *Masterbuilder Solness, Little Eyolf, John Gabriel Borkman* and *When We Dead Awaken,* are very sombre personal confessions, wrapped in elusive symbolism. The first of them, *Masterbuilder Solness,* is, indeed, almost autobiographic; while *Little Eyolf* probes deeply into dark erotic problems, as Ibsen had only probed them once before, in *Rosmersholm. Little Eyolf* still ends with the flag flying at the mast-head. Otherwise *John Gabriel Borkman,* the most unrelieved of all his tragedies of the missed calling : a winter tragedy of broken lives and frozen hearts. It was Ibsen's last masterpiece. But before he died—and his death did not occur until May 23rd, 1906, after six years of deteriorating health—it was given to him to write an " Epilogue " to his life-work, *When We Dead Awaken,* which was published in 1899. The most apparent deduction we are all to draw from the enigmatic symbolism of this swan-song is that the old poet had lost faith in the validity of even his own calling. There is nothing of the serenity of *The Tempest* or the Second Part of *Faust* in Ibsen's poetic testament.

Yet these dramas of his last period, sombre as they are, are not dramas of unrelieved pessimism. Ibsen does look beyond the discord; in each and all some kind of conciliatory solution to the life-riddle is dimly foreshadowed. His unhappy mortals all grope towards the sun; all believe in the sun, although it is given to none of them to catch more than a glimpse of it through momentarily parting mists. Even in his darkest days, Ibsen never ceased to hope, like his Nora, for the miracle, or, as he liked to put it, for the coming of his " third kingdom." But what a contrast to the confidence of earlier days when the first article of his faith was an all-saving individualism, the right and duty of personality to assert itself! Of this old Ibsen, who branded the crime—first transmuted into great poetry by Hebbel—of debasing a human soul into a " thing," as the greatest crime of all, nothing is left. Not " Be thyself!" but " Renounce thyself!" is now his watchword. His last works are dramas of resignation from which only one great posi-

tive thought seems to emerge, the thought to which our own Carlyle clung grimly to the last: "Work—Work and despair not!"

It was not given to Ibsen to attain harmony with himself, which is perhaps only another way of saying that he was made of the essential stuff of tragic poets. He remained to the last a distraught problematic nature, torn asunder by a dualism, the most grandiose symbol of which is the conflict of Hellenism and Christianity for the possession of the Emperor Julian's soul. It was Ibsen's fate never to be able to fight through the "great Böig" of doubt to peace with himself; an eternal doubter, he saw himself, like his Skule, "the stepson of God upon earth." He had believed—passionately believed—in his calling; and he had sacrificed everything to it, pursued it in singleness of heart and renunciation. Then came in his latter years the moment when the question presented itself in all its gaunt nakedness: *Cui bono?* "To what purpose all this dwelling on the lies and falseness of society? Would it not have been wiser to have built comfortable dwelling-houses for men, instead of austere churches? To have brought to them sweetness and light, joy and the sun?" For whose good all the aspiration to "the eternal stars and the great stillness," this renunciation of the joy of life, for which in his heart of hearts he so passionately craved? Such was Ibsen's personal tragedy: for his life *was* tragic, in spite of a success and fame such as few men of his century attained.

We like to think of Ibsen as a great modern realist. His historical mission in the drama of Europe was, no doubt, to bring truth into the artificial conventions of the theatre; he won new kingdoms for his art by destroying the tyranny of the machine-made play, and by merging in a subtler union than any dramatist before him the past and present of a dramatic action. He gave the theatre new, many-facetted human figures, stripped of all theatrical tradition. In so far, Ibsen did belong to that movement towards truth in poetry which we call realism. But is Ibsen at heart a realist? I doubt it. Would it not be nearer the truth to call him a prodigal son of the old Romanticism, a Romanticist who spent his life vainly tussling with the heritage in his blood? He is a Julian the Apostate who fought against his time, felt himself vanquished by his time, and yet, in defeat, fulfilled, like Julian, his calling under the iron law of a Hegelian "world necessity." In 1863, when Ibsen first emerged as a dramatic poet of European rank, Friedrich Hebbel, the greatest of his immediate predecessors, closed his eyes in Vienna. It is as the successor of Hebbel that Ibsen takes his place in the higher dramatic poetry of Europe.

J. G. ROBERTSON.

THE VATICAN AND CONCILIATION.

I.

IN our time the war has thrown out with a surprising distinctness, at least on the Continent, the function and theories of the old international religion. From his first encyclical, *Inscrutabili Providentia,* the head of the Catholic Church, Benedict XV, as is well known, pressed upon the contending nations the claims of peace. He urged them as inherent in the teaching of the Saviour his Church believed him to represent, and he pointed out that peace was essential to economic prosperity, which in a close connection was bound up with those interior blessings and virtues which were the especial property of the religion of Christ. The complicated and stretching organism of Vatican diplomacy was all directed to the work of conciliation, both direct and indirect; there is now a considerable number on either side who feel that the Pope's suggestion of a peace in 1916, even if the issue of the war was undecided, would have been better for both than the decisive victory that was obtained over starving peoples, who remained in need of the necessaries of life while the terms of the Treaty of Versailles were forced upon them. But even then Benedict XV persevered, and in arguments which were stigmatised as pro-German he urged the claims of justice and mercy on the victorious aggressors.

Not unnaturally, these appeals to natural and Christian virtues were hotly attacked by a certain type of occasional writers in England. But they provoked an intense fury amongst the extreme French nationalists. Of these the chief were M. Leon Daudet and M. Maurras, who directed the *Action Française.* This paper was nominally monarchist. It appealed to all the more violent of French reactionaries who, like their counterparts in England, paraded that type of self-assertion which shows itself in a violent antipathy to other countries, and abrogates the name of patriotism. By a not unnatural coincidence, which might again be parallelled in England, this dangerous and immoral party loved to talk of its loyalty to the Church, which it regarded as part of the furniture of the conservative tradition, but not as the fountain of Christian morals. The Pope's denunciation of the occupation of the Ruhr was directly counter to the *Action Française,* which found its triumph in that unlawful act. The result was that at the next election the Pope and the Socialists, who were in agreement, were in the majority, and the *Action Française,* in attacking one, made covert criticisms of the other. The Pope, however, continued his conciliatory policy, not only by many signs of friendship to Germany but in open support of M. Briand and the pact of Locarno, which seemed an answer to the intercessions for peace of the *Anno Santo.*

This policy was continued up to the Christmas of 1926, when the new Nuncio in Paris, Monsignor Maglione, made a special encomium on the work of M. Briand. This was itself attacked in the *Action Française*. The Pope gave warning that he would not be contradicted as a moral authority, and when in courteous terms the *Action Française* insisted that it knew better what was right and wrong for Catholics than he whom they were bound to revere as their father and teacher, the father and teacher declared the writings of M. Daudet and M. Maurras untrustworthy, and he excommunicated the two leaders. The discipline of the Church was at stake. On a matter of morals, the Pope was told that he did not know what he was talking about. He took the only step that an authority can take in such a case : he exerted his authority. A power openly defied finds no shelter in weakness.

In this case, an immense question was involved. The subject on which the Pope was defied was the authority of Christian precepts with regard to governments and peoples. *Were justice and mercy to be recognised as principles, and principles more urgent in the case of great countries than of single individuals, or was the spirit of nationalist revenge the highest moral impulse?* With regard to the particular aspects of the question, a clear and eloquent article by Mr. Philip Carr in the CONTEMPORARY of March, 1927, dealt with them fully. We are now looking at the question of the *Action Française* as one instance of the Vatican's uncompromising and consistent stand for conciliation as essential, and more especially now, to the function of the Church of Christ.

It is not impertinent to refer to the curious anomaly of such men as M. Daudet or M. Maurras assuming the tones of authority over Christian ethics. M. Maurras is a writer of atheistic pamphlets, though, with a delicacy that all will recognise, he veiled this fact in the presence of his Catholic adherents. M. Daudet, though the son of the great author of *Lettres de Mon Moulin* and *Petite Chose,* writes novels which use to the full the license in pornography which France allows : he has also lately been imprisoned for criminal libel, and though released on June 25th by an audacious ruse, he is still subject to arrest. These, however, are not the issues involved. They merely index the men who claimed the right of moral leadership when the ideals of Christianity were at stake. It is a sinister fact that a certain number of French Catholics preferred to follow their lead rather than to listen to the august voice which recalled to them the counsels of the gospel.

Great Congresses like " Copec " and the Stockholm Conference were busy with just this question of whether or not Christianity is to govern the conditions and intercourse of nations; but moral principles are only potentialities till they are pointed and applied

to particular cases. In the conflict which ensues, all real Christians are involved. If the Pope seeks to encourage an economic basis of understanding between France and Germany, it is not merely the voice of the Catholic potentate, but the voice of the political conscience of Christianity. That conscience is of a higher order than the voice of the majority as such.

The Vatican, then, has seen its especial work of conciliation in removing misunderstandings between France and Germany, two countries where in numbers Catholics are almost equal. But there are many who think that the storm centre has moved from the Rhine to the Adriatic. In working for the principles which will ensure order in Italy, without menacing other nations, the conciliators of the Vatican have one of their most difficult tasks. Stretching eastwards and northwards from the Adriatic are those many countries where civilisation is less compact, and where disorder in many cases, and in some starvation, have caused the despair which looks without loathing on Bolshevism. Is the Vatican conciliatory towards the Soviet? The Pope's desire, like that of the Archbishop of Canterbury, has been rather to assist and thus conciliate the Eastern Christians, so that, when the tyranny of Bolshevism is past, Eastern Christianity may join with Western in the life of peace.*

II.

And in this connection the conciliatory methods which now govern the Vatican have taken a new turn which brings its political benevolence into direct contact with religion. That the Vatican has recognised, since the time of Photius, as before, the rights of the East and the continuity of its traditions as undeniable. The Council of Lyons in 1236 arrived at a principle of reunion, and Catholic and Orthodox Bishops brought this to agreement at the Council of Florence in 1439. But the peoples did not show that generosity to one another's traditions which their Bishops had recommended. In Poland, in Serbia, in Roumania, in Bulgaria, in the Austrian Empire, in Greece and in Russia itself, liberty of language and rite has been allowed to those united to Rome; but the Uniates, as they were called, tended to develop a Latin and not an oriental tradition. The precision of the Latin rite, of Latin administration, of Latin thought, were emphasised as superior to the looser forms of oriental religion. As years went on, the Uniates, who should have been a sort of link between East and West, irritated the main body of the Orthodox. Salient externalities distracted attention from the profound agreement in the

* The question of accepting the Soviet has itself divided the Orthodox Church, for many of its members hold that the order purporting to issue from the Russian Church authorities is another Bolshevik forgery.

central matters of the faith. Again and again in the eighteenth century, the Vatican had voiced generous counsels, but they were nullified in the atmosphere of local irritation. Concordat after concordat was issued, and many small eastern Churches returned to unity with Rome, but the great Orthodox Communion retained, and even deepened, its sense of irritation.

This difficulty preoccupied the Vatican in the nineties, and occasioned fresh thought after the Russian revolution. But the more conciliatory moves were left to the present Pope. He had gained personal knowledge of the difficulties when Nuncio in Poland, where there were large bodies of the Orthodox grouped round Vilna and round Lwow. He saw that ignorance, and personal jealousies, weighed far more with the Catholics than the counsels of Rome. He saw also that the people of Poland, who were not always models of the virtues, were not the best to recommend the faith to the Russians, who had long tended to regard them as disreputable insurgents, just as English Unionists had regarded the Catholics of Southern Ireland. The analogy, in fact, was close, and did not escape the Pope's attention. The national claims of England are hardly likely to be surrendered in exchange for the temper of Irish Catholics, in which Manning delighted and which in England itself has tended to obscure the larger policy of the Vatican. No more could the Pope expect the Russians to barter the venerable traditions of their Church for that of a people who made no more claim on their respect than that of the Poles.

While the Vatican was directing its policy towards appeasing the rightful claims of the Orthodox Church, Cardinal Mercier approached it with recommendations for generosity towards the Church of England. Lord Halifax had become the intimate and influential friend of the Cardinal, and pressed those claims of conciliation between Rome and Canterbury which had ever been the motive of his enthusiasm, which had not a little affected Leo XIII between 1894 and 1896—long before the Conversations of Malines were ever thought of. Lord Halifax's conciliatory moves, however, though they had received the blessing and the gratitude of Leo XIII, as they have that of the present Pope,* had been consistently thwarted by what an Anglican clergyman has called the "Anglo-Irish Roman party," some of whom had in printed articles (not free from scurrilousness) attacked Lord Halifax, and more especially the distinguished Parisian priest most closely associated with him in the work of conciliation. Lord Halifax therefore urged Cardinal Mercier not to take English Catholics into his confidence, and Rome itself acted on these recommendations. Taught by Wiseman, the first Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster, to look on the Oxford Movement as divinely inspired to heal a great wound in the Body of Christ—as a movement, therefore, which should awaken every impulse of charity and hope, of sympathy and encouragement, in the international Church—the Vatican rejoiced in just those activities, and just those claims, which most wounded the pride of the Anglo-Irish Roman Catholics. These regarded the Oxford Movement as an impediment to the individual conversions which alone seemed to serve their ends; such is the situation at the present day: there is a minority, not however negligible, which takes no interest in conversions: "We do not want them" said the present Bishop of Portsmouth to a well-known Belgian priest. There is another party which looks on the spread of Catholic principles in the Church of England as Satanic: Protestantism, said the Roman Catholic Bishop of Nottingham in his Lenten pronouncement of 1927, thus masquerading as Catholicism, "is so diabolically clever a device to prevent people from submitting to the Church that it will probably succeed for a while in satisfying its dupes."

There is yet a third party which follows Wiseman and Cardinal Bourne.* The Cardinal, as the head of Catholicism in England, had, after consultation with the Holy See, made a generous reference to the work of Cardinal Mercier; it was "all to the good": but in his last official utterance, he threw emphasis rather on the distinction between the Roman Catholic belief in Church unity as divinely inspired, and reaching its end through a supernatural harmony with the principles and the organism of Catholicism as opposed to that reliance on individual choice and arrangement which had appeared to him to underlie the Lambeth appeal and which, in his view, had failed, and must always fail, to effect the organic and spiritual unity between Christians which all Catholics must believe essential to the visible Church, as the Church is the essential organ of the Spirit. No one who had read the peroration of Cardinal Bourne's sermon at York last spring could doubt his agreement, in principle and in desire, with the Vatican's policy of unity. But there is one point of policy in which the Vatican expresses its spirit of conciliation with a more generous regard for human nature than could be expected from anyone in the thick of the fray. If its doctrines are controverted by outsiders, it prefers to wait in silence. It prefers to display a charitable patience till it wins the opportunity for a mild asseveration of those principles which it holds essential to the work of peace.

The present position of the Vatican with regard to conciliation

* This was expressed in the autumn of 1925 in a letter written by Cardinal Gasparri to Lord Halifax, and the blessing was again given in November last when the Pope received Lord Halifax at the Vatican

* See a remarkable article by the Dominican Father St. John in *Blackfriars* for February.

is, therefore, to unite the two policies of national harmony and Church unity. The Pope in his last encyclical on Unity *Mortalium animos* drew a sharp distinction between federation and unity, as Cardinal Bourne had done before him. He insisted that there could be only one visible Church, founded by Christ, maintained indefectible, and compactly joined to a visible head. This is the immemorial Catholic doctrine, and there never has been any question of a compromise. To offer a centre for unity, however, is very different from sacrificing generosity or zeal for unity. And if in asserting either a divine basis of faith or the claims of international co-operation, and meeting with opposition from French Catholics, the Vatican asserts its authority, there is in such an assertion no more arrogance than when an English jurist decided that the occupation of the Ruhr was unlawful, or when Sir John Simon pointed out that the general strike violated a legal engagement. If in adopting a friendly tone towards those outside the Papal communion, the Vatican receives little support in England or Ireland, it is not because it does not understand the English mentality, but because not constricting its policy to individual conversions at a rate which would take some thousands of years to unite England with the Holy See, and not hostile nor contemptuous to those who (even if differing on essential points of doctrine) yet carry out schemes for the welfare of men which support the Pope's own policy, the Vatican takes a view which is wider, longer and more benevolent.

But knowing the unchanging principles of the Catholic Church, men may well ask to what extent Rome's conciliatory policy means a real appreciation of the work and principles of others. The Dean of St. Paul's, writing in a daily paper in July, spoke of Rome making it her principle to persecute wherever possible, and using the argument of toleration only in self-defence. "Rome," once said an Anglican Archbishop when discussing Church unity with the present writer, "has shut the door and locked it on the other side." The answer to such wild statements is in a careful perusal of the published and official *Acta Sanctæ Sedis,* which are very different in tone from what certain newspapers have tried to make out of the last encyclical.* Leo XIII, Benedict XV, and even Pius X, all spoke in strong terms of their benevolent attitude towards those outside their Church. But the present Pope has expressed himself more often and more remarkably in this sense. He has again and again spoken of himself as feeling for all men whether in his fold or not, and labouring for their good. He desires to recall to all men the teachings of Christ, and to gain for

* This encyclical was the subject of an article by the present writer in the CONTEMPORARY for March, 1923.

all men, to the fullest extent they will accept them, the blessings of law and of peace. In his first encyclical, *Ubi arcana Dei,* he spoke of Christian unity as an object most dear to his heart.* In proclaiming in the autumn of 1926 in the encyclical *Quas primas* the universal kingship of Christ, he echoed what Leo XIII had said in *Immortale Dei* and *Præclara gratulationis* of the unifying benevolence of the Divine Law. Recalling the *Libertas praestantissimum donum* of Leo XIII, in the consistory of December 20th, 1926, he advised all to cherish "the just and honest freedom of preferring one sort of government or another, provided it was in harmony with the Divine order." In the encyclical *Ecclesiam Dei* of November 12th, 1923, he spoke in special terms of his desire to conciliate the Orthodox, and indeed all separated Christians, by looking for points of agreement, and by exchanging controversy for charity.* In the consistory of December 18th, 1924, he said that "the work of reconciliation, if it is to hope for success, depends inevitably on three conditions. First we must rid ourselves of the current errors heaped up in the course of ages as to the beliefs and customs of the Churches of the East. And the Orientals on their side must make efforts to study the identity in the teaching of the Latin and Greek fathers. Thirdly, there must be on either side an exchange of thought in a spirit of great charity." Writing a few months earlier to Mgr. Precan, the Archbishop of Olmutz, he spoke of "*clearing up the doubts and errors, sometimes monstrous, which have taken root in the public mind with regard to the history and the religious life of the East.*" In speaking some two years later, in January, 1927, he said: "One does not know all that is precious, all that is good, all that is deeply Christian, in the separated particles of the ancient Catholic faith. The cleft fragments of an auriferous rock themselves bear veins of gold. The venerable Christianities of the East keep objectively such sanctity that they deserve not only respect, but fellow feeling."† This pronouncement gives the keynote to the new encyclical *Mortalium animos,* where the Pope speaks in still more insistent terms of his zeal for unity and of his own position as the basis of it. For *Mortalium animos* is closely connected with the success of a practical project of his own which invites as close attention as the encyclical itself.

As he considered the more or less arbitrary separation with the East, he saw, as his utterances show, that much of it was due to misunderstanding and ignorance. He determined to find a body of men, learned in theology and liturgies, who would make a special

* This and other pronouncements in the same sense were cited by the present writer in an article called *Rome and Reunion* in the CONTEMPORARY of October, 1924.

† See *Osservatore Romano,* January 10th-11th, and January 26th, 1927.

and sympathetic study of Eastern rites and practices. In the Benedictine Order, which combined the contemplative life with learning, and which had a universal tradition of reverence for the integrity of liturgies and of due order in worship, he found the type of men for which he was looking. In a letter addressed to the Abbot Primate of the Benedictine Order, he instituted and blessed a company of Benedictines, to be known as the Monks of Union, who were to work exclusively in this direction. Cardinal Mercier was able to recommend as head Dom Lambert Beauduin, whom he knew well. This remarkable monk was one of the priests best known in Belgium as a man of courage and enterprise. He had been editor of a phenomenally successful liturgical review. During the war, he had been captured as a spy, and condemned to death, but he had been able to escape to the frontier. He was very dear to the heart of Cardinal Mercier, and had indeed, when Professor of Dogmatic Theology in Rome, sent to the Cardinal that sketch of a separate rite for England which the Cardinal communicated to Lord Halifax, and which was reported in *The Times*. Dom Lambert Beauduin gathered around him, first at Mont César, near Louvain, and then at Amay-sur-Meuse, between Liège and Namur (which with Schootenhof near Antwerp is the centre of this work) a company of monks skilled in liturgies. They decorated a chapel in the Russian style and there sang daily the Mass of St. Chrysostom in Greek, or in Russian. Visiting Russian clergy have declared that such worship is practically identical with that to which they have been accustomed. So far does the spirit of conciliation go that the *Filioque* is omitted from the creed, and Holy Communion is given to the laity in both kinds. The music is of those haunting cadences which Russian choirs have taught us to love. The monks, some of whom are either Russian themselves, or speak the language with perfect ease, grow hair and beard long in the style of Russian monks. A periodical, known as *Irenikon*, directed by Dom André de Lilienfeld, a nephew of the late Count Benckendorff, sums up the work done, amasses apposite documents and collects from every quarter the evidences of a conciliatory spirit.* Any controversial points are absolutely ignored. This review has already attained a phenomenal circulation, and is one of the most important religious reviews being published.

Every detail of this work is following the prescription of the Pope, and is being closely watched by the Vatican. It is natural that, in approaching the East, the Monks of Union should also refer to the West. Obviously they seek to encourage in England, or indeed anywhere in the West, those who strive to solve the

* *Irenikon*. Prieuré des Moines de l'Union, Amay-sur-Meuse. Annual subscription 10 belgas, or 6s. 6d. England. Mowbray.

problem of Christian unity by doctrinal agreement on the principles of faith and order. Obviously the Vatican desires them to be as generous to these in matters of national feeling as it is to Russians or Roumanians.

Who would deny that such a work answers the need of a crowded and pregnant epoch? In combining his wise counsels with a consideration for the position of others, Pope Pius XI joins a personal graciousness to a political service. He is seen as an apostle of conciliation whose words at all times, and not least when they are firmest, invite the sympathy of all who see in peace and mutual benefit the strength which proves itself richest in the promise of life and felicity, by seeking to manifest on earth the blessedness of its invisible reality, and this the more obviously because the two functions of conciliation are integral to one another. One cannot help Christian unity by cultivating national aggressiveness: one cannot assist the cause of peace better than by uniting Christendom. Whoever helps one of these causes helps the other. Whoever doubts one weakens the other. The Vatican views the two as one.

R. E. Gordon George.

GOLD AND STABILITY:

The Problem of our Currency.

IT is not without reason that Science has devoted to the problem of measurement the highest faculties of its votaries. Not one step can be made with confidence unless our powers of measurement are perfected to the last degree, and almost our first lesson in the laboratory is the meticulous care that is devoted to the weighing of each constituent, so that even the " dust in the balance " is not forgotten. For without this care in the minutest detail we could never have reached out our hands to the stars and measured their distance and dimensions, nor weighed worlds in the balance and deduced their constitution. The vaster the distance we have to measure the more minute and accurate have our measurements to be. But no less in our ordinary life does the art of measurement determine our happiness, or the reverse. It is one of the first duties of Government to assure the public of fair dealing by carefully preserved standards of weight and dimension, a duty no less important than that of upholding the sanctity of contract with all the majesty of the Law. We in England, suspicious of innovation, have clung with devotion to our system of weights and measures rather than disturb that sense of unchangingness that an established system gives. Yet incredible as it might seem to a visitor from another planet, the most important measurement of all, and one that affects the life, liberties and happiness of the people, even their birth and death, has been left to the vagaries of a metal, or metals, which are regarded by all who interest themselves in their production as among the most speculative ventures upon which it is possible to engage. It is to the unstable foundation of gold that we have committed our whole monetary system.

And how has that standard served us? An unstable standard is a contradiction in terms. It would be as valid to speak of a fluctuating inch or an adjustable ounce. The value of a measure must be its stability, whether it be a measure of value or a measure of length, and stability, it will be agreed, in the case of values can only be determined in reference to human needs. Scientists select the commonplace phenomena of freezing and boiling water as a basis for the measurement of temperature. Human needs have been tabulated by many economists in the form of index numbers of value, comprising grain, metals and all the numerous products of the soil that go to form the raw material of our lives. The number of these index numbers multiplies as their utility in following the course of trade is demonstrated, and the principles of tabulation have almost been raised to the level of a science. By these tests we can show how gold has served us.

In the last hundred years, without including the period of the Great War when prices moved without the control of gold, we have had five great changes in its value, each succeeding the other like tidal movements. From the year 1826 to the year 1850 there was a gradual rise in the purchasing power of gold owing to the progress of the world and the inadequacy of the metallic base to provide the means of exchange for the constantly increasing volume of production. The annual production of gold was rising, but still averaged only one-twentieth of what it is to-day. That was a time of national progress, but it was also a time of national distress. The producer was robbed of much of the fruit of his increased effort because there was no medium of exchange provided by which he could market his produce, and the " Hungry Forties " became a bye-word in British industrial history. Relief came after a fall in prices of 30 per cent. in twenty-four years with the discovery of gold in Australia and California. The metal poured into the market faster than it was needed and by 1873 gold had lost one-third of its value.

Once again the tide turned. The expanding needs of the world could not be met, and a third movement began which was not arrested until the year 1896, by which time gold had almost doubled its purchasing power. It is curious to note that at that period the demand for gilt-edged securities, which appeared to offer the safest refuge from the vicissitudes of industry in a period of falling values, brought their yield so low that Goschen was able to convert the National Debt to a 2½ per cent. basis, while the Bank of England discount rate remained at 2 per cent. for over a year. These were bad times for the farmer and the industrialists generally. Progress was not supported by any broadening of the credit base until a revolution took place in the production of gold itself with the discovery of the Cyanide process and the opening up of the South African mines, which to this day provide one-half of the world's requirements.

From that moment, with the accession of fresh supplies of gold to the market, our credit base began to broaden. In the next seventeen years prices rose 40 per cent., or nearly 2½ per cent. per annum. Industry was stimulated, the development of our Empire proceeded apace, and money flowed freely to open up the waste places of the earth. It was fortunate for us that it so happened because, when war broke out in 1914, we had command of supplies all over the world which gave Britain her greatest opportunity in the service of the Allies. And then, faithful to that standard though we had been, with occasional suspensions of the Bank Act of 1844 in response to financial crises, we on the outbreak of war, at the one psychological moment when it was more important than at any other time to keep control of values and prevent the onset of war extravagance, frankly abandoned it, locked our coffers, declined to honour our obligations in legal tender, and started to create new

ones uncontrolled by any standard whatever. Nor were we alone in this procedure. Germany, who had accumulated huge stocks of gold which were regarded apparently with a kind of superstitious reverence as a safeguard in time of war, promptly put these hoards under lock and key and abandoned herself to the most vicious principles of finance. Had the British Government passed Parliamentary legislation allowing the trader a licence to vary his weights and measures, we should not have acted less logically than we did, although the consequences would have been more apparent.

Few people have ever realised that the actual productive effort, which in conjunction with our great military effort won the Great War, was made during the War itself: that the inflation of values that appeared to be necessary during the War to stimulate patriotism operated only in favour of a limited class and not at all in favour of those less fortunate who risked all, including their lives; that the enormous expansion of credit encouraged private extravagance, and diverted energy into luxury trades which would far better have been brought under control. The control of our banking system by the Bank of England became wholly ineffective. In a little over four years we created per head of our population a legacy of debt unsurpassed in the history of humanity, with which we have loaded the backs of future generations still unborn, and which largely represents the illegitimate profits of inflation. Worse even than that, we have doubled this burden since the War by converting the debt to a gold basis, although incurred in a depreciated currency at a time of national distress when every individual was called upon for self-sacrifice and not self-aggrandisement. We saved the liberty of future generations, but are charging them a heavy price, and even our naval and military preparations are crippled to-day, while we are driven into entering into bargains with other nations as to our naval needs. How will these future generations thank us for imposing such a charge on them, if one day they themselves have to face a similar crisis against foes who will enter the conflict in some cases free from any burden whatever, and in no case with anything approximating to ours?

A standard that breaks down the moment that any pressure is put upon it is a snare and a delusion. Could we regard war as something unnatural to human society we could perhaps continue to live on such an illusory foundation, but alas! the truth is, that war and peace are as complementary to one another as life and death. The great illusion that in returning to the pre-war standard for the measurement of values we have ensured our future security is no longer tenable.

We may have imagined that we were on a gold standard in 1920 when values had risen to over three times the 1913 average, but, with the determination to get back to the gold standard, each year

has seen the severity of the pressure on industry increase, with falling prices for every product but no equivalent fall in taxation or the weight of debt, until values stand to-day at less than half those of 1920. The unsheltered industries, unable like the sheltered industries to pass on this burden to others, find one-third of their trade gone, as our export returns show when reduced to 1913 values.

So much for the gold standard. Its unreliability has proved ruinous to the community. According to Mr. Reginald McKenna,

> "History has shown that, apart perhaps from wars and religious intolerance, no single factor has been more productive of misery and misfortune than the high degree of variability in the general price level, ever since money became an important element in the life of civilised communities. A stable price level is a thing to be desired second only to international and domestic peace."

Its instability does not operate merely in one way. The parable of the unjust steward is much to the point here. "How much owest thou unto my Lord? And he said, An hundred measures of oil. And he said, Take thy bill, and sit down quickly and write fifty." A measure of values so variable that it can decree such changes in the quantity of produce exchangeable for a given debt is unjust to all. At one time, it may rob the widow and the orphan whose funds are invested in gold securities. At another time, it will pour illegitimate gains into the hands of the bondholder and mortgagee, to the detriment of industry and enterprise. There are industries in England to-day that have practically fallen into the hands of the banks. In every contract we enter into there is that one unstable term, and the movements of gold are not merely the secular movements that we have described. Economists have given much study to the recurring cycles of good and bad trade, rising and falling markets that take place within periods varying from two to ten years. We are beginning to realise that the automatic operation of gold in controlling values does not even operate consistently. The rise of prices is far advanced before the drain on the gold supply begins, partly because "future" markets may antedate it by many months and partly because of the tardier movement of retail values and wages. Again, it is only when the depth of depression is reached and values have fallen below their economic level that the supply of gold begins to accumulate and to institute another upward movement. And all these see-saws are an injury to trade. Certainly they create speculators and give occupation to merchants in insuring the community against the risks of market. But these risks have to be paid for in some form. Fluctuating demand means larger establishments and a greater proportion of idle plant or stocks, a higher ratio of unemployment and a greater levy on the community. But these are only a few of the minor ills due to the inadequacy of gold as a basis for the measurement of values.

Is it possible, then, to find a substitute for the metallic base or to

control it? The Federal Reserve Board of America, notwithstanding its nominal adherence to the gold standard, has pointed the way. That body, charged with the duty of controlling credit and "accommodating business and commerce" as directed by the Act that constituted it, found that the free supplies of gold were piling up in New York during 1921 till a stock of gold had accumulated which, if liberated, would have led to a new orgy of inflation, with the inevitable reaction to follow. Had the principle practised by the Bank of England of allowing this surplus of gold to operate automatically been adopted these consequences would certainly have ensued, for the Bank of England contents itself with holding no more gold than is needed as a reserve against its market liabilities, and, indeed, could not afford to hold a huge inert mass of gold. But the Federal Reserve Board took a broader view of its responsibility. The stability of the markets must rank first, even if it meant carrying large stocks of non-dividend-paying gold with all the expense of holding it. The gold that came into its possession was largely sterilised. In effect, gold was put out of commission and no more was used than would ensure stability of values. The weapons that were available to control credit remained unimpaired.

Experience showed that a central bank can powerfully extend or contract credit by varying the proportion of its earning assets. The purchase of securities sets free a corresponding amount of gold (or credit) and extends the base on which the operations of all the dependent banks are founded. Its effect is proportionate throughout the whole banking system and thence throughout the whole community, for every extension of credit as between a Reserve Bank and a Member Bank goes to create loans and deposits of eight or nine times the amount. In like manner the sale of securities by a central Bank calls in gold (or credit) and contracts the base in similar proportion. The Federal Reserve Board functions primarily in the interests of the public and not for the profits to be derived from releasing gold. Thus their operations have not been strictly conditioned by the ebb and flow of the metal as are our own. We are content to work with a minimum stock which makes us most susceptible to the influences of the open market.

The system described can, no doubt, be continued in the interests of the whole world but it needs the common consent of all the nations that are party to the gold standard to prevent international jealousies exposing the market to undue demands. It is a matter of world importance to maintain stability of values by the regulation of the gold supply, but the question is rendered more difficult with each fresh accession to the ranks of gold standard countries, which now include India, a country whose appetite for gold is insatiable. That is the most serious aspect of the problem. If we are to control the value of gold, how shall we proceed when the

supply becomes inadequate to the progress of civilisation, as Professor Cassel and other experts warn us? The industrial condition of this country has been bad enough since the War. A continuance of falling prices would still further aggravate our debts and add to our difficulties.

After all, gold is only the means to an end. Even its firmest adherents accept it only for its supposed stability of values, deceived perhaps by the elementary fact that a sovereign will always buy a sovereign's-worth of gold. Are we sure that we can always control the value of gold as the Federal Reserve Board has done? America failed to control the value of silver under the Pittman Act, and the value of a metal depends primarily on its cost of production. If some brilliant discovery in the realm of science should enable us to produce gold at one-tenth of its purchasing power our markets would quickly be swamped with the metal and it would promptly descend in value till it had lost nine-tenths of its purchasing power; or alternatively, if the exhaustion of the South African mines should leave us with no other source of production to take their place, we should be faced with a famine in gold which would be calamitous to everyone and bring untold suffering to industry and commerce.

If gold is to be retained as an element in our banking system it must be retained as a limited monarch only, as the servant and no longer the autocrat of the markets. It may still prove useful for the settlement of international debts where produce is not available.

If the nations will rally round the Federal Reserve Board in accepting the control of credit in the interest of stability and in strict correspondence with the needs of business and commerce, and if they will abandon the present unrestricted chase for gold, we shall have made the first step to a scientific control of values. As it is, the United States has command of the situation since it holds one-half of the world's supply, a stock of gold exceeding £900,000,000, more than the whole production of the Transvaal since the inception of the industry there. What a monument of wasted labour raised from the ground only to be buried again! It will be an easy second step to the adoption of a common international standard of values by which the world's credit needs can be regulated. We have already advanced rapidly on the road of credit control by the creation of Central Banks responsible to the Governments of all the principal countries. A link is needed that will give them all a common policy, not a mutually conflicting one, where the operation of each tends to damage his neighbour.

A currency basis which will resist the encroachments of time is a vital necessity and is surely not in the realm of dreams or beyond the hope of agreement among nations who have so readily consented to less vital changes in the interest of humanity.

F. WIGGLESWORTH.

POLISH MESSIANISM: SOME IMPRESSIONS.

IT has been the writer's privilege to develop during the last two years (very largely through the enthusiasm and the generosity of his *confrère* Professor Lutoslawski of the University of Wilno) a working acquaintance with that remarkable spiritual phenomenon which is termed Polish Messianism. It has to-day an international significance transcending altogether its old romantic and inspirational interest for the divided and distracted Poland of the last century. It has a new meaning, too, for the New Poland that we know to-day—or that we still fail to know, after having helped to recreate and to reconstitute it.

I had previously come across Polish Messianism as an integral factor in modern Polish history, and had talked about it with at least one other Polish scholar, and with some of the invaluable secretaries of the European branch of the American Y.M.C.A. It has always made a powerful appeal to me, with my conviction of the necessity of a strong and independent Poland to the peace of Europe. It appeals, too, to my sense of that spiritual reconstruction of Europe from within that, despite contrary appearances, I believe to be taking place.

In its origin Polish Messianism arose, as many know and ought to know, " out of a suffering nation's self-introspection." After the downfall of Poland, " its poets and thinkers devoted their talents " almost exclusively to the service of their country. In its wrongs and sufferings they found inspiration for their greatest literary creations. They saw an analogy between their country's sufferings and those of Christ. " As the Saviour had died and suffered and perished for the redemption of the human race, so Poland had suffered and perished for the redemption of other nations."*

> Michiewicz, Slowacki, Krasinski, the three great leaders of the romantic movement in Polish literature, all necessarily traversed the path from literature through nationality to religion. In his Chair of Slavonic at the Sorbonne and in his celebrated lectures on the Slavs, Mickiewicz dwelt again and again on the historic mission fulfilled by Poland as the outpost of Latin civilisation. He put this in as strong a relief as he could by emphasising the contrast between Poland and the Russian Empire, with its Byzantine creed and its Oriental despotism, and its barbarism of destruction in every new phase of existence. Krasinski again, in his poem called " Dawn," makes the ghostly figure of one of Poland's greatest warriors explain to the men of to-day the meaning of Poland's past as foreshadowing, by ages of chivalrous defence of Europe, the greatness of an even higher love in international relations of a truly Christian Europe of the future. And even the faults of the old Poland, which brought on its downfall, are blessed by him as having opened a road through purification by suffering towards dignity and leadership by the Polish nation in the world of modern times. Slowacki, in his poem of " Cordian," makes his hero throw himself from the summit of Mont Blanc on a drifting cloud towards Poland, thereby showing his vivid sense of the unreality of all the literary and political activities in exile, the necessity of contact with the oppressed country itself, and the living bulk of the nation which remains on that soil. In another poem he shows his grasp of essentials by strongly insisting on the idea of the people, the real mass of the nation as it is, being the only possible factor in political salvation.*

* Rev. J. P. Wachowski in *Poland*. N.Y. July, 1925.

I append to this preliminary information a somewhat more specific and challenging statement of Messianism by Professor Lutoslawski —its self-appointed, present-day apostle. On account of its outspoken acceptance of the reincarnationist hypothesis and its application of this to the great fact in the life of men that we call nationality, and on account of its confident dogmatism, it constitutes as striking and significant a pronouncement as is to be met with in contemporary literature. The reader will see in it further evidence of that endeavour to find a " reason for the national calamity that led the Messianists into the realms of metaphysics and religion." Professor Lutoslawski, of course, has also done much in the way of lectures both inside his own country and outside (particularly in England and America), to acquaint the world with the facts of the mediating and conserving influence of Polish national feeling in the evolution of the intellectual and spiritual life of modern Europe. Several important pamphlets and lectures of his have been published in Paris (in English and French) under the auspices of the Polish Commission of Work preparatory to the Conference of Peace.† I have read these, and I heard, too, many of Professor Lutoslawski's talks to intimate circles. He makes the idea of the national mission of a country one that is intimately bound up with the notion of personality itself.

The Professor sends the following communication for the purpose of this article:

" In the general development of a philosophy of being, Polish Messianism may be considered as a conciliation of French spiritualism with mysticism. Spiritualism is based on the personal discovery of the soul, mysticism on the experimental knowledge of God. The central notion of Messianism is the nation which is between the individual soul and God. A nation is a group of souls bound by the national consciousness of a mission to be fulfilled for the benefit of mankind. This national consciousness may best be explained as the full growth of a pure disinterested friendship

* Dybeski. *History of Polish Literature.*

† *e.g., Bolshevism in Poland; Lithuania and White Russia; The Polish Nation; The Ruthenian Question in Galicia; Danzig and East Prussia.*

between souls of one kind, having a common aim. This becomes their national mission. A nation exists spiritually, and is different from a State or a people. Usually a nation has been formed through the assimilation of many different ethnographic elements. This purely spiritual conception applies not only to the Polish nation, but to the few true nations of Europe. These other nations, not having undergone the trial of the Partitions, have had less opportunity than the Poles of having become aware of their national consciousness.

"If nationality means having a providential mission inspired by the Creator, the nation is the highest metaphysical reality. And if participation in national life is the safest way of revelation to each individual, the discovery of the reality of nations is the most important metaphysical discovery after the discovery of the soul (which gave the foundation to French spiritualism, from Descartes to Maine de Biran and Renouvier) and after the discovery of God (peculiar to the mystics of all ages and peoples). **Thus Messianism, being intermediate between spiritualism and mysticism, is the highest and last link in the chain of mental experiences or successive attempts to** grasp and explain the real. Messianism leads, if universally accepted, to the crystallisation of the numberless varieties of ethnographic units into a limited number of true nations. These will be as the organs of the body, and lasting and definite organs of mankind. The members of a nation have a common aim, a mission which unites them into a spiritual whole. A nation is a simple reality which must be understood by itself. It cannot be defined, just as we cannot define simple colours or the most general ideas of being, relation, space, time, spirit.

"The nation as the aim of an individual's life is a final aim, and therefore the individual awakened to a national consciousness does not seek his eternal happiness in another life totally different from his life on earth. *He will live again in these earthly conditions in which he began to love his nation.* Therefore reincarnation is a dogma of Polish Messianism. Every soul reincarnates to fulfil the mission of the nation. This Polish doctrine is different from the Hindu and the Greek doctrine.

"Christianity has up till now converted only individuals, and has not yet been introduced into the social and political life of nations. It is the mission of the Polish nation to give the example for the conversion to Christianity of a whole nation, proving its faith by transforming social and political relations according to Christian ideals. Thus Poland should become a saviour of nations by suffering crucifixion and resurrection."

And now, for a somewhat more Christian and humanitarian version of Messianism than the exaggerated and confidently dogmatic

one just given, I turn to the account by a Polish ecclesiastic of the *Our Father* of Cieskowski, the Polish philosopher, politician and social reformer, who died in 1895. This work has been recently translated by Mr. W. J. Rose, a Canadian (Rhodes-Scholar) Oxford graduate, who has been living in Poland since the war, and has devoted a large portion of his life to that fascinating country.* It has been acclaimed both inside and outside Poland as a "masterpiece of Polish literature," the "epilogue to that great Polish national philosophy of which Mickiewicz, Krasinski and Slowacki were the most ardent exponents and the foremost representatives." It came out in parts from 1899 to 1904, as its author did not consider the time ripe for its publication during his life. Professor Lutoslawski speaks of it as one of the two works that unfold Messianism for the English reader, the other being (in his opinion) his own *World of Souls*.

> The *Our Father* of Cieskowski is nothing else but a Christian philosophy of history, the advocacy of the Christian command to "love thy neighbour as thyself," instead of the godless and bestial law of might is right. Cieskowski proclaims the necessity of a new order of things, the Kingdom of God on earth the ultimate aim of mankind. He sees two epochs in the history of mankind—the period before Christ, the ancient pagan world which developed law, and the period after Christ, the Christian period which created morality. . . . These two epochs, Cieskowski thinks, have already passed. A new era is coming in the near future, the Third Estate. It will bring about a harmony of the two former epochs, the epoch of the Holy Ghost. In it humanity will enter into the temple of the true spirit and attain its ultimate goal. There is a remedy for human ills. What is it and where does it lie? Cieskowski sees it in the Lord's Prayer. The "Our Father" contains all that mankind needs to accomplish its end, to attain the Kingdom of God—a thought which has not yet been sufficiently understood by mankind. Its every petition has been, or shall be, fulfilled in a definite period of history. It is a universal prayer for all Christendom for the general welfare of mankind, which is the Kingdom of God.
>
> In this third epoch Cieskowski thinks the Slavs are destined to play the most important rôle. What fits these people for such a work? Their inborn tendency and customs, their primitive laws and traditions, their preparation of suffering and service. These people have everywhere preferred to gather the fruit of their own ground, rather than to enrich themselves through labours of others. For it is their destiny to change Christian charity—up to this time a private virtue—into a public practice, and having raised it to transmit it from nation to nation.

Now the greatest thing in the foregoing (abbreviated) story is undoubtedly the suggestion and the development of the spiritual, or the Christian, conception of nationality, and along with this the interpretation of Christianity, or the Christian law of remedial

* Published in the Student Christian Movement Series.

suffering and sacrifice, as the law of the life of nations, as well as that of the life of the individual. The next thing to affect profoundly the life of humanity (as does aerial navigation, for instance, or the thought of the possibility of another war) will be the assertion somehow of the spirit of a practical Christianity, the conversion of our hitherto limited, halting charity (the mere " private charity " of Cieskowski) into the charity of a public practice, into a stable and persistent goodwill to all. A necessary step, or ingredient, in this transition will be the apprehension on the part of each national group of its fate at any given moment, and its future destiny, in the spirit of Polish Messianism, in the light of the suffering it has had to undergo, the sacrifice it has still to make for its own failings and for the good of the world. And the time has certainly come when we must all, nations as well as individuals, believe in the Kingdom of God, in its Messianic coming, in the " third period " of world-organisation of which not only the Messianists but philosophers, poets, social reformers and others have long been thinking.

Another highly important thing in Polish Messianism is the intimate association that it implies between nationality and personality. That is a thing which, without falling into the excess of any unduly exalted nationalism, we must all, I am convinced, take to heart to-day, in the matter of the needed social reconstruction of the times. No man can express himself without expressing something of the national group to which he belongs. And the path to internationalism lies, after all, through the door of a sane and a constructive nationalism. Professor Lutoslawski, however, in his dogmatic presentation of nationality as the highest metaphysical reality, as even the " link between the individual soul and God," is surely going beyond the bounds of all philosophy and all Christianity and all commonsense. In every so-called political, or national, entity, there are individuals, and " minorities," whose spiritual relations are by no means exhausted by political and territorial considerations. And the Christ Himself, as we know, chose the Cross and the wider Kingdom, instead of the nationalist and so-called Messianic aims to which His own followers would have confined Him. But all this, as has been indicated, is allowed for in the wider nationalism and humanitarianism into which Polish Messianism itself has developed.

As for the Polish people to-day and Messianism, it must be definitely borne in mind that the one thing upon which most of its intelligent representatives insist is that Poland shall no longer be thought of merely in the terms of the Romanticism of the thirties and forties of the last century, but rather in those of the necessities of the present—of the necessary education of her millions of enfranchised peasants, of that co-operation with the other free peoples of Europe of which she stands in need. Nothing but a participation in the common work and the common sacrifice would they claim for Poland, although convinced of the injustice that Russia and Prussia continued to inflict upon her throughout the nineteenth century, in addition to the previous injustice and cruelty of the Partitions. As students of Romanticism are perfectly well aware, it is not only the Poles who have dreamed of a Messianic mission for their country and who have advanced from a particularistic and unduly self-conscious nationalism to broader and more ethical conceptions, to a conception of the life of every people in the light of the development of mankind as a whole. At the same time we should none of us be blind to-day to the fact of the unique part that is being played in the economy of Europe by the Poles and the other Slav peoples of Central Europe, owing to their very position between a turbulent and menacing Russia and a Germany, many of whose nationalists have not yet divested themselves of the old ambitions—the *Drang nach Osten* among them.

If Poland were, through some cataclysm or other, or through our failure to live up to the spirit and the letter of Locarno, to disappear as a united entity from the map of Europe, the loss to the world in the matter of all the higher ideals of civilisation would be simply irreparable, as George Brandes notices in one of his chapters upon the Poles. And particularly to-day, in the matter of the right kind of approach to Russia, is Poland of the utmost importance to us all. Chicherin was reported to have said, not long ago, that " we Russians " must be " extremely careful as to how we treat the Poles, for no one can harm us save through Poland." It is at least equally true for the rest of us that we cannot approach Russia in the right way, in the well-wishing way of this " third stage " of world-organisation upon which we have definitely entered, save through the co-operation of the Polish people. All British trade, for example, and much Western European trade with Russia, should be by way of Poland. And if Poland and Czecho-slovakia can continue to content and to stimulate their peasants and their workers, as they are doing, by the right kind of land legislation and the right kind of social legislation (the " Green Revolution " is one of the big things of the day), we shall have in Central Europe the best kind of constructive influence against the destructive tendencies of Bolshevism and the Third International.

But there can be nothing of this anywhere—at least for long—without the spiritual ideals of Messianism of the right kind, i.e., developed or international Messianism. This, of course, is the Christianity or the prophecy of the *Our Father* of Cieskowski—of the original " Peace on earth, goodwill towards men." And we thus

owe a debt indeed to Poland for her Messianist idea of the application of Christian love, not merely to individuals but to nations and national groups—all serving in their way the cause of internationalism.

I have heard Professor Lutoslawski talk of Polish Catholicism (according to some, " the purest form " of Catholicism in Europe) as having in it the power to bring together not only Greek Catholicism and Roman Catholicism but also Catholicism and Protestantism. To effectuate anything of this mediating work, however, Poland would, I think, have to travel still further along the road of an increasingly free and truly responsible development of the life of the individual. Marshal Pilsudski, in an interview I was privileged to have with him last summer, made some interesting remarks in this connection. " As a people," he said, " we are indeed highly individualised, and yet we are not somehow sufficiently individualised." He went on to contrast the greater strength and reliability of the average Englishman with the seeming fickleness of his Polish brother.

Having travelled in Poland a good deal, I am glad to testify to the working of social and educative influences that are of value in this matter of the development of initiative and co-operative citizenship. I am referring to such things as the practical and the village development work of some of the more wide-awake clergy (they have splendid clerical precedents for this), the citizen-making project of the Ministry of Education as revealed in its publications, and the magnificent, stimulating, all-round manhood ideal of the American Y.M.C.A. workers in Poland and of their Polish sympathisers. It is development of this kind, with the encouragement that England and America can give (and the Americans have a big lead here), that will enable the Polish people to work out the spiritual ideals of their country and its great writers. It is, indeed, a thing of which any country may well be proud, that its men of letters have had such a national and such an inspirational interest as Poland's greatest writers have undoubtedly had. As Professor Dybeski remarks : " Literature has saved the Polish nation in the nineteenth century. It may be called to do its share towards saving European civilisation in the twentieth."

W. CALDWELL.

THE LITERARY HOAX.

THE literary hoax is not a modern invention. To trace its history is beyond the scope of the present paper, but an instance or two may be given of its early existence.

Joseph Scaliger (1540-1609) was by far the most renowned classical scholar of his day, and naturally was prejudiced in favour of classical studies. Muretus, probably envious of his fame, sent him " some verses which he pretended were copied from an old MS. . . . He (Scaliger) quoted them in his commentary on Varro *De Re Rustica* as one of the most precious fragments of antiquity." Then Muretus published the facts, to the confusion of his rival.

A similar case, also mentioned by Disraeli in his *Curiosities,* is that of the Abbé Regnier Demarais, who flourished in the eighteenth century. He wrote an ode which he sent to the Abbé Strozzi, who used it to impose on the Della Crusca Academy : pretending that the librarian of the Vatican had found it between two accidentally glued pages of a Petrarch MS. in the Vatican. When the deception was made known, the Abbé Regnier was elected to the Academy, " as an honourable testimony to his ingenuity " :—a proceeding which seems to invite similar feats of dubious honesty.

It is not altogether easy to draw the line between a hoax and a forgery. Perhaps we might put it that the former is not intended to deceive permanently, and that an element of fun should be present, even if it is sometimes mischievous fun. If there is none, the hoax loses its savour and becomes difficult to justify. If its object is to cause pain it stands self-condemned. Hoaxes have their dangers. They may be read carelessly and taken as fact. In order to satirise the public taste for gruesome crimes, Mark Twain once wrote in a newspaper a skit about an imaginary murder, purposely larded with grossly impossible details ; but these were skipped or ignored, and this absurd story taken for gospel. A still better instance, inasmuch as a wider circle was deceived and for a longer time, is that of the so-called *Armada Mercuries.*

Towards the end of the eighteenth century Mr. George Chalmers, the antiquarian, found in the British Museum amongst the papers of Thomas Birch (d. 1766) some copies of a newspaper, *The English Mercurie,* of the year 1588. He accepted them as genuine and published his discovery : Isaac Disraeli, confiding in his accuracy, gave details of them in his *Curiosities of Literature,* and it was not till he published his twelfth edition in 1841 that he was able to announce that the celebrated " Mercuries " were a forgery, as had been discovered by Mr. Thomas Watts. For fifty years historians and writers of text-books had been repeating Chalmers' blunder ; from which Disraeli draws the oft-needed inference " that multiplied

authorities add no strength to evidence, when all are to be traced to a single source." Disraeli conjectures that the paper was a *jeu-d'esprit* of Birch's in conjunction with the Yorkes (Lord Hardwicke). It is now known that the author was Lord Hardwicke only, who wrote to Birch, " I amused myself by throwing some of the more public occurrences relating to it (the Armada) into the form of a newspaper. . . . I would have the thing remain a secret between us two."

That he had no intention of deceiving the public permanently may be inferred from his writing in reference to another of his skits, " When a due interval of time has elapsed the truth may be known; the elusion vanishes; it is a masquerade which is closed."*

Again, a hoax which at the time of its publication is recognised as one may in the next generation be taken as a genuine document. The following is an example. In 1633 Prynne published his *Histriomastix,* a virulent attack on the stage. In 1649 was issued a tract entitled *Mr. Wm. Prynne his defence of Stage Playes; or a Retractation of a former Book of his called Histriomastix,* written " when I had not so clear a light as I now have." Until the accidental discovery of a handbill in which Prynne disclaims the pamphlet, it passed as genuine, and would have permanently misrepresented his attitude to the stage.

The inference is discouraging to the historian. There can be little doubt that reputations have been ruined and facts misrepresented by writings intended as jokes or satires, the origin of which has in course of time been forgotten.

The eighteenth century provides numerous examples of these " flim-flams," as they were then sometimes called; other synonyms were *bubble, hum, catch, bite* and *slam*: the existence of so many furnishes a proof of their prevalence. In 1702 Defoe published his pamphlet, *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters,* advocating the severest measures against them, on the lines of Louis XIV's treatment of the Protestants. It was welcomed by the High Churchmen; one clergyman declaring it to be next to the Bible. The Dissenters were naturally furious. But when it was discovered that the author, a Dissenter, had written it as a satire to ridicule those who were persecuting his co-religionists, the anger of the Church party knew no bounds. The House of Commons ordered the book to be burnt, and Defoe was prosecuted for libelling the Church and was condemned to stand in the pillory and suffer two years' imprisonment.

The history of another of Defoe's supposed hoaxes is very curious. In 1706 appeared *The True Relation of the Apparition of Mrs. Veal, etc.* Scott and most of the later critics praise it as a good

* The matter is dealt with fully by Mr. D. T. B. Wood in the *Nineteenth Century* for February, 1914, and by Mr. P. C. Yorke in his *Life of Lord Hardwicke.*

example of Defoe's power of making fiction appear fact. As the book happened to recommend Drelincourt's *A Christian's Defence against the Fear of Death,* and greatly increased its popularity, the critics concluded that Defoe's object was to enhance its sale. But Mr. G. A. Aitken* proves to his satisfaction that the whole narrative is strictly true. He shows that the persons mentioned by Defoe were actual individuals, and that the story of the apparition was told by Mrs. Bargrave to several friends. This being so, it is possible that it led Defoe to resolve that if his fact were taken as fiction he would try if fiction would be accepted as fact. At all events, *Robinson Crusoe* was put forward as a true narrative. In the preface to the 4th edition, 1719, the Editor states that he " believes the thing to be a just History of Fact: neither is there any Appearance of Fiction in it. . . . All the Endeavours of Envious People to reproach it with being a Romance . . . have proved abortive, and as impotent as malicious."

But, oddly enough, in the preface to the 2nd edition of the 2nd part, published in the same year (1719), the Editor contradicts his statement flatly. " The religious and useful Inferences drawn from every Part . . . must legitimate all the Part that may be called Invention or Parable in the Story." So if it had been Defoe's original intention to hoax the public he certainly abandoned the idea later.

Swift was a past-master in the art of hoaxing the public. His best-known victim was the unfortunate Partridge, author and proprietor of *Partridge's Almanac* and other publications. Swift thought them objectionable, and their astrological predictions absurd; so in derision he published *Predictions for the year* 1708, *by Isaac Bickerstaff,* in which he foretold the death of Partridge on the 29th March. On the 30th March Swift published a letter to a Lord purporting to come from a Revenue Officer, describing Partridge's last hours and death as predicted. An Elegy and an Epitaph were subjoined. The unhappy almanac-maker was naturally furious, and brought out a pamphlet to prove that he was alive, giving " a true and impartial account of the proceedings of Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq., against me." This was countered by Swift in " A Vindication of Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq." in which he proves Partridge to be dead in spite of his denial, by such arguments as that no man alive could have written such stuff as his Almanac. So much ridicule was excited by this duel that Partridge ceased to publish his Almanac.

In the meantime Steele had started *The Tatler* (1709), where he appropriated the name of Isaac Bickerstaff, which was familiar to everybody. Swift seems to have made no

* *Nineteenth Century,* January, 1895.

objection. For reasons not too clear Steele ended the career of his paper suddenly in 1711, confessing in the last number that he was Bickerstaff. In 1714 Partridge seems to have thought that the controversy was sufficiently forgotten for him to recommence the publication of his Almanac. In a letter in his first number he certainly scored by pointing out that after Bickerstaff had reported him dead he had at all events outlived him: alluding of course to the demise of the *Tatler*. Anticipating further annoyance, he writes (1715): "It is very probable that the beggarly knavish Crew will be this year also printing *Prophecies and Predictions* in my name, to cheat the country as they used to do." But so far as Swift was concerned his fears proved groundless.

Not that Swift's partiality for these "flim-flams" abated; he even indulged it at his own expense. Writing to Gay in 1730 from Dublin he remarks: "The scrub libel printed against me here and reprinted in London, for which he (Mr. Caesar) showed a kind concern to a friend of us both, was written by myself." But he did not have it all his own way, and his enemies often paid him back in his own coin. About 1715 there was published a volume of *Essays, Divine, Moral and Political, by the author of a Tale of a Tub,* which was simply a parody of works by Swift, the authorship of which had at various times crept out.* This sort of thing was the penalty the Dean paid for his practice of publishing anonymously. He confesses in a letter that of all his voluminous writings he had only published one under his own name: the natural consequence was that he was credited with numerous pamphlets and verses of which he was guiltless. There is small doubt that he was not responsible for several of the most objectionable productions attributed to him.

Swift's account of the illness and death of Partridge no doubt suggested Pope's pamphlet, *The Phrenzy of John Dennis*. This was condemned by Addison; and Whitworth Elwin, the Editor of the monumental edition of Pope, calls it coarse and dull, as indeed it is. Still later Smollett wrote a pamphlet modelled after Pope's unworthy effort, entitling it *A Faithful Narrative of the Base and inhuman Arts that were late practised upon the Brain of Habbakuk Hilding, Justice, Dealer and Chapman, etc.* This was an attack on Fielding, who had alluded to Smollett in *The Covent Garden Journal*. But perhaps such efforts merit the name of skits or squibs rather than hoaxes.

An instance may be mentioned to show how prevalent was the practice of deceiving the public. Lady Craven, writing from Vienna about 1786, mentions Lady Mary Wortley Montague's letters; stating that "Lady Bute told me that Horace Walpole and two other

* Craik's *Life of Swift*.

wits joined to divert themselves at the expense of the credulity of the public by composing these letters"; and Lady Craven makes no bones of asserting her belief in the statement.* She would hardly have been so ready to accept such gossip as fact had not the perpetration of similar skits been no uncommon event.

Goldsmith gives an amusing example of a genuine hoax at the expense of Pope. The poet read his *Rape of the Lock* to Swift before it was completed; Dr. Parnell hanging about the room unnoticed. But he was listening, and his prodigious memory enabled him to remember the description of the toilet pretty exactly. "This he versified . . . and the next day, when Pope was reading his poem to some friends, Parnell insisted that he had stolen that part of the description from an old monkish MS. An old paper with the Latin verses was soon brought forth, and it was not till some time after that Pope was delivered from the confusion which it at first produced."†

Burke's *Vindication of Natural Society* (1756) was said to have been written for a wager to pass as the work of Bolingbroke. It was published anonymously as "by a late Noble writer," which Burke certainly was not. Written in imitation of Bolingbroke's style and philosophy, it long passed as his; even such a critic as Warburton believed it to be a genuine work.

It has been suggested that Chatterton's forgeries should rather be regarded as hoaxes. Possibly he intended when he had gained the public ear to confess the deception, in the same way that Horace Walpole in the 2nd edition of his *Castle of Otranto* owned that his original statement as to its foreign origin was untrue. Scott and many other authors have confessed to deceiving their readers in a similar manner.

William Beckford, the author of *Vathek*, as a youth of seventeen, was much amused by hearing the old housekeeper at Fonthill make "howlers" when exhibiting the pictures to visitors. In pure high spirits he composed *Biographical Memoirs of Extraordinary Painters* (1780) and had it printed; the housekeeper innocently adopting it as her text-book. Imaginary painters and their wives were foisted on the sight-seers, who learnt for the first time that Og of Basan was an artist. Other unknown celebrities were Herr Sucrewasser of Vienna, Blunderbussiana of Venice, Watersouchy of Amsterdam, etc., to whom were attributed canvasses of Rubens and Murillo. The author used to listen unobserved until he "was ready to kill myself with laughter." But the book was not altogether a joke: Lockhart saw in it "the results of already extensive observation, and the judgments of a refined . . . taste."‡

* G. Paston, *Little Memoirs of the Eighteenth Century*, p. 153.
† Goldsmith's *Life* of Dr. Parnell.
‡ Lewis Melville, *Some Eccentrics*.

Scott was victimised more than once. He writes of a letter from the *Detector* which " proved me guilty of stealing a passage from one of Vida's Latin poems which I had never seen or heard of," viz :

When pain and anguish wring the brow
A ministering angel thou!

A reference was given to Vida, *Ad Eranen.* El. II. V. 21.

Cum dolor atque supercilio gravis imminet angor,
Fungeris angelico sola ministerio!

However, it was found on examination that there are no such lines and no such poem in Vida.*

When Scott was at the height of his fame, a German, G. W. Häring, who wagered he " could produce a novel which would be accepted as a genuine Waverley," published at Leipzig in 1824 the romance of *Walladmor* as an actual translation from Sir Walter Scott. De Quincey seems to have been taken in ; and after writing an article on it undertook to translate it for the publishers of the *London Magazine;* but found it so full of " atrocious absurdities " that he gave up translating, and published a version of his own, dedicating it to the German translator. Thus, " without any original intention of doing so " he perpetrated a second hoax ; his version purporting to be a translation of *Walladmor* which pretended to be a translation of a non-existent work. Scott alludes to it without animosity in his introduction to *The Betrothed* (1825).

Scott himself is not innocent of attempting to deceive his readers. The " advertisement " to *Rob Roy* (1817) states that " the story in outline was sent him by an unknown correspondent, whom he formally thanks." But in the preface to the edition of 1829 he owns that " the communication alluded to is entirely imaginary." Again, Lockhart relates that originally *The Fortunes of Nigel* was to have taken the form of a series of *Private Letters,* supposed to have been discovered in the repositories of a Noble English Family. Scott printed them as he wrote them, and in the margin placed a commentary of notes, drawn up in the character of a Radical chaplain. But being told that he was throwing away the materials of a romance he acknowledged his mistake. " You were all quite right : if the letters had passed for genuine they would have found favour only with a few musty antiquaries, and if the joke were detected, there was not enough story to carry it off."

Lovers of Lamb will not be surprised to find that he indulged in the sport of " leg-pulling," not only in his letters but in his published work. Thus he writes to Miss Hutchinson (20th Jan., 1825) : " But did you read the *Memoir of Liston?*—and did you guess whose it was? Of all the lies I ever put off, I value this the most. It is from top to toe, every paragraph, Pure Invention, and has passed

* Lockhart's *Life.*

for gospel : has been republished in newspapers, and in the penny playbills of the night, as an authentic account." One cannot help wondering whether Liston's relatives saw the joke in the same light as the writer.

Hood once paid him off in his own coin. When editing *The Gem* (1829), Hood published an essay called *The Widow,* written in Lamb's style and with his name attached. Lamb then wrote to Hood : " Dear Lamb,—You are an impudent varlet, but I will keep your secret," etc., and signed it " T. Hood, Esq."

But good-tempered as he proved himself when he was a victim, he was roused to fury when a friend's interests were in question. In 1819 J. Hamilton Reynolds had published a *Peter Bell* in imitation of Wordsworth, and had asserted " I do affirm that I am the *real* Simon Pure." Lamb's indignation knew no bounds, and he wrote to Wordsworth in a rage : " Is there no law against these rascals? I would have this Lambert Simnel whipt at the cart's tail. Then there is Rogers! He has been re-writing your Poem of the Strid, and publishing it at the end of his ' Human Life.' Tie him up to the cart, hangman, while you are about it."

The early part of the nineteenth century might be called the era of the practical joke ; which, when it took a literary form, was perhaps less reprehensible than in its other manifestations. Wm. Maginn was a past-master in the art. He was a highly educated man with a gift for turning ballads, epitaphs, etc., into Latin or Greek. In his *Miscellanies* he writes : " I translated a song by Wm. Glass the other day, and I passed it on the Baillie, a man of letters, you know, for Tibullus." His propensity landed him in an awkward situation. Wishing to introduce himself to Blackwood he " called at the shop in Princes Street, and just as I was going in I recollected that poor Dowden and Jennings, and one or two more in whose names I had written squibs for the magazine, were after writing very wicked notes to Blackwood, demanding the author's address." The publisher evidently did not think very seriously of the offence, for Maginn became a frequent contributor.

Francis Mahony (Father Prout) of *Fraser's Magazine* was another of the irrepressible freelances whose high spirits often led them into perpetrating hoaxes which would now be condemned. Wolfe's *Burial of Sir John Moore* was published anonymously and was popularly attributed to Byron. " For many years," writes Sir Edward Cook, " the piece was claimed, as Mr. Henley said, by liar after liar in succession. Father Prout wickedly added to the confusion by publishing a clever French translation, which he pretended to regard as the original of Wolfe's piece." He also translated some of Moore's poems—" Go where glory waits thee " and others—into French, and then asserted that Moore had merely trans-

lated the originals and passed them off as his own. He published the French versions side by side with Moore's to prove his case; even stating that he had supplied Moore with the originals at his request, and that Moore had laughingly said to him :

The best of all ways
To lengthen our lays
Is to steal a few thoughts from the French, my dear.*

Impudence could surely go no further.

The Rev. R. H. Barham of the *Ingoldsby Legends,* in a letter of 1st March, 1837, tells the story of Sydney Smith's sending to Archdeacon Singleton his pamphlet of the Synod of Dort. " He did not take in the Bishop (of Llandaff), who hit upon the forgery at first sight. The name of Vorstius alone fixed the chronology and detected the imposition, which, after all, is the funniest I have seen. I am told that the pamphlet has had a great effect upon the Commissioners, and that he will carry his point as to the patronage."†

Prosper Merimée's productions stand on the border line between forgery and hoax. In 1825 he published the *Dramatic Works* of a Spanish lady, Clara Gazul, with a preface stating how the supposed translator, one Joseph L'Estrange, had met the gifted poetess at Gibraltar. " The lady was non-existent in spite of a detailed biography; though a Spanish critic declared that though the translation was good it was inferior to the original. Two years later Merimée took in Sir John Bowring, Poushkin and others with a faked translation from the Illyrian of a supposititious Hyacinthe Maglanovich." Fortunately Merimée's fame does not rest on these fabrications.

In recent years the taste for this kind of literary practical joke has declined. Moreover, the public is not so easily gulled, and literary detectives are keener. There are specialists in every department of literature, and there would be no chance now of an Ireland or a Chatterton imposing on the public. Still, human credulity is almost unlimited, and scarcely any claim unblushingly made but will find some champions. To give one instance out of many : George Eliot had great difficulty in proving that *Adam Bede* was her own work (it was published anonymously), as it was claimed by a certain J. Liggins, who was also credited with *Scenes of Clerical Life.* The Rector of Kirkby la Thorpe boldly upheld Liggins' claim. But such cases are scarcely hoaxes, though near relations.

Mr. H. Belloc sometimes amuses himself by experiments to show the ignorance of some editors. When a certain paper asked for

* Walsh, *Handy Book of Literary Curiosities.*
† W. B. Scoones, *Four Centuries of English Letters.*

Favourite Extracts from Shakespeare, he sent some lines of his own with the superb ending :

Naught was ever done
Unless at some time it were first begun.

The only line in Shakespeare to compete with it is in the *Midsummer Night's Dream* :

O night! which ever art when day is not!

—appropriately put into the mouth of Bottom.

This form of hoax has always been a favourite one. Ruskin characterised as " not the least significant of the utterances of the Master " a letter about public bores attributed to Carlyle. Editors innumerable have been taken in by these conscienceless jokers. Mr. Birrell notes how the *London Gazette* printed one of Shakespeare's Sonnets as an original contribution; Mr. Walsh states that in the *St. James's Gazette* appeared letters from various publishers declining to accept *Samson Agonistes,* which had been sent to them as an original poem and had not been recognised.

There is one form of hoax—of which I have already given examples—which survives to the present day : that of the author of a work of fiction stating in his preface that it is fact. Defoe, Horace Walpole, Scott, and others professed that their works were merely copies or translations of some discovered original. Andrew Lang in the preface to the *Monk of Fife* pretended to have discovered a genuine MS. relating to Joan of Arc, and forged extracts in old French : a proceeding he afterwards regretted, though not on moral grounds. If it is objected that such hoaxes are allowable as they deceive no one, it may be retorted that the result is that when the preface really does state what is a fact, the author is credited with having stated the usual fiction.

To conclude, there is but little to be said in favour of the large majority of such cases as those of which specimens have been given. The fun, such as it is, is largely discounted by the annoyance, not to say pain, which must be inflicted. No doubt there are authors whose undeserved fame can be legitimately attacked by such squibs as some I have quoted, and ridicule is often a more effective weapon than direct attack; still, on reflection—or even before it—one's sympathies are rather with the victim than the perpetrator of the joke. And the fact that the attack is generally made anonymously adds to the reprehension which they often engender.

But the main objection is the one to which I have already alluded : the danger lest the exposure of the hoax should be overlooked or forgotten, and the spurious article accepted as the true one. Doubtless many a reputation has suffered from being burdened with some lucubration put forth as a joke but accepted at its face value by the non-critical, and many a historian has been similarly misled.

H. M. PAULL.

TRANSLATIONS AND TRANSLATORS:

Mainly From the Russian.

THE problem of literary translations has been discussed, one may say, since the days of the Septuagint. Yet the subject remains always new, and as on such ever-existing problems there is always something new to say, or something old worth repeating, I venture to offer here a few considerations based principally on my reading of some translations from Russian novels.

Let me say at once that I know the difficulties of a good translation, even the practical impossibility of rendering the original of a novel, not to speak of a poem, in a foreign language so as, in the words of Sir T. M. Warren, " to produce an impression similar, or as nearly as may be similar, to that produced by the original."* Such an impression is the highest ideal a translator can set before himself, and is attainable only in those very rare instances when the translator himself is a great novelist.

But a novelist, if he is worth his salt, does not occupy himself with translations of foreign novelists, being too busy over his own productions. In this there is a remarkable difference between poets and novelists. You will seldom find a poet who has not tried his ability in translating other great poets. In Russia, to mention only a few of the most eminent, such poets as Zhukovsky, Pushkin, Lermontor, Fet (Shenskin); in Germany—Schiller, Heine, Goethe; in France—Lamartine, Gauthier, Victor Hugo; in England—Tennyson, Browning, William Morris, Robert Bridges, Edmund Gosse. But among novelists I personally can remember one case only in which a really great novelist has produced a translation of a foreign novel, and that is Turgenev's version of Flaubert's *La Tentation de St. Antoine*. And this exception was due chiefly to the close personal friendship between them.

Yet one does not meet such difficulties in translating a novel as a poem. It is enough to have a thorough knowledge of languages and of the life in the countries to which the languages belong to give a fairly good translation of prose, although to produce a really artistic impression of the original some artistic feeling is also required. But in no case is the demand too exacting. That is why translations of novels are done professionally, often by men and women who lack creative literary power, who not only cannot write novels, but very often are unable even to compose a newspaper article. No wonder that, generally speaking, foreign novels, especially Russian ones, are translated badly.

The " laws " of translation, as Tytler called them, were given

* See his *Essays on Poets and Poetry*.

by him in his *Essay on the Principles of Translation*, and by Dr. George Campbell, in his *Preliminary Dissertations to the Translation of the Four Gospels* nearly 150 years ago. They are as follows: 1. That the translation should give a complete transcript of the ideas of the original work. 2. That the style and manner of writing should be of the same character as that of the original. 3. That the translation should have all the ease of original composition. One may dispute the last point, and rather agree with Wilhelm von Humboldt, who (in the preface to his translation of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*) prefers to have a translation sound somewhat " strangely." That is, the great German linguist considers that, although a translation should be as easy reading as the original, it must in no case be altogether like the language in which it is translated, but must present features by which the reader is reminded that it is not an original but a foreign book.

These " laws " may be accepted as the points of highest achievement to be aimed at. And that they are not easy to achieve can be seen from the preliminary demand which Dr. Campbell makes of those who want to be translators.

> " We may say with the greatest justice that as, on the one hand, the real character of a nation will not be thoroughly understood by one who is a perfect stranger to their tongue; so, on the other hand, the exact import of many of the words and combinations of words, made use of in the language, will never be perfectly comprehended by one who knows nothing of the character of the people, who is totally unacquainted with the history of their religion, law, polity, arts, manners, and customs. Whoever, therefore, would be a proficient in either kind, must be a student in both."

It is obvious that the usual professional translators of novels, whether in England or abroad, fall far short of these qualifications. But if this ideal is too high it is certain that a translation must at least be free from crude verbal mistakes. I am not speaking of words that are difficult to translate on account of their various and subtle shades of meaning, like the English word " home," the French " maison," the German " Vernunft," (which last caused so much trouble to the translators of Kant). I am alluding to simple words which, even when they may have two meanings, are very definite and ought to allow of no mistake even in the mind of a foreigner. A translation, whatever other merits or defects it may have, must first of all give the true sense of the words and combination of words; and it is the errors in translation of simple words, showing a poor knowledge of the language of the original or of that into which it is translated, and often distorting the whole sense of a phrase, that have struck me in the English translations of Russian authors.

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Sometimes a wrong translation of words is due to a bad dictionary, or when the dictionary gives several interpretations the most unsuitable is chosen. But more often the error arises from taking one Russian word for another. The causes of the error may be many, but the effect is the same.

Take, for instance, the translations of Mrs. Constance Garnett, undoubtedly the best and most conscientious translator of Russian novels into English. Even her beautiful productions are often spoilt by crude verbal errors. I must say that I have not made a special study of comparing the Russian and English texts. The mistakes were noticed by me quite, so to say, accidentally. Having once looked through a translation of a Russian novel, I now and then came across expressions that seemed to me incomprehensible, either as not agreeing with the general sense of the work or with the language and style of the author, or with the ways of life in Russia. I had to look for the Russian original and then I found where the mistake came in.

Thus, for instance, in Chekhov's tale *Fat and Thin,* two schoolfellows unexpectedly meet at a railway-station after many years of parting. "This is unexpected! This is a surprise!" exclaims the lean man—"Come, have a good look at me! Just as handsome as I used to be! Just as great a darling and a dandy! Good gracious me! Well, and how are you?" etc. If not the English reader, yet the Russian is bound to be perplexed and astonished. Does a Russian ever speak in such a foolish way when meeting an old friend? Does Chekhov ever describe quite such exceptional fools? Nothing of the kind! The lean man used a very common phrase which, if correctly understood, means: "Do let me have a good look at you! Just as handsome as he used to be, just as great a darling and a dandy!"

In the *Dead Souls* of Gogol, according to the translator, merchants come to the tea-house "to drink their regular two cups of tea." No Russian has ever met such a merchant with his "regular two cups of tea." If a merchant or peasant goes to the *traktir* (inn) to have tea, he drinks at least five or six cups, if not more. Surely Gogol, with his unrivalled observing eye, ought to know better. But it is the translator's and not Gogol's fault: he wrote a "portion of tea," which is expressed as "a pair of tea" and the translator took it to mean "a pair of cups." It is curious that when Mrs. Garnett, in translating Turgenev's tale *The Watch,* came across the same expression, she took "portion of tea" to mean "steam of tea" and translated "steaming tea," this time taking the Russian word *para* (pair) for *par* (steam).

Russians drink a well-known refreshing and cooling beverage, usually in hot weather, or after a long nap during a summer day;

it is a sort of *kvas*—known as "sour cabbage." Mrs. Garnett calls it "cabbage soup," and a "professional" translator, of whom I will speak later, calls it "a bottle of pickles," which would not matter much if it did not make ridiculous nonsense in the description of Chichikov's day in *Dead Souls*.

In the same book, Gogol tells how a one-legged Captain Kopeikin, having made a row in the War Ministry on account of his delayed pension, was sent back with a courier to his place of residence. This episode is rendered by Mrs. Garnett as follows, piling up error on error:

"Very good,"—says the chief of the department—"if you won't be satisfied with what is given you, and wait quietly here in the capital for your case to be settled, I will find a lodging for you elsewhere. . . Call attendant," said he, "take him to a place of detention!"

What he really said was: "I will send you away back to your home." And: "Call the messenger, let him accompany him to his place of residence!"

"And the attendant was there already" continues Mrs. Garnett's version: "you understand, at the door, a man seven feet high, with a great fist made by nature for a driver, only, fancy, a regular dentist in fact." Can any reader make out what Gogol meant? Surely a driver's fist is not so extraordinarily big, and, after all, what has "a regular dentist" to do with it? But here is just a proof that Dr. Campbell was right when he asserted that, to be a translator, one must know the history of a nation, its manners and customs and so on. Had Mrs. Garnett studied more closely the time when Gogol wrote, she would know that a *feldjäger,* an officer, whom she calls "attendant," was a rifleman or King's messenger, whose duty it was to escort military officers or noblemen on their way into exile, whether to a strange place or to their homes in the country. He usually had strict orders to keep close surveillance over a prisoner till his arrival at his destination. A *feldjäger* was therefore physically a strong man who could look after himself and had the privilege of riding fast, especially when carrying despatches. This privilege he usually realised by beating the drivers if they unduly spared their horses. Thus it was not the drivers who were remarkable for their big fists. On the contrary, they were the victims of the big fists of the *feldjäger*.

One may come across many other mistakes in Mrs. Garnett's translations of Chekhov, Gogol, Turgenev, and especially in her translations of Dostoevsky's novels, as for instance in the *Raw Youth,* where she makes one Makar Ivanovich say of a resident in a monastery "There was a cloud over his mind, and his heart was not at peace," instead of "He was very clever, but his heart was

not at peace,"—which is the essence of the speech, showing that even highly educated and clever people may feel the necessity of religion.

Another very good translator is Mr. Aylmer Maude, who seems to have specialised on translations of Tolstoy. Although his literary standard is not as high as that of Mrs. Garnett, he too is very conscientious and tries to translate every Russian word when possible, and thus to a certain extent to conserve the style of the original. But he also now and then spoils his work by making verbal mistakes. Recently I had occasion to look through one part of his translation of *Sebastopol* and was rather disappointed to find him, for instance, describing Captain Obzhogov as " the shabbily dressed," which is altogether a different thing from what is said in the original, where Tolstoy mentions that Obzhogov was on the boulevard—*vrasterzannom vide,* which means he had the appearance of a man just after a fight, uncombed, torn, although his dress may be clean and fashionable. By this designation Tolstoy underlines the part Obzhogov has just taken on the battlefield. But the translator's version gives a false impression of the Captain, as if he were negligent or poor.

One is also sorry to see Mr. Maude saying of the officer Mikhailov that he had " an inclination towards respectability." One might think that Tolstoy was speaking of him as a snob. But what Tolstoy really said was that Mikhailov was " inclined to orderly life," and that is why a few lines later he says of him, " he might have been a German." But " inclination to respectability " may mean an inclination to wear a silk hat or to have window-curtains with shining brasses, and at the same time to keep one's writing table untidy and be unpunctual.

Now, if such conscientious and experienced translators as Mrs. Garnett and Mr. Maude make such serious errors in verbal translation as to distort an idea or give a false impression of character, what can be expected of translators whose knowledge of Russian is altogether superficial, or who take upon themselves the arrogant liberty of " improving " the original?

For instance, not a bad translator as matters go, Mr. Fred. Whishaw, in rendering Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment* and *Idiot* into English, thought it right to cut out many passages of the original—I suppose because, being himself a novelist, he held himself a better judge of what is of interest to the reader than Dostoevsky himself. Another English novelist, of the younger generation, John Cournos, who also dabbles in translations from Russian, has found it necessary to cut the novels of Fedor Sologub, omitting many passages besides making egregious verbal errors. For instance, Russians use the phrase " to turn a fur coat inside out " for declaring oneself bankrupt with the idea of defrauding one's creditors. Mr. Cournos translates it verbally, making nonsense of the original, where a fraudulent bankrupt says, " You must cheat, if you want to sell. And then one can also declare oneself bankrupt." Mr. Cournos takes the merchant to say that you can cheat " even in turning a fur coat inside out." A few lines before this he makes a dying colonel pronounce such a ridiculous phrase as " I have laid down my *stomach* for my faith, my Czar and Fatherland!" The colonel said that he laid down, not his stomach, but his *life,* using the [redacted] word *zhivot*. Such verbal errors are numerous in [redacted] translation of *The Created Legend.*

And yet even Mr. Cournos is a preferable translator to Mr. C. J. Hogarth, who seems to make a profession of translating foreign authors. Mr. Hogarth has a very poor knowledge of Russian but a rich fancy (I believe he, too, is a novelist), and decorates Gogol with such ornaments of style as to make him unrecognisable. Take, for instance, the same passage from Gogol which I have quoted above in Mrs. Garnett's version. I put the two versions side by side:

MRS. GARNETT'S	MR. HOGARTH'S
" Call attendant "—said he, " take him to a place of detention! And the attendant was here already, you understand, at the door, a man seven feet high, with a great fist made by nature for a driver, only, fancy, a regular dentist, in fact."	" Here, *constable,* remove the man to *gaol!* Then a *constable* who had been called to the door—a *constable* three ells in height, and *armed with a carbine—a man well fitted to guard a bank—placed our friend in a police wagon.*" (See Gogol's *Dead Souls,* Everyman Library, p. 168.)

I have italicised in Mr. Hogarth's version the passages which are his own invention and have nothing to do with Gogol. It would be necessary to copy out practically his whole translation of Gogol's work to point out all the absurd additions and errors which it contains, as one meets them on every page. I am sorry to see that that beautiful novel *It Was* or, as the translator called it, *That Which Happened,* was published in Mr. Hogarth's translation. Russian literature as represented by its best writers is distinguished as being a literature of broad-mindedness, of large aspects and deep religious sentiment. This is especially seen in works which are produced soon after great wars and deal with military subjects. You will not find in them a narrow nationalism, a vulgar boasting of one's own national great deeds and virtues and belittling of one's opponents. When the Russian novelist speaks of war he speaks of it under the broad humane aspect, in which there are no enemies, but men, women, and children. The Crimean

War gave us Tolstoy's *Sebastopol,* the Russo-Turkish War, Garshin's *Four Days,* the Russo-Japanese War, Andreev's *Red Laughter,* and the last European War, Shmelev's *It Was.* As a work of art, and as a condemnation of war in general it stands even higher than *Sebastopol.* And this novel, which has now been translated into most of the European languages, has met in the English version with a fate that makes one cry with anger. Beginning with almost the first page, gross verbal errors mar the tale. Mr. Hogarth, for instance, writes: " played games with my hands," instead of " I wound up my wristlet watch "; he translates " furtive eyes " instead of " creamy whites " (of a black man's eyes); to " dislodge " an enemy from a position is translated " to kill him "; a regimental treasurer is called throughout a " collector," a military district hospital, a " leper hospital," and so on. But even all these mistakes would be pardonable if only the translator would not introduce his own ideas into this highly symbolical, literary gem of Shmelev. The latter, needless to say, treats the enemy with the same impartiality as he does other partners of the War, but where he uses simply the word " German " his translator, in the best style of the year 1914, uses " German horde," and thus lends an impress to the novel altogether out of keeping with its whole tone.

As the reader may have noticed, I have mentioned only translators who are of English, or English-speaking birth, and then only a few of them, the more recent or the more prominent. Translators whose mother-tongue is Russian, and to whom English is a foreign language, stand altogether in a separate category. It is hardly necessary to say that a foreigner is not an ideal translator of artistic literature. Besides making verbal mistakes, he is sure to miss that richness of shades, those homely and idiomatic expressions, which one acquires only by having been bred from childhood in a language. And if the foreigner translates in collaboration with a native it is often still worse. In the first case, the translation is sure to miss that idiomatic flavour which only a native can impart to it; in the second case, it is certainly quite impossible to represent the style of the original. Anyone who has tried to write in a foreign language (I am speaking not of commercial or official writing but of artistic literature) knows that it is immensely more difficult to translate other men's views and impressions than to put on paper one's own in the same language.

To make clear to the reader the difference between a translation done by one who was born to the language in which it is being made, and by one who learned that language later in life, I will give a few instances from a tale of Chekhov, of which one translation is by Mr. Koteliansky, who is on the whole a very efficient translator, in collaboration with Mr. J. M. Murray, and the other by Mrs. Garnett. The tale is called *A Tedious Story.* (Mrs. Garnett calls it *A Dreary Story.*)

There is a passage in which a father tells how his daughter, when a child, used to like various sorts of ices and how they used to call her little fingers by the names of ices. One was " cream ice," the next " pistachio ice " and so on. " Usually when she came in to say good morning to me," continues her father, " I used to sit her on my knee, kiss her little fingers, and say: ' Cream ice . . . pistachio . . . lemon.' And now from old habit, I kiss Liza's fingers and mutter: ' Pistachio . . . cream . . . lemon.' . . . but the effect is utterly different." (Mrs. Garnett.)

Now listen to Mr. Koteliansky's translation: " And when she came to say good morning I used to lift her on to my knees and kiss her fingers, and say: ' *The* cream *one, the* pistachio *one, the* lemon *one.*' And now from force of habit I kiss Liza's fingers and murmur: ' Pistachio *one,* cream *one,* lemon *one.*' But it does not sound the same." It is unnecessary to point out that an Englishman in kissing his daughter's little fingers would hardly so stick to the English grammar as the foreign-born translator.

A stand on which hats or coats are hanged is called by Koteliansky " the clothes-pegs," a rocking-chair in the drawing-room is called " the hammock "; these are properly translated by Mrs. Garnett, with her knowledge of English and of what she is talking about, as " hat-stand " and " rocking-chair." " Their bantering lordly tone," as she correctly renders it, is given by Koteliansky as " their playfulness, like an archbishop's," which is altogether wrong, as it bears quite a different sense from what Chekhov said. And when Chekhov playfully uses an idiomatic phrase of superstitious people, verbally and correctly translated by Mrs. Garnett: " Don't speak of it after dark," Mr. Koteliansky uses the biblical: " Tell it not in Gath," which means " don't advertise it," and has absolutely no connection with Chekhov's tale.

The problem remains how to assure to the reader a translation which will at least be free from gross verbal mistakes. Mr. H. Belloc, writing in the *London Mercury* (June, 1924) on this subject, thinks that a remedy against bad translations may be found in some sort of " endowment," that some rich men or " the poor old State " or other corporations should endow a fund from which proper payments for good translations of worthy materials may be made. He points to the Loeb series as an instance. Money may, perhaps, attract good translators, but, firstly, it is not really a question of money. Some translators from Russian make much more money by bad translations than good novelists do by their

original writings. Then, much depends on the judges of a proper style, which is as difficult to define in literature as in other works of art.

It seems to me therefore that, leaving the more difficult problem of style to the taste of the reader, one can at least guarantee him productions which shall be free from verbal mistranslations. Such a guarantee can be achieved if each language or each group of languages, say, Slavonic, Latin, Teutonic and so on, had a Committee of experts voluntarily organised by some competent official institution, like the School of Slavonic Languages for Russian, or the University of London for other languages. This Committee, for a reasonably small fee according to scale, would be empowered to certify each translation submitted to it by the translator or publisher as a correct one in so far as it concerned verbal errors, and the publisher would then be enabled to add on the title page: "Certified by the University of London (or some other body) as correct." Thus any translation which did not bear this imprint would be held as unreliable or at least as of a doubtful class. Only in some such way can the reading public be protected from translations which are at present flooding the English book-market and which, by their faulty rendering of the original, are often a discredit to the publishing firms and a great wrong to the original authors and to the reading public.

SEMION RAPOPORT.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE MODERNISING OF AFGHANISTAN.

THE "Warrior King" of Afghanistan will be thirty-six on June 1st of this year. He has been heard to say that, so far as he is concerned, an Afghan boy is worth ten Afghan men, because a boy can be trained, but a grown man is mostly fit only for "the scrap heap." King Amanullah, an adventurous pioneer who has conceived, and is well on the way to carrying out, the bold project of bringing Afghanistan up to date, has his difficulties with the rigidly conservative grown men of Afghanistan. He himself, in type, and even in years, is an Afghan boy. The way in which he is disturbing the stagnant habits of his countrymen has made him enemies, and the material at his disposal is not pliant. Such however is his resilience and "lift," such his physical stamina, that he brooks no barrier. He works hard. His entourage has reason to appreciate, and often to regret, his physical strength. On a recent occasion he paid a visit to his subjects in Khost. Suddenly recalled to the capital, he rode forty-four miles over mountainous country without drawing rein, drove himself into Kabul in his own Rolls-Royce (sports model), summoned an immediate meeting of his Council of Ministers and, himself in the Chair, exercised his Ministers for several hours. He often "drops in" unexpectedly on the various Ministries and Government departments in Kabul, and reveals an accomplished flair for spotting irregularities. Irregularities in the past have been a feature of Afghan life.

He believes in knowing his country (and other countries) at first hand. He studies at first hand, not from "expert" reports, the conditions and problems arising out of his own revolutionising ideas at home, and in 1927 he visited nearly every province in the 245,000 square miles of his kingdom, which is twice the size of Great Britain and Ireland. According to a popular belief, he walks about Kabul at night, disguised, engaging in haphazard conversation with his subjects, whose unreserved feelings he is thus enabled to canvass. In the daylight too without disguise he "hobnobs" with all classes of his subjects. He does not stand on ceremony. He is an impatient extremist in his method. He has reorganised the Government administration, has carried his Cabinet with him in enacting a large number of Nizam Namas or Codes designed to systematise such hitherto chaotic fields as taxation, the administration of justice, the army, the civil service and education. He boldly and at an early stage of his restlessness established a Ministry of Finance, wherein public income is accounted for, public

expenditure recorded, checked and audited. Even an annual Budget is now drawn up, but the wheel has not yet turned full cycle, and the Budget is not yet published.

His energy is not fully absorbed in these endeavours. He shoots. Most Afghans shoot for a variety of purposes. King Amanullah confines his gun to the abundant wild duck and other fowl of the marshes, the ibex, the mountain sheep and the chikor or red-legged hill partridge of the mountains. He is a good shot, especially with a shot-gun, which he uses in the European style, quick on to his birds, firing immediately his gun comes up to his shoulder. His record bag for a day's shoot is 1,200 duck to his gun. He drives a good deal and owns several Rolls-Royces (his favourite car) which he drives himself. He takes no measures for his personal safety, walks about the town, drives in the country either alone or with his Queen, unguarded. He is thereby no doubt safer, in conformity with the truism that if you want war, you must prepare for war, and if you want peace, you must assume peace. King Amanullah, as has been observed, has enemies, and an Afghan enemy is an extremist.

King Amanullah's accession to the throne was typical of many things, and in particular of his own persistence of purpose. He is the third son of the Amir Habibullah Khan, and the eldest son of his father's principal wife, the Ulya Hazrat. In February, 1919, the Amir Habibullah was murdered at Laghman in the neighbourhood of Jalalabad, where the Court was in residence. He had nominated Amanullah as his heir. The murdered Amir's brother, however, Nasrullah Khan, took the prompt precaution of assuming control of the army, and with that lever in his hand asked and was easily granted the allegiance of Amanullah's half-brother, Inayatullah Khan. Thereupon Nasrullah proclaimed himself Amir. Amanullah was in Kabul at the time of his father's assassination. His mother was with him, a woman whose strength of will was no doubt the fountain-head of the like quality in Amanullah. Ulya Hazrat could not be ignored. She helped Amanullah in his counter-claim to the throne. The two relevant resultant facts are that within six days Amanullah was sitting on the throne and that his usurping uncle died a little later in gaol. Inayatullah Khan, no doubt by the same token, found it expedient formally to renounce all claim to the throne. He now lives in Kabul, the faithful attendant of his reigning younger brother.

Amanullah, a boy of twenty-six, therefore became King of Afghanistan at the beginning of 1919. That same summer he was engaged in war with British troops, but, being an intelligent man, he had less taste for war than for diplomacy. The war dragged on through two winters, but in 1921 Sir Henry Dobbs' mission went to

Kabul and had no difficulty in negotiating a treaty of neighbourly relations, whereby the full independence of Afghanistan was recognised and certain facilities granted for the transit of commercial and state goods through India to Afghanistan. As a result of the conclusion of that treaty an Afghan Legation was opened in London and a British in Kabul. In February, 1922, Sir Francis Humphrys went to Kabul as British Minister Plenipotentiary. Afghanistan is wedged between Russian territory on the north and India on the south. The coterminous Afghan-Indian frontier between Afghanistan and India is the home of warlike and unruly tribesmen. The 1922 arrangement whereby regular diplomatic channels were opened between London and Kabul has resulted in dispelling misunderstandings and in solving such difficulties as easily develop in those circumstances.

King Amanullah indeed is much too enterprising and too go-ahead a person to acquiesce in the stupidity of war. His world tour, now proceeding, has for its object the gleaning of what is best abroad for assimilation at home. Yet he has had tanks paraded before him. European barbarity is more systematic than Afghan barbarity, and the European record of 1914 to 1918 would stink in an average Afghan's nostrils. King Amanullah is what a patronising West calls an "enlightened" oriental monarch. It would be interesting to know what he frankly thought of the West after seeing the first tank display. He at any rate is bent on improving the East, has improved the East, is facing difficulties, and aiming high. Have the ruling classes of Germany, France, Great Britain, in this generation, improved European civilisation? In 1914 they nearly ended it. If Germany, France, and Great Britain had had any national imagination they would have hidden, not displayed their armies, navies, bombing squadrons, tanks and what not, when an Afghan King was looking for something worth copying.

King Amanullah's diplomacy since 1922 has concentrated on establishing friendly relations with the World Powers, consistently with the maintenance of Afghan independence, and on making Afghanistan more business-like and more up to date. Even in 1921 he sent his Minister, Sardar Mahammed Walikhan, on a foreign mission whose object was to make diplomatic contact with foreign countries. As a result of that mission Ministers were sent to his Court from France, Italy, Germany, Turkey and Persia. His next step was to engage the services of foreign experts for the development of Afghan life on modern lines. He mobilised Germans, Frenchmen and Italians as engineers, architects and school teachers, and appointed Turkish officers to train the Afghan army. He lately sent a party of Afghan youths to England to study

police methods, and they are now being trained at Birmingham. Mr. Abdul Wahab Khan, son of the Afghan Foreign Minister, and the brother of Queen Souriya, is in residence at Exeter College, Oxford. King Amanullah is fanatically keen that his subjects be well educated. German and French educational missions have been established in Kabul, and the King has sent large numbers of Afghan students to France and to Germany.

The King's influence extends to religion. Statistics are an unknown science in Afghanistan, but there are probably ten million inhabitants, most of whom profess the Sunni Mohammedan faith. There are, however, a certain number of Sikhs and Hindus who have settled in the country and who have assumed Afghan nationality. King Amanullah, whose religious principles include a wide toleration, has issued strict orders that the Sikhs and Hindus shall enjoy the full rights of citizenship. When he started his present world tour and visited India he emphasised the spirit of tolerance prevailing in Afghanistan and argued that, far from being a modern practice, such tolerance was prescribed by the Holy Koran.

Trade in Afghanistan is more a matter of prophetic speculation than of present commercial opportunity. The menfolk are either farmers or soldiers, and so far the average Afghan is probably unaware that any other occupation is available. The farmers, however, have evolved a highly efficient and original system of land drainage. The only opening for foreign commerce appears to be the provision of transport vehicles. Motor transport has become a feature of the country in the last few years. A metalled road runs from the frontier at Torkham, at the foot of the Khyber Pass, to Jalalabad and thence to Kabul. Motors can now make their way from Chaman to Kandahar and thence via Ghazni to Kabul. The north road from Kabul is good enough for motor traffic as far as Bamian, 150 miles north-west of the capital. The roads in general are not nearly as good as Continental, still less as English roads. Afghan motor traffic mainly consists of American cars and British and French lorries. British six-wheelers might find a market in Afghanistan, especially when the proposed road from Kandahar to Herat and thence to Meshed in Eastern Persia is opened up for motor traffic.

The Amir has set himself to emancipate the women of his country from their tradition of virtual slavery. Afghan women in the past have never been educated; they have never been asked, or allowed to express, any opinion about their being handed over, in company with other wives, to the polygamous husband marked out for them. Amanullah is against that system. He is understood to take the view that polygamy is the curse of Islam. He has set

the example of monogamy in his own case, and has decreed the statutory right of every woman to refuse to marry the husband chosen for her, for instance, by her family. He has set up girls' schools, an innovation which excited Mohammedan opposition and partly caused the rebellion of 1924. The women of Afghanistan do now however enjoy the maximum of freedom compatible with Mohammedan law.

King Amanullah, Queen Souriya and their entourage arrived in London on March 13th in the course of their world tour. When he passed through Naples in January he declared that he was on the look-out for what was best in European civilisation and society so that he could apply it to Afghanistan. Yet he is proud of Afghan pluck. When he was in Alexandria at the beginning of the year he stated that the Afghans had fought the enemy for eighty-eight years in defence of their independence, although they did not know what was meant by that word. The Amir's combination of pride in the past, avidity for improvement, and personal courage, have added to the already great historic interest of his pilgrimage from the wilds of Afghanistan.

The Failure of Sarwat Pasha.

On March 4th Sarwat Pasha went to see Lord Lloyd in Cairo to inform him that the Anglo-Egyptian draft Treaty of Alliance had been rejected by his Cabinet, and that he himself had tendered his resignation to the King. Thereby came to an end still another attempt at an Anglo-Egyptian understanding. The attempt at one time appeared more likely to succeed than any that had preceded it. The delicate negotiations that had engaged Sir Austen Chamberlain and Sarwat Pasha for nine months were suddenly and single-handedly smashed by the intervention of Zaglul Pasha's apostle, Nahas Pasha. The White Paper published in London on March 8th, giving the text of the correspondence, was mainly interesting from the general diplomatic point of view because it clearly established the fact that the dominant influence in Egypt was not Sarwat Pasha, but the Wafd majority in the Egyptian parliament. The personal influence of Nahas Pasha, the President of the Wafd, appeared to be no weaker than that of the late Zaglul Pasha. The revelation was made in a strikingly dramatic way by the substance of what passed between Lord Lloyd and Nahas Pasha on February 26th. Sarwat Pasha, in his fear of Nahas, had communicated the draft of the treaty to him before he communicated it to his Cabinet. Sir Austen Chamberlain, drawing the obvious inference from that procedure, instructed Lord Lloyd on March 1st on his part also to communicate with Nahas, and in particular to warn him that if the treaty were rejected certain of the projected laws then before the Egyptian Parliament would

conflict with the 1922 arrangement, and that His Majesty's Government would have to vindicate that arrangement. Reacting to that warning, Nahas Pasha on February 26th informed Lord Lloyd that it would be useless even to pursue the discussion of the treaty, because it " clearly failed to provide for the complete evacuation of Egyptian territory by the British army." The effect of that laconic veto, imposed by a political leader outside the Government, was that the treaty was rejected before it was even considered by the Egyptian Cabinet. Sarwat Pasha was thereby shown to have been competent, not to negotiate a treaty, but only to prepare a treaty for submission to Nahas. That constitutional fiasco was one of the most disturbing elements in the diplomatic revelation.

The new phase of this now chronic Anglo-Egyptian problem began in the first week of July last year, when Sarwat Pasha was in London. He saw Sir Austen Chamberlain on several occasions during that week in preparation for a fuller and more detailed conversation which took place at the Foreign Office on July 13th. That day was the first occasion when a British Foreign Secretary had used the word " alliance " in his proposals for a settlement between the two countries. Sir Austen began by reminding Sarwat Pasha that by the nature of the situation Anglo-Egyptian collaboration was imposed by what he called " Providence." Great Britain had in 1922 " warned foreign Powers that we should treat as an unfriendly act any attack by them on the integrity of Egypt or any intervention on Egyptian soil." " But," he added, " it was the corollary of the defence and protection which we thus afforded to Egyptian independence and integrity that we should in the last resort be in a position to secure protection for the nationals of those foreign countries in Egypt and the due observance of their rights by the Egyptian Government." Sarwat agreed about the " necessary connexion " between the two countries and about the true interests of Egypt, and explained that there had been a great change in Egyptian opinion. Whether Sarwat Pasha was throwing his bread upon the waters, or whether he was genuinely mistaken about Egyptian opinion, the event proved him to be wrong about Nahas Pasha.

Sir Austen Chamberlain, acting on Sarwat's assurance, then suggested, not that they should there and then begin negotiations, but that they should prepare the ground for negotiations to take place between Lord Lloyd and Sarwat when Sarwat returned to Cairo. Sir Austen then made certain preliminary observations. First he spoke about " the army question." " Obviously," he said, " as long as there was no agreement between us, and so long as our right to keep an army of occupation in Egypt was disputed, or at least not recognised, we must view with a jealous scrutiny any

increase in Egyptian military strength." Sir Austen thereupon plunged into the practical problem. " If," he said, " we had an agreement—or an *alliance,* if he pleased—the whole situation would be changed. Our position would be recognised by Egypt and the interests of the two countries in the defence of Egypt would be concordant. We could then cooperate whole-heartedly with the Egyptian Government to make the army as efficient as possible." In respect of the Capitulations, about which Egyptian opinion had been somewhat concerned, Sir Austen admitted that " there were abuses which called for remedy and concessions which, with proper safeguards, we could afford to make, but it would be much easier to make them, and they might be on a more generous scale, if they were part of a larger arrangement which placed the relations of the two Governments on a permanently satisfactory footing."

Sarwat Pasha's sincerity in wanting an agreement was proved by the alacrity with which he proceeded to write a draft treaty of alliance to show the sort of way in which he thought it possible to proceed. Three days after his conversation with Sir Austen, namely, on July 18th, he called at the Foreign Office and saw Mr. Selby, Sir Austen's private secretary. He read the draft. It consisted of twelve articles. It provided for an alliance " in eternal consecration of their friendship, their cordial understanding and their good relations "; for British military defence of Egypt against attack; for the modelling of the Egyptian army on the British army, and the recruiting of foreign officers or instructors only from British subjects; for a British undertaking " to use all her influence with Powers having capitulatory rights in Egypt to obtain the substitution for the capitulatory régime, now existing in Egypt, of a régime more in conformity with the spirit of the times and with the present state of Egypt "; for British " good offices for the admission of Egypt to the League of Nations "; for Egyptian support of Great Britain in case of a British war; for an Egyptian undertaking not to embarrass Great Britain's foreign policy; for the title of Ambassador to be assigned to the British representative; for the 1924 *status quo* of the Sudan to be maintained and for Egypt to control the waters of the Nile; for submission to the League of Nations of differences about the application or interpretation of the treaty. So far, mainly good for Sir Austen. There was a further clause (No. 6) which read thus: " In order to facilitate and secure to Great Britain the protection of the lines of communication of the Empire, the Egyptian Government authorises His Britannic Majesty's Government to maintain a military force upon Egyptian territory. The presence of this force will in no way have the character of an occupation and

will in no way prejudice the sovereign rights of Egypt. This military force, after a period of [blank] years, from the coming into force of the present treaty, will be quartered in [blank]."

It is difficult to understand what could be objected to in that clause, but after reading the draft, Mr. Selby foresaw a difficulty in the final paragraph of Article 6. Sarwat assured him that " some such clause was essential if he was to secure acceptance of the treaty in Egypt." He explained that the preliminary period which he had in view was three to five years, after which his idea was that the British forces be stationed on Egyptian territory in the Canal zone, mentioning Port Tewfik as a possibility. What was more serious was that in his draft preamble Sarwat postulated that " any and every act of interference in the administration of Egypt is incompatible with the constitutional régime in force "—a postulate which, as will be made clear below, could not be accepted in that form by the British Government. Mr. Selby communicated those matters to Sir Austen, who on July 28th drew up a counter-draft, much fuller and more detailed, and handed it to Sarwat. It suggested a " full and frank consultation in all matters of foreign policy which may affect their common interests." It substituted for the Sarwat formula about the army of occupation the following provision : " In order to facilitate the co-operation of the forces of the high contracting parties and to facilitate and secure to His Britannic Majesty the protection of the lines of communication of the British Empire, His Majesty the King of Egypt authorises His Britannic Majesty to maintain upon Egyptian territory such armed forces as His Britannic Majesty's Government consider necessary for the above purposes, and will at all times afford the necessary facilities for the maintenance and training of the said forces. The presence of these forces shall not constitute in any manner an occupation and will in no way prejudice the sovereign rights of Egypt.

" After a period of ten years from the coming into force of the present treaty the high contracting parties will reconsider the question of the localities in which the said forces are to be stationed in the light of their experience of the operation of the provisions of the treaty and of the military conditions then existing." The British draft further stipulated that the British Ambassador should have precedence over all other foreign representatives, that the joint sovereignty should be continued in the Sudan, and that Egypt's quota of the waters of the White Nile and of the Blue Nile be provided on the basis of the report of the Nile Commission of March 21st, 1926, and of the working arrangements agreed between the Egyptian and Sudanese Irrigation

Departments on May 1st, 1926. It suggested as an alternative to the Sarwat formula of the preamble about non-interference the following words : " Being anxious to eliminate the possibility of any interference in the internal administration of Egypt which would be incompatible with the constitutional régime in force."

The next stage in the negotiations was reached in Paris, where Sarwat Pasha on August 31st called to see Mr. Selby at the British Embassy. He had promised before leaving London at the end of July that he would carefully consider the Chamberlain draft. He now " frankly " made his observations thereon, explaining that the discussion could be resumed in October when he proposed to pay another visit to Sir Austen. His comments were a long document, the text of which fills fourteen pages of the White Paper. His main points can be summarised. He, Sarwat, had shown himself agreeable that the British Government should have all the necessary specific guarantees for the protection of foreign interests. It could be agreed by an exchange of Notes or by another instrument that the British commandants should continue to control the police forces in the principal cities. The European Bureau of the Interior could be retained if the British Government so wanted, but Sarwat observed that in his own experience as Minister of the Interior he had noticed a conflict of jurisdiction between the Bureau and the British heads of the Cities Police. He suggested that the problem of the troops be set aside, because that problem might be solved if the others were solved, disappointing as were the British proposals. He saw no prospect of the British proposals about the Sudan being accepted by Egyptian opinion, but suggested that that subject be again reserved, that no mention of the Sudan be made in the treaty at all. It might be settled on a more favourable occasion in the future, and in the meantime the British Government, in his view, was in no danger of losing anything because the *status quo* would prevail and the British Government would retain the whole control. As for the preamble, if the British Government could not accept his reference to non-interference, why not cut out that part of the preamble altogether and rely on the actual provisions of the treaty clauses for the guarantees necessary to Great Britain for the protection of foreign interests? He, Sarwat, was prepared to concede those guarantees, and did concede them in his own proposals, if those proposals were not misinterpreted. Sarwat none the less ended his observations by expressing his belief that a great opportunity had arisen for the saner elements in Egypt to assert themselves, and he gave the impression to Mr. Selby that he did not despair of success.

It was clear, however, at that date that even Sarwat was hardly prepared to swallow the full Chamberlain doctrine. His document

emphasised what he called the " conflict " between that part of the British proposal which offered independence to Egypt and that part which prescribed a modified form of continued control. " The essence of a treaty of alliance is that it postulates wide liberty for the two allies, in addition to specific rights and obligations. . . . There is no true friendship where a state of tutelage exists. There is only forcible control." The detailed comment made by Sarwat on the successive clauses of the Chamberlain draft need hardly be mentioned, for an issue had been joined on first principles.

On November 4th Sir Austen Chamberlain gave to Sarwat Pasha a copy of a draft note drawn up in consultation with Sir John Maffey and Mr. MacGregor of the Sudan Government regarding the irrigation of Egypt and of the Sudan, which was designed as the basis of an Anglo-Egyptian agreement on that subject. Sarwat Pasha's comment on it was that, so far as his lack of technical knowledge permitted him to judge, the principles of the note were unexceptionable, and he promised to discuss the matter with the Egyptian Minister of Public Works.

An Agreed Treaty.

The discussions which took place at the beginning of November between Sarwat Pasha and Sir Austen Chamberlain led to a virtual agreement on the general lines of the treaty of alliance. The treaty thus agreed to by the two statesmen, but subject to the concurrence of the Dominions on the British side and to ratification by the Parliaments of both sides, was unlike the original Chamberlain draft in many important respects. The agreement, as Sir Austen explained in a letter which he wrote to Lord Lloyd on November 24th, " embodies large concessions to his Excellency's own views and to Egyptian sentiment, which, after hearing Sarwat Pasha's explanations, His Majesty's Government have felt it possible to make in order to reach agreement."

The November draft treaty promised to be the biggest landmark yet passed in the history of Anglo-Egyptian relations. Sarwat Pasha had agreed to it. The whole edifice now depended on the common-sense and goodwill of Sarwat Pasha's colleagues in the Cabinet, of his friends and of his opponents in the Egyptian Parliament. In his letter to Lord Lloyd of November 24th Sir Austen made it clear that the British Government had stretched its capacity for concession to the final limit, and that if the resultant draft treaty were to be rejected by Cairo, no further attempt could at present be made by London to settle the 1922 " points."

The crux of the matter from the British point of view was the wording of one passage at the beginning of Article 7 of the new

draft, namely : " In order to facilitate and secure to His Britannic Majesty the protection of the lines of communication of the British Empire, and pending the conclusion at some future date of an agreement by which His Britannic Majesty entrusts His Majesty the King of Egypt with the task of ensuring this protection, His Majesty the King of Egypt authorises His Britannic Majesty to maintain upon Egyptian territory such armed forces as His Britannic Majesty's Government consider necessary for this purpose. The presence of these forces shall not constitute in any manner an occupation and will in no way prejudice the sovereign rights of Egypt." When Sir Austen was pressed by Sarwat to accept the words " pending the conclusion at some future date of an agreement by which," etc., he felt great difficulty in giving what he called " even a provisional and personal assent " to it. He was concerned, as he wrote to Lord Lloyd, " lest this wording should give rise at some future time to a suggestion that it necessarily implied that at some time, however distant, His Majesty's Government would . . . withdraw His Majesty's forces from Egypt and to entrust to the Egyptian Government alone the whole protection of the lines of communication of the British Empire where they pass through or over Egyptian territory. His Excellency was, however, able to assure me that this was not the intention or meaning of the wording which he had proposed to me. He said that it was his hope that if this treaty were ratified a time would come when His Majesty's Government would feel that it was as safe to leave the defence of Egypt and the protection of British interests in that country to the Government of Egypt as they now felt it safe to leave the protection of similar interests in the Dominions to the Governments of those Dominions. All he asked was that His Majesty's Government should not absolutely bar the possibility of realising an Egyptian aspiration.

" It was on this assurance that I agreed to recommend Sarwat Pasha's proposals to the British Government. I am bound to say that I found my colleagues at first shared my doubts, and for the very reason which I had expressed to His Excellency, namely, their reluctance to use any words which at some future time and by persons unacquainted with what had passed between His Excellency and me might be thought to imply an obligation on His Majesty's Government sooner or later to conclude an agreement of this character. I therefore repeated to His Majesty's Government the explanation which Sarwat Pasha had volunteered to me, and on this understanding and in pursuance of His Excellency's assurance His Majesty's Government have accepted his text."

emphasised what he called the " conflict " between that part of the British proposal which offered independence to Egypt and that part which prescribed a modified form of continued control. " The essence of a treaty of alliance is that it postulates wide liberty for the two allies, in addition to specific rights and obligations. . . . There is no true friendship where a state of tutelage exists. There is only forcible control." The detailed comment made by Sarwat on the successive clauses of the Chamberlain draft need hardly be mentioned, for an issue had been joined on first principles.

On November 4th Sir Austen Chamberlain gave to Sarwat Pasha a copy of a draft note drawn up in consultation with Sir John Maffey and Mr. MacGregor of the Sudan Government regarding the irrigation of Egypt and of the Sudan, which was designed as the basis of an Anglo-Egyptian agreement on that subject. Sarwat Pasha's comment on it was that, so far as his lack of technical knowledge permitted him to judge, the principles of the note were unexceptionable, and he promised to discuss the matter with the Egyptian Minister of Public Works.

An Agreed Treaty.

The discussions which took place at the beginning of November between Sarwat Pasha and Sir Austen Chamberlain led to a virtual agreement on the general lines of the treaty of alliance. The treaty thus agreed to by the two statesmen, but subject to the concurrence of the Dominions on the British side and to ratification by the Parliaments of both sides, was unlike the original Chamberlain draft in many important respects. The agreement, as Sir Austen explained in a letter which he wrote to Lord Lloyd on November 24th, " embodies large concessions to his Excellency's own views and to Egyptian sentiment, which, after hearing Sarwat Pasha's explanations, His Majesty's Government have felt it possible to make in order to reach agreement."

The November draft treaty promised to be the biggest landmark yet passed in the history of Anglo-Egyptian relations. Sarwat Pasha had agreed to it. The whole edifice now depended on the common-sense and goodwill of Sarwat Pasha's colleagues in the Cabinet, of his friends and of his opponents in the Egyptian Parliament. In his letter to Lord Lloyd of November 24th Sir Austen made it clear that the British Government had stretched its capacity for concession to the final limit, and that if the resultant draft treaty were to be rejected by Cairo, no further attempt could at present be made by London to settle the 1922 " points."

The crux of the matter from the British point of view was the wording of one passage at the beginning of Article 7 of the new

draft, namely : " In order to facilitate and secure to His Britannic Majesty the protection of the lines of communication of the British Empire, and pending the conclusion at some future date of an agreement by which His Britannic Majesty entrusts His Majesty the King of Egypt with the task of ensuring this protection, His Majesty the King of Egypt authorises His Britannic Majesty to maintain upon Egyptian territory such armed forces as His Britannic Majesty's Government consider necessary for this purpose. The presence of these forces shall not constitute in any manner an occupation and will in no way prejudice the sovereign rights of Egypt." When Sir Austen was pressed by Sarwat to accept the words " pending the conclusion at some future date of an agreement by which," etc., he felt great difficulty in giving what he called " even a provisional and personal assent " to it. He was concerned, as he wrote to Lord Lloyd, " lest this wording should give rise at some future time to a suggestion that it necessarily implied that at some time, however distant, His Majesty's Government would . . . withdraw His Majesty's forces from Egypt and to entrust to the Egyptian Government alone the whole protection of the lines of communication of the British Empire where they pass through or over Egyptian territory. His Excellency was, however, able to assure me that this was not the intention or meaning of the wording which he had proposed to me. He said that it was his hope that if this treaty were ratified a time would come when His Majesty's Government would feel that it was as safe to leave the defence of Egypt and the protection of British interests in that country to the Government of Egypt as they now felt it safe to leave the protection of similar interests in the Dominions to the Governments of those Dominions. All he asked was that His Majesty's Government should not absolutely bar the possibility of realising an Egyptian aspiration.

" It was on this assurance that I agreed to recommend Sarwat Pasha's proposals to the British Government. I am bound to say that I found my colleagues at first shared my doubts, and for the very reason which I had expressed to His Excellency, namely, their reluctance to use any words which at some future time and by persons unacquainted with what had passed between His Excellency and me might be thought to imply an obligation on His Majesty's Government sooner or later to conclude an agreement of this character. I therefore repeated to His Majesty's Government the explanation which Sarwat Pasha had volunteered to me, and on this understanding and in pursuance of His Excellency's assurance His Majesty's Government have accepted his text."

There were minor points on which Sir Austen felt some difficulty, because agreement to them would involve his exceeding his instructions. The Cabinet, however, on having these points submitted to it, authorised Sir Austen to accept. At the same time " His Majesty's Government in Great Britain " obtained the consent of ". His Majesty's Governments in the Dominions and India " to the draft treaty.

The preamble to the treaty revealed the fact that Sarwat Pasha had abandoned his formula about non-interference and also his later suggestion that no reference be made to that subject. The preamble contained this wording : " Being anxious to eliminate the possibility of interference in the internal administration of Egypt." Article 1 was to establish the alliance " in consecration of their friendship, their cordial understanding and their good relations." By Article 2 Egypt was to undertake " not to adopt in foreign countries an attitude incompatible with the alliance or liable to create difficulties for His Britannic Majesty ; not to oppose in foreign countries the policy followed by His Britannic Majesty and not to conclude with a foreign Power any agreement which might be prejudicial to British interests." Article 3 was to bind Great Britain, " subject always to the provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations," to come immediately to the help of Egypt as a belligerent if Egypt be involved in war " by reason of any attack or act of aggression whatever." Article 4 was to prescribe Anglo-Egyptian consultation about measures to be adopted in case of a threat to the good relations of the two countries or of danger to the lives or property of foreigners in Egypt. By Article 5 Egypt was to undertake to train her army on British methods and to employ only British subjects if she wanted the services of foreign officers or instructors. By Article 6 the King of Egypt was to undertake " to furnish to H. B. M. in Egyptian territory all the facilities and assistance in his power, including the use of his ports, aerodromes and all means of communication." Article 7 was the article that at first alarmed Sir Austen Chamberlain. After making the stipulation quoted above it continued : " After a period of ten years from the coming into force of the present treaty, the high contracting parties will reconsider, in the light of their experience of the operation of the provisions of the present treaty, the question of the localities in which the said forces are to be stationed. Should no agreement be reached on this point, the question may be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations. Should the decision of the League of Nations be adverse to the claims of the Egyptian Government, the question can, at their request and under the same conditions, be re-investigated at intervals of five years from the date of the League's decision."

By Article 8, " in view of the friendship, etc., the Egyptian Government, when engaging the services of foreign officials, will, as a rule, give preference to British subjects," and " nationals of other Powers will only be engaged if no British subjects possessing the necessary qualifications and fulfilling the requisite conditions are available." Article 9 was to impose on Great Britain the obligation of using all her influence " with the Powers possessing capitulatory rights in Egypt to obtain the modification of the capitulatory régime now existing in Egypt so as to make it conform more closely with the spirit of the times and with the present state of Egypt." By Article 10 His Britannic Majesty " will use his good offices for the admission of Egypt to the League of Nations and will support the request which Egypt will present to this effect. Egypt for her part declares herself ready to accept the conditions prescribed for admission to the League." Article 11 was to provide for a British Ambassador in Cairo with, however, precedence " over all other foreign representatives." Article 12 made the whole treaty subject to the duties of either party under the League Covenant. Articles 13 and 14 were technical. An Annex described the detailed arrangements agreed on for carrying out the treaty, especially that part of it referring to the British army of occupation.

Sir Austen Chamberlain sent a copy of that draft, as also copies of a draft note about capitulatory reform, to Lord Lloyd. Lord Lloyd formally communicated the text of the draft to Sarwat Pasha on December 3rd and Sarwat said he was " optimistic " about the treaty's prospects. A few days later a parliamentary question was put down in London asking when Sir Austen proposed to make a statement about the results of his conversations with Sarwat Pasha. Now Sarwat Pasha had asked Sir Austen to hold his hand till he (Sarwat) had been able to sound opinion in Cairo and to discover what degree of support he could count on. Sir Austen was in a parliamentary dilemma. If Sarwat began sounding, say, Nahas Pasha about the prospect of the Wafd accepting a treaty of alliance, the existence of such a treaty would thereby become known to the Wafd, and it was reasonable to expect that leakages about the treaty's content would begin to appear, with a greater or less degree of accuracy, in the Egyptian Press. Sir Austen, therefore, to prevent the dual misfortune of bad information leaking out in Cairo and of his own embarrassment at Westminster, sent a suggestion through Lord Lloyd to Sarwat that the treaty should be signed in the following week and its text simultaneously and officially published in London and in Cairo on December 20th. Sarwat Pasha reacted oddly to that suggestion. He seemed to be surprised at Sir Austen's hurry, and explained that it had been his intention to submit the draft separately to his Cabinet and to the

Wafd as soon as it could be translated into Arabic. Lord Lloyd thereupon asked Sarwat whether, in the event of the opinions thus elicited being favourable, he would be able to sign the treaty "shortly." Sarwat then became still odder, and explained that he could not even lay the documents before his colleagues until he had discussed with Sir Austen certain important issues which had not been cleared up in London. East is East, and West is West. Sarwat was now in the East. None the less Lord Lloyd, after the manner of a good ambassador, counselled patience in London, represented Sarwat's difficulties as real, and pointed the danger of driving Sarwat into taking a wrong step at a critical moment. Sir Austen Chamberlain, who now, as at Locarno in 1925 (but this time unfortunately with less luck), showed a dogged persistence in the course he had entered on, agreed not to press for immediate signature and publication, but, pointing out the other danger, that of protracted delay, asked if Sarwat could indicate roughly the dates on which he expected to arrive at the various points in the consummation. Lord Lloyd therefore saw Sarwat Pasha on December 14th, but Sarwat was by now in what one might call a second negotiating frame of mind.. Instead of giving the dates asked for he raised the question of his fundamental difficulties, namely (1) about his desire for a more precise understanding as to the future position of British officers in the Egyptian army, (2) about the allocation of the Nile water, (3) about certain points arising out of the promised reform of the capitulatory system; he elaborated his difficulty number three by plunging into a detailed new examination of Annex II (C) of the draft treaty, which dealt with the presence of European officers in the Egyptian Government police forces. Lord Lloyd was no doubt tactful, if inarticulate, and Sarwat returned to continue the new discussion two days later. This time he did not confine himself to his three points, but took the treaty clause by clause and asked Lord Lloyd to approve the detailed interpretations he thereupon proceeded to put upon them.

Lord Lloyd, though he probably looked serene, was inwardly shocked that Sarwat should thus improperly attempt to commit him to interpretations of a treaty of which an agreed text had already been decided upon. He therefore gave no opinion on the points raised by Sarwat; he merely took notes of Sarwat's difficulties for transmission to London. He did, however, take the occasion to inform Sarwat Pasha of Sir Austen's view about the desirability of an early signature and publication of the treaty. In answer Sarwat committed himself to promising that he would communicate the text of the treaty to his Government and to the Wafd in the first week of January, and estimated that a further week would be

needed before he could induce them to make a decision. In the meantime he submitted that some delay was inevitable because of the points on which he needed elucidation from Sir Austen Chamberlain. Sir Austen Chamberlain doggedly prepared another memorandum for Sarwat's comfort, and on December 31st a further interview took place between Sarwat and Lord Lloyd. On that occasion Sarwat made the statement that it would be impossible for him to persuade either his Government or Parliament to accept the treaty until he had obtained in writing from the British Government certain assurances which he thereupon proceeded to specify. They need not be specified in this chronicle, for they added little except delay to the business in hand. By now Sarwat's desire for elucidations was growing almost daily. No sooner had Sarwat's particular difficulties of December 14th been answered that on December 31st he raised two entirely new difficulties. Further interviews took place between him and Lord Lloyd on January 10th and 11th, the first week of January having slipped by without event. On January 11th Sarwat explained that he had not had time to study the assurances given by Sir Austen Chamberlain in answer to his demands of December 14th. Again, therefore, the submission of the treaty to the Government and to Nahas Pasha was delayed. By January 18th, however, Sarwat Pasha felt satisfied on all counts except two. Further offers were thereupon made to him, but Sir Austen conveyed to him a personal message, during the course of which he said: "I must emphasise that this process cannot be further continued, and that so far as His Majesty's Government are concerned the last word has now been said." It speaks well for Sir Austen's elasticity that, having said his last word on November 4th, he was still saying his last word at the end of January. Sir Austen's personal message was delivered to Sarwat Pasha by Lord Lloyd on February 7th. At the same time Lord Lloyd conveyed Sir Austen's latest offer to negotiate the text of the notes which were to be accepted upon the ratification of the treaty providing for the establishment of a British Military Mission to the Egyptian army, and making further assurances about Capitulations and the prohibition of flights by aircraft over the Suez Canal zone. Sarwat Pasha was thereupon urged to submit the whole correspondence to his Government.

Sarwat, however, warned Lord Lloyd that the last word of His Majesty's Government would not satisfy Egyptian public opinion and that he could see no prospect of the treaty's being accepted either by his colleagues or by Parliament. The central difficulty, as he saw it, was the maintenance of the British army on Egyptian soil. Lord Lloyd expressed his natural surprise that Sarwat Pasha should now take this line when he had not only agreed to the

text of the draft treaty but had expressed his satisfaction with it. Sarwat thereupon confessed that he had not foreseen the effect of some parts of the treaty, but expressed his readiness to submit it to his Cabinet and to press for its acceptance. He was about to travel to Upper Egypt with the King, and promised a written statement for Sir Austen on his return to Cairo on February 15th. On February 8th, however, Sarwat Pasha unexpectedly asked Lord Lloyd for an immediate interview, and told him that he had decided to lay the treaty before Mustafa Nahas Pasha and his Cabinet that very day. He then left for Upper Egypt. It became known later that Sarwat had that day submitted the text to Nahas Pasha but not to his Cabinet. On February 18th, after returning from Upper Egypt, Sarwat Pasha sent a long message to Sir Austen Chamberlain proposing in effect the reopening of negotiations. Sarwat Pasha followed this up on February 21st by two further notes about the same old difficulties, and Sir Austen, having said his last word on November 24th, and having said his last word again on February 1st, now conveyed to Sarwat another personal message calling Sarwat's attention to the tantalising nature of the former negotiations, confessing that he was unable to follow some of Sarwat's arguments and wearily informing him that the publication of the documents could not be much longer delayed in London. That message was given to Sarwat by Lord Lloyd on February 25th. On February 28th Sarwat Pasha promised a final reply on March 1st. On February 26th, however, Nahas Pasha had been to see Lord Lloyd and had stated that " he felt it useless to discuss what advantages might or might not be afforded to Egypt in various clauses of the treaty, inasmuch as the treaty clearly failed to provide for the complete evacuation of Egyptian territory by the British army." That was the virtual end of the chapter. On March 1st Sarwat Pasha informed Lord Lloyd that his Cabinet would not sign the treaty, and on March 4th handed to Lord Lloyd the text of his Cabinet's rejection together with the information that he, Sarwat, had resigned. The kernel of the Egyptian Government's answer was the sentence, " My colleagues have reached the conclusion that the draft, by reason both of its basic principles and of its actual provisions, is incompatible with the independence and sovereignty of Egypt, and, moreover, that it legalises occupation of the country by British forces."

The clock, therefore, goes back to 1922, but the last state is necessarily worse than the first.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

March 15th, 1928.

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THE ODYSSEY OF OUR AGE.*

Adventure is a volume of Essays by Canon Streeter, Mr. Macmurray, Dr. Alexander S. Russell, and Miss Catherine M. Chilcott. They are the result of conferences held at the house of the late Miss Lily Dougall at Cumnor, in which Miss Dougall herself, the late Mr. Arthur Clutton-Brock and the late Mr. Cyril Emmet also took regular part during their lifetime, and with which certain others were occasionally associated. The six Essays that have resulted from these conferences, as they stand in the order of the volume, are entitled " The Dynamic of Science," by Dr. Russell, " Beyond Knowledge," by Mr. Macmurray, " Moral Adventure" and "Finality in Religion," by Canon Streeter, "Objectivity in Religion," by Mr. Macmurray, and in conclusion, "Myth and Reality," by Miss Chilcott. Hence it is claimed that the volume is " the outcome of a continued effort at corporate thinking on the nature of Science and Religion, and on their relation to one another." All the Essays are interesting and full of valuable suggestions. To the present reviewer the Essays on " Objectivity in Religion " and on " Moral Adventure " seem the most important, the former for its theoretic value and the latter for its practical suggestiveness. In view of the importance of the subjects

* *Adventure: The Faith of Science and the Science of Faith.* Macmillan. 7s. 6d. net.

dealt with and of the standing of the authors the volume claims, and will doubtless receive, considerable and widespread attention.

In considering the volume as a whole it is at once apparent from the title and sub-title of the book that an endeavour is made to reduce, if not to destroy, the supposed antagonism between Science and Religion by showing how the element of Faith enters into Science and the element of Science into religious Faith. By reason of this common element of faith the writers endeavour not only to invest Religion and Science with the glamour of adventure, but also to emphasise the progressive, and not the static or retrospective, character of both. This ideal is both attractive and important, especially at the present time. Yet if this ideal is to be approached there is great need not merely of suggestive but of precise thinking, both philosophical and psychological. It is in respect of this much-needed precision that the volume, despite its merits, seems sometimes to come short, especially in the somewhat indiscriminate use of the term "adventure." The element of adventure may perhaps be most confidently claimed for morality, as is done by Canon Streeter in the third Essay, that on "Moral Adventure." And for the following three reasons: that morals are essentially practical, that it is characteristic of the Christian Religion to lay down principles and supply motives rather than to fasten rules upon mankind, and, lastly, because human society is in process of evolution, and, therefore, the principles and motives of Christianity have to deal with changing conditions and to use somewhat different instruments as this evolution proceeds. Yet even in the case of Morality the element of adventure should be balanced and even held in check by the past experience of mankind and by the very complex interactions of human society.

The position that adventure is common both to Science and to Religious Faith must not be so pressed as to obliterate the outstanding distinction between the ends and intrinsic nature of these two allied yet differentiated interests. In Religion Faith ventures upon reality in order to secure the self-realisation of personality in its true relations to God and to the universe. The adventure of religious faith seeks the fulfilment of possibilities. Then Theology gathers up, records and to the best of its power explains the results of this realising Faith. On the other hand, Science, and it may be added Philosophy, deals with actuality as it stands at present, seeks to read and interpret what is already there, and to weave the manifold particulars of human experience into systematic coherence. The volume before us is not altogether free from the criticism that it tends somewhat to obscure this essential difference of subject-matter and aim. Furthermore, the adventures of the past, both in Science and Religion, must to some extent

limit the lines, by laying down the ways of adventure in the present. This limitation of adventure by inheritance, though not final, is essential to progress. That must always introduce an element of freshness and therefore of adventure into the inheritance of the past, whether scientific or religious. In the case of Science this element of adventure leads to the ever more thorough investigation of particulars and to a never-ending revision of the descriptions and explanations that give expression to and account for the coherence of all the particulars in the universal system of reality. In the sphere of Religion it is an outstanding feature of the finality of Christ that it finds room for and gives occasion to such adventures of life and thought as will give ever fuller effect in both to the truths, principles and motives revealed in Him.

Coming more closely to the subject-matter of the Essays, it is clear that if Science is "becoming adventurous," as the first Essay claims, yet its ventures should always be limited and informed by a trained imagination which, while courageous, is also cautious in framing hypotheses, and is careful severely to limit its hypotheses by observation, calculation and measurement, as well as by logic. It is only as thus limited that adventurous imagination becomes scientific. Nor can the present attitude of Science be treated as new. In its element of adventure modern Science is distinct, not from the Science, but from the unscientific dogmatism that has now and again prevailed in the past. If Science appears to-day to be more adventurous than heretofore this is due not to a change of its spirit so much as to its present freedom from the intrusions of religious dogma, to its increased range, and to its accumulation of vaster materials for the purpose of further advance.

Coming on to the subject of Religion as it is dealt with in the essay "Beyond Knowledge," some criticism is invited by the governing statement that "faith is not a kind of knowledge, but rather a practical attitude of the will." This is a somewhat loose statement, for this practical attitude of the will is informed by the presupposition that what is believed, and therefore ventured upon, is *true*. Hence even faith presumes a measure of knowledge, proceeding in differing degrees from tradition, spiritual intuition, and reasoned experience. Again, the statement that "Science rests upon the conviction that there is no certain knowledge" and that it uses "beliefs that it doubts," in order to "discover their falsity" seems somewhat exaggerated. Surely Science treats knowledge, in the sense of complete intellectual correspondence with reality, as an attainable though remote ideal. Hence it treats the data that it questions as approximations to this ideal, approximations that are to be continually tested, corrected, and transformed in order that they may approach more nearly to the standard of

the ideal rather than that they may be condemned as false. Both Christianity and Science seek truth, but the former seeks the truth of personal correspondence with reality, while Science seeks the truth of objective and systematic description.

Canon Streeter's Essay on " Finality in Religion " expounds the same point of view as is given in the author's book on " Reality." He treats the Nicene Creed as a work of art rather than of Science, because it is concerned with *the quality* of reality. According to him the doctrine of the Incarnation is intended to affirm " the identity in quality of personal life between Jesus and the Father." This seems hardly an adequate account of the Creed. This identity is not so much the substance as the starting-point of the Creed, which seeks not merely to describe but to explain this identity in quality by a doctrine of Christ's place in the Being of God and in the Reality of the universe that explains it. This endeavour is neither pre-eminently artistic nor scientific, but philosophical.

In conclusion, a special tribute must be paid to the striking treatment given in Mr. Macmurray's Essay on " Objectivity in Religion." Founding himself upon the truth, too often overlooked, that personality is inclusive rather than exclusive, and that the greater the personality the greater its power to transcend limitations and to include the objects of its experience, Mr. Macmurray uses this truth to justify the attribution of personality to God as the transcendent Personality, whose transcendence involves His going forth to include the universe within His all-embracing and comprehending life. This which is true of God is shown to be in a unique degree true also of Christ, whose supreme historic Personality exhibits in an unique degree just this universality of fully realised personality. The outstanding merit of this article is not so much that it incites to an adventure of Faith as that it justifies it. The highest affirmation of religious faith is confirmed by the philosophic doctrine that gives effect to the scientific account of personality furnished by psychology.

J.S.L.

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MODERN JAPAN.*

Mr. G. C. Allen, the author of this book, is well equipped for setting forth the present day problems of Japan to English readers. For several years he was a lecturer in a Japanese Government College, and acquired first hand knowledge, and personal experience, of the novel conditions and phenomena on every side created by

* *Modern Japan and its Problems.* George Allen and Unwin. 10s. net.

the imposition of Western ideas on Oriental social organisations. The blending of East and West is a difficult and sometimes a dangerous experiment, especially when new laws and customs are forced upon a people with an ancient civilisation. The contact with Western nations—brought about chiefly by war—opened the eyes of the Japanese to the necessity of falling into line with the West in politics, in industry, in finance and last, but by no means least, in education.

Mr. Allen devotes much attention to the last subject, and describes most clearly the course of education now being carried on by the Government of Japan. It follows Western methods in many directions. It is highly systematised. " Most of the schools and universities (including the best) are controlled either by the Central Government, or by the local authorities, and, as in Germany, the students wear uniforms of a semi-military type. The aim of the educational system is not to develop exceptional ability or character, but to create a general high level of attainment and provide a supply of well-trained instruments of national policy." The Imperial Oath of 1869 declared that " Henceforth education shall be so diffused that there may not be a village with an ignorant family nor a family with an ignorant member." This high ideal has, to a great extent, been achieved, notwithstanding the difficulties of the written language, and may be ascribed to the very comprehensive system of primary education. Children of all classes (except the very highest) attend the same primary schools. Again to quote Mr. Allen, " A six years' course at a Primary School is compulsory for every Japanese boy and girl, and there is a further course of two or three years which is provided by the State, but which is optional." The Middle School corresponds to the English Secondary School. The student must pass a highly competitive examination before he can enter this school (there being only about 10 per cent. of vacancies for the qualified applicants for admission). On joining the Middle School, the student at once begins the study of English, which henceforth becomes the most important subject in his curriculum. In this grade he spends another five years, or four years if he purposes to pass on to some higher institution. If he intends to go to a university and to specialise on any given subject, either law, literature or science, he will enter a High School (after another competitive examination) in order to prepare himself for the entrance examination for the subject in which he is specialising. At the age of twenty-two or twenty-three he will go up to one of the Government Universities, where his course will be three or four years, according to his faculty. Thus it will be seen that a student cannot graduate at a

university until he is five or six and twenty. The Koto Gakko or High Schools have no counterpart in England.

This lengthy scholastic career is caused partly by the student having to acquire two systems of culture, English and Japanese, and also by the difficulties of the written language, which are extreme. The training for its acquirement is a slow process as so much has to be memorised. Those students who choose careers in commerce or industry, after leaving the Middle School pass into a Higher Commercial School, or a Higher Technical School, for a three years' training in both cases, whether it be commerce or engineering, applied science, architecture, or, most important of all, the Civil Service. "Secondary Schools are also provided for girls; but these, unlike the boys' High Schools, which are solely preparatory schools for the universities, are finishing schools." Mr. Allen enters fully into the advantages and disadvantages of Japanese education. He finds it successful in the training of efficient workers, but less so in the production of highly educated men. "The complete absence of individual treatment, the predominance of 'spoon-feeding' by innumerable lectures, the frequent examinations, cramp the imagination and stamp out originality." In a Japanese school or college "the ruling power is never the individual will of the teacher, but always the public opinion of his class. If his methods are unpopular among his students or if he is judged to be inefficient, his class will not hesitate to voice its disapproval; and if he persists in acting contrary to his students' wishes, they are capable of expelling him from the institution. . . . In the main the reins of authority are held by the students acting as a corporate body." To our Western ideas this method may seem premature and peculiar, but in reality it is only training youth for adult life. A Japanese schoolmaster and a Prime Minister hold their office on much the same terms.

"The Rise of Industry" forms a very interesting chapter. War, despite its horrors, has, nevertheless, brought to Japan an opening-out that perhaps nothing else could have achieved. Before the Chinese war ending in 1894 the industrial development of Japan had not gone very far, but from that period onward, following the victories of the Russo-Japanese War, she has progressed with extraordinary rapidity, and acquired a position of political equality with Western Powers. The author traces her advance step by step. It is almost a fairy tale when one considers that within living memory Japan has established herself politically and industrially as one of the Great Powers. The development of her industries from home production to mass production by the introduction of machinery; and the grafting of Western industrialism on to an Eastern country which is at the same time maintaining her traditional social system, are unique phenomena in economic and social history. Mr. Allen has much to say on "Banking and Finance," which is naturally closely connected with industry. "The Population Problem" is a grave one which has to be faced, as indeed has the food question which may prove the cause of vast changes in the life of the people.

In the concluding chapter on "Japan and the West" the author touches on many matters social, political and religious, and on the influence which other countries have exercised in the modernising of Japan. He feels that Japan remains at base Oriental, a lover of beauty and of the art which embodies it, proud of her culture and her past. The Japanese have put on the Western garb without relinquishing their Oriental outlook. They remain courteous, and cleanly in the extreme, with a reserve which is inherent, and an obedience and loyalty to group life which for generations has been inculcated and taught from earliest youth. It would not be well if it were otherwise. If Japan sullies her imagination, or dims her Orientalism, East and West would alike be losers. Mr. Allen is much to be congratulated on his presentation of a fascinating people and their complex problems.

S. DE M.

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ENGLISH EDUCATION.*

This Sixpenny Library contains so far as it has gone many interesting essays by specialists. Mr. Edwyn Bevan has written on "The World of Greece and Rome," Mr. Arthur Weigall on "Ancient Egypt," Sir Oliver Lodge on "Modern Scientific Ideas," Professor H. J. Fleure on the "Races of Mankind," Dean Inge on Protestantism, Father Martindale on the "Religions of the World," and Sir John Adams on "Educational Theories." These are some among many. The Headmaster of Harrow now pictures for the public in vivid fashion the English educational system. He shows us what national education meant a century ago. There were the two ancient universities (which excluded Roman Catholics, Nonconformists and Jews) and were the subject of a good deal of healthy criticism, there were the seven public schools which were in none too good odour, there were some seven hundred endowments for secondary education "nearly all inefficient" (but not all, Newcastle Grammar School was one of the bright exceptions).

> The mass of the nation's children were being educated, so far as they were receiving secondary education at all, in private schools, of which there must have been several thousand: they

* *Benn's Sixpenny Library, No.* 171. Edited by William Rose. *The English Educational System.* By Cyril Norwood. Ernest Benn. 6d.

demand. Even since the invention of printing the same process of extinction has gone on. How many of the innumerable plays which achieved success in England from the days of Marlowe to the days of Mr. Shaw are alive? Apart from Shakespeare, not a dozen. It is true that in most cases the texts of these successful plays can be raked out from certain libraries of printed books, but whenever this is done it is seen by successive generations that these plays have no universal element and are really dead. If there had been no printing press the dead bodies could not have been dug up. Many Elizabethan plays, especially university plays, in fact were not printed and no manuscript copies survive. There must have been a mass of Latin dramatic literature, but only Terence, Plautus and Cato survive. It was not by a freak of fortune but by a reasonable process that there has survived so rich a store of Greek drama.

The survival of so many plays by Aristophanes shows how universal was and is their appeal. His own age was forced, in spite of itself, to admit their genius, but in fact Aristophanes was all that his age was not. Dr. Way calls him " a conservative and a reactionary " and compares him with a " progressive and radical " age. It is true that the poet represented old tribal Athens, that he loved the old rural democracy, that he saw through with his piercing vision the utter unreality of the so-called democratic institutions with Cleon at their head, with a jury-system that was in effect a miserable system of poor-law relief or doles (for the multitudinous jurymen were paid a small living wage and cases were manufactured to give them work). It is true that he detested the pure opportunism of the Athenian Imperial policy, a policy that as certainly ruined the Athenian Empire as a similar commercial polity ruined the great Semitic Empires of the ancient world. He equally detested the so-called intellectualism of men who used the Socratic method without any claim to the brains that alone made that method passable. He was a deep thinker who scorned the age that he lived in as fully as Socrates had scorned it. He longed for the real peace that passeth understanding and he saw no elements of it in the nation that he lashed. He asks why Peace had vanished from the earth and his answer is that the curse of Hellas dates from the wrong done to the great Pheidias. The friend of Pericles, that great man could not protect the immortal sculptor from the essential injustice of the Athenian world. It was an unjust world in its whole and in its elements, and it was incurably unjust.

Dr. Way tells us that the political result of the life's work of Aristophanes was *nil*. " We cannot find that he succeeded in effecting a single change either in politics, literature, music or social customs." Had he succeeded he would have succeeded in saving Athens. That perhaps has been the reflection of successive

ages who realise that Greece only survives in the persons of men like Skopas and Pheidias, Plato and Aristotle, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophanes, their predecessors and successors.

Give me, Euripides,
A rag from one of your old tragedies.

These rags have proved more lasting than the Athenian Empire. Dr. Way's spirited translations which (it may be taken as a true compliment) recall and may be compared with Mr. Browning's winged work on his Aristophanic theme, will make the student realise why Aristophanes survived though he never won the first prize at the hands of the massed Greek critics.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

OLDEST LONDON.*

The question of the London that existed before the days of the Roman invasions of Britain takes a new phase in this book by that eminent surgeon and antiquary, Mr. F. G. Parsons, the Professor of Anatomy in the University of London. The London area may be considered from the point of view of the remains of the earlier or earliest inhabitants found within the precincts of the area. It could hardly be suggested that these remains are those of men and women who were not Londoners. A *terminus a quo* to which we can refer the beginning of human occupation is possible. The old Stone Age is ruled out by Professor Parsons, since at that date the London area was at the bottom of the Thames. He tells us that the present geological estimate is that " our twin hills arose from the river bed about 3000 B.C." These hills " must have been welcomed by people well advanced in the neolithic culture; and would have found the country largely occupied by the Mediterranean race." There were earlier neolithic inhabitants of Britain but Professor Parsons considers that there was little difference between these and the Mediterranean race and it is noteworthy that his measurements establish the fact that the skulls of these earlier people " were as high and as capacious as the average of the fourteenth and fifteenth century inhabitants of Rothwell, in Northants, whose skulls lie in the crypt below the church; and who, I think, may be taken as representative mediæval Englishmen."

These Long Barrow or Mediterranean people were, in Professor Parsons' view, " clever, well organised and used to working together, indeed, everything points to their having been communists whose unit was the village commune." These people, with whom the Druid cult may have originated, inhabited the habitable part of

* *The Earliest Inhabitants of London.* By F. G. Parsons. Cecil Palmer, 49 Chandos Street, W.C.2. 10s. 6d. net.

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England and Wales from perhaps six to two thousand years ago, a pastoral hunting people with fixed religious centres to which they made pilgrimage. One of these trackways—if it is neolithic—led from the Chiltern Hills to Westminster and, crossing the river, "ran along the highlands bordering the southern shore of the Thames, to Canterbury and the coast."

The Long Barrow men were good seamen and required a communication from the Midlands to the coast and the Westminster Ford provided this. Somewhere in the region of 2000 B.C. the roundheaded Beaker folk came to Britain, and burials show that they used the already ancient Watling Street crossing the ford at Westminster and the Pilgrims' Way, westward through Kent seeking and bringing copper and tin from Cornwall. Professor Parsons considers that the round barrows in Greenwich Park belong to this race. These people seem to have mixed with the Long Barrow people to judge from the burials, but probably most of them were traders. Professor Parsons dwells on the fact that we have remained a longheaded race and that, in fact, the sea has protected us from Alpine shortheadedness. The Channel (he holds) became a definite protection about 1800 B.C. when the land bridge finally vanished. Without entering into Professor Parsons' disquisition on the "Nordic" race, which opens endless controversy, it is a fact that a Celtic race, a branch of the Aryan race, of the tribes that had settled in the vast grass areas of Eastern Europe, arrived in Britain sometime between 800 and 1000 B.C. These Goidelic Celts were followed by a more dominant Celtic race, the Brythons, whom Professor Parsons thinks came here about 600 B.C., though the date is usually placed perhaps 200 years later.

Professor Parsons devotes some space to the religion and gods of these Celtic tribes and does not dismiss the possibility that Ludgate and Lydney were "sites on the great eastern and western estuaries where seamen might have worshipped and returned thanks" to the god Lud or Neptune. On the other hand he accepts the view now generally discarded that "all the evidence points" in the direction that there was no city on the site of London when Cæsar came to Britain in 54 B.C. He discusses the route taken by Cæsar and differs from most antiquarians in believing that Cæsar followed Watling Street and crossed the Thames at Westminster, and he thinks that the fact that Cæsar did not mention London was proof that it did not exist. He thinks that Cæsar went on to Verulam. Professor Parsons is inclined to place the origin of London in the first half of the first century A.D. "while Cymbeline was welcoming everything that came from Rome." It is useless to enter into this question here as other evidence of which Professor Parsons does not make use makes it clear to many minds that London was an ancient tribal

town under the overlordship of the Kentish tribes long before Cæsar's time.

Professor Parsons pictures the valley of the Thames in the neighbourhood "of the future London," in about the year 2000 B.C.,

> as peopled, at this time, by a small dark race, slightly, but only slightly modified by the round-headed people, hunting, fishing, growing corn, making simple pottery, and herding their flocks on the neighbouring hillsides. Undoubtedly their culture had advanced materially in the last few hundred years, since they now had bronze with all its possibilities. It is likely to have been somewhere about this time that the dug-out canoe, which may be seen in the London Museum, plied across the river from the island above Kew Bridge, where a prehistoric camp was situated. It seems impossible that this great oak tree could have been hollowed out as cleanly as it is, leaving a transverse bulkhead in the middle, without the aid of bronze tools.

A thousand years later the Goidelic Celts appeared and Professor Parsons rightly holds that they became an important element in the population of the neighbourhood of London. They certainly were dominated by the Brythonic Celts and we know, from Ptolemy a contemporary authority, that about the year A.D. 150 that London belonged to Kent, in other words was occupied by a subject Goidelic tribe. The customary law material confirms this view. The Gavelkind of Kent is Brythonic. The ultimogeniture of London (outside the city) is Goidelic. Ultimogeniture prevailed in a great area both north and south of the Thames, from Richmond to Kennington, from Ealing to Tottenham. But through this massive block of ultimogeniture lands ran, from Kent northward, a gavelkind line extending through Stepney, Mile End, Hackney, Islington, Kentish Town and north to Hornsey. All these customs are pre-Jutish. The Jutes had no such customs. But there is something more remarkable than this. The Celts were all patriarchal and so were the later invaders. But in the London area we get matriarchal customs of succession, the customs of the neolithic Mediterranean race. Pytheas noted these customs in Gaul. In the London area they existed in a most remarkable form in that part of Surrey which abuts on London. Professor Parsons' evidence seems, in fact, to support the view that there was a settled London area in pre-historic times.

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A SHORT HISTORY OF PAINTING.*

Short histories of an art can be very good, as Mr. Saintsbury's histories of the English and French literatures show, but they can be also very bad, as many scrappy books at the present day demon-

* *An Outline History of Painting in Europe to the End of the Nineteenth Century.* By S. C. Kaines Smith. The Medici Society. 6s. net.

strate. Mr. S. C. Kaines Smith, the keeper of the Birmingham City Museum and Art Gallery, in his *Outline History of Painting in Europe* comes into the very first rank with a limited work that purports to place an art into historical perspective. His writing is unhasting, carefully balanced, alive with the personalities of the successive painters and of the schools that they represent—a school has a personality—cool and fearless. It is delightful as a piece of composition, since it possesses depth, atmosphere, and life. It may be, it is indeed certain, that all competent critics will not agree with all his estimates and criticisms, and Mr. Kaines Smith would be the last to expect it. He is, for instance, not perhaps fully just to the mediæval frescoes in the English churches. He considers that in the early days "England was at no time a painting country, like Italy or the Netherlands, and there can have been but few altar-pieces in English churches. Even the wall paintings in churches were for the most part purely decorative and symbolic." Current research would probably alter this point of view. The alleged contemporary portraits of Richard I and other kings in the Temple Church and full-length figures that are undoubtedly mediæval in Cornwall and elsewhere supply some evidence on the subject. Puritan fury played havoc with our mediæval art. Mr. Kaines Smith admits that painting was in the blood, since our miniatures, as revealed in manuscripts, were more than excellent.

> From the ninth to the thirteenth century English work of this kind stood very high indeed, not only in this country, but also abroad. It was lively in drawing and rich and varied in colour, and, from the point of view of illustration, vigorous and dramatic: but the break between this early art, and the art of painting as it was practised from the sixteenth century onwards, is so complete that, for all practical purposes, we may begin our history of English painting with the portraiture of the sixteenth century.

How late we came into our own may be gathered from the fact that Sir James Thornhill, who painted the famous ceilings in Greenwich Hospital, "may be reckoned the first Englishman who ever gave serious thought and pains to draughtsmanship." Strangely enough, the great Hogarth was his pupil. The later history of pure English painting reveals great genius. Reynolds, who based his teaching on the historic methods, in fact in his own practice introduced methods "so new as to be almost revolutionary. . . . His was a colour-sense that was new in the history of art, the English colour-sense that was yet to produce Turner and Constable and Crome, and the great school—which he did not foresee—of English landscape painters." Old Crome of Norwich, despite his brief training, "is one of the greatest landscape painters

in history, ranking only below Turner and Constable. The reason was this: he had only one object in learning to paint, that of being able to perpetuate the beauty that he saw around him." This statement in the last chapter of Mr. Kaines Smith's book carries the mind back to the beginning, to the evolution of painting in Italy.

What classical Greek painting was like we only know from contemporary descriptions, but it is certain, from the statuary that survives and the descriptions, that they were drawn from nature, and echoes survive in the first century frescoes at Pompeii in earlier paintings in Rome and in the mosaics at Ravenna of the early sixth century. But that recourse to nature died out and painting seems to have become, before the time of Margaritone of Arezzo, mere conventional memories of painting that had almost as little relationship to reality as an Egyptian hieroglyph. Cimabue in the second half of the thirteenth century led the return to reality, and perhaps Mr. Kaines Smith hardly does justice to some of his great figures. Cimabue discovered Giotto, the shepherd boy on the Florentine hills, a lad who had none of the old conventions to conquer and who loved reality. He loved, as much as old Crome loved, reality and beauty. He set down what he saw or what he imagined with literal force, he grouped what he saw, that is to say, he composed with a resultant force, and he set it all down with exquisite technical art. If Siena was sentimental, perhaps Mr. Kaines Smith might possibly admit that she added an almost oriental element to Italian art that her almond-eyed women might explain. But meantime new forces were appearing. Masaccio, who died still almost a youth in 1428, brought a new conception of space into painting and brought the science of anatomy into play. Mr. Kaines Smith seems here to trace the influence of the immortal sculptor, Donatello, at play, and it is certain that his eternal verities of line led directly not only to da Vinci but Michael Angelo, while the old school of Giotto led as well to the independent perfection of Andrea del Sarto.

Mr. Kaines Smith seems to think that the spread of humanism from Constantinople centred round the famous date 1453, but, in fact, the manuscripts and the humanism that they begot had long before been carried north from the doomed city. It is difficult to synchronise the fall of Constantinople with any fact in either humanism or art, but in the work of Botticelli (1466-1510) the author sees "the process of the transformation of Florentine art from mediæval to Renaissance ideals completed." Perhaps that statement requires modification, especially the idea that the process meant "the paganising of art." The art of da Vinci was surely not pagan. "In all his known works, there are three great quali-

ties, namely, dignity, mystery, and understanding of, rather than sympathy with, human nature," while Michael Angelo the realist burned with divine force, as indeed, did his master, Ghirlandajo, who turned " *design* into *composition,* by making foreground and background play their part in a single design." It is true that the legitimate descendants of Giotto became more and more clever rather than religious, and Mr. Kaines Smith is daring enough to say that there is " a streak of vulgarity in Andrea del Sarto," as perhaps is true with a painter who was the very contrast to del Sarto in the way of drawing, our delightful George Romney. In this book Raffaelo Sanzio, " the greatest Umbrian of them all," is regarded as " a decorator from beginning to end."

> The great decorations of the Stanze of the Vatican are decorations first and subjects only secondly; and they justify the painter in his devotion to pure beauty, perfect rhythm of movement, perfect coherence of design, in which both forms and spaces must play their part in harmony with one another, and emotions must be reduced to graceful formulæ, lest the mind distract the eye from its enjoyment of beauty for beauty's sake. . . . When he died, mourned by all Rome and all Italy, he had carried pure decoration to its very summit, and for abiding, unruffled beauty there has been no painting since that can compare with his achievement.

True as all this is from the technical side, does it not miss much of the true Rafael, of the soul of the divine artist? The intense religious fervour seems almost totally missed. The religious *motif* lies behind everything. Rafael decorated Heaven. Browning puts in the mouth of Andrea the truth :

> Rafael did this, Andrea painted that;
> The Roman's is the better when you pray,
> But still the other's Virgin was his wife.

There is the true contrast of the paganism of the Andrea school and the pure religion of the school of Rafael. Mr. Kaines Smith almost admits this when he wisely writes that the Venetians painted " truly religious pictures." Bellini blends reverence with love, " Giovanni Bellini at least showed how near humanity may come to the divine."

And so we pass westward to the Netherlands where even the great Mabuse showed that it was impossible for a Flemish artist to come to a resultant force, to Germany where religious fervour married to great art still blazed in the souls of Dürer and Holbein, to Holland with the superb individualism of Hals and Rembrandt, to Spain and Velasquez, " the greatest adventurer in the art of painting since the time of Giotto," to France and Watteau, " the only painter in history who has ever achieved the paradox of making prettiness the means of expressing power," to France and Millet, the peasant who painted his own soul in the Angelus. Mr. Kaines Smith's book is a sheer delight from end to end, and the illustrations though small (and sometimes not too well placed) are an example of a due use of the comparative method. All travellers who love art, and all art students and lovers of pictures, should possess this excellent book. One chapter should be added to the next edition : a discussion of Japanese painting in its relation to European. There is much to be said there which will help students of art. Something, too, should be said of Portuguese painting, a neglected but not negligible subject.

J. E. G. DE M.

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POLITICAL SCIENCE.*

The brilliant inaugural lecture of Professor Ernest Barker as Professor of Political Science in the University of Cambridge will be read with profit by the large circle of those who are more and more thinking about the theory and practice of public life. Professor Barker uses the term Political Science or, preferably, Political Theory, " to signify a method, or form of inquiry, concerned with the moral phenomena of human behaviour in political societies." He boldly disengages History and Political Theory since, despite the substantial debt of some political theorists to history,

> We must equally admit the possibility of a great and influential theory of politics which has no definite basis in history. . . . There are questions of political theory which are the same yesterday, to-day and for ever. Why does the State exist? What are the purposes for which it exists? What are the best and most congruous means of realising them?

Professor Barker rightly regards these as fundamental problems, but it is possible to deny that these questions of essence, purpose and value " transcend the category of time," since (though the lecturer does not take that view) the history of the State, its purpose and its value, is the record of processes of group-protection, and therefore is essentially measured by temporal categories.

When we come to the history of political theories we seem to see this view reinforced, since we have to deal with the development of political ideas from the region of the tiny kinship group to the region of great empires. In this development we have, as Professor Barker insists, not only " the speculation of individual minds, self-conscious and analytic," but the political thought of " a whole society, often but dimly conscious of itself, and yet pervading and

* *The Study of Political Science and its Relation to Cognate Studies.* By Ernest Barker. Cambridge University Press. 2s. 6d. net.

shaping political life and growth." That political thought is the pure product of history, the effort of the group and the group of groups to find self-protection and the means of healthy growth.

It is here that the study of law comes in. It is true that "political theory can never afford to neglect the study of legal ideas," but it is, for a lawyer, almost necessary (if at any rate he is a follower of Sir Henry Maine) to deny Professor Barker's assertion that "the family is a legal rather than a natural institution," and that "property, too, is a conception of the lawyers; and the State itself, in one of its aspects, is a legal framework." Careful study, comparative study, of customary law throughout the world shows that these ideas must be subject to modification if the historic growth of institutions from the kinship group or germ is considered. Law is a function of the group, the group is not a function of law.

Professor Barker is more convincing when he turns to psychology and describes it as "a fashion," while "the quiet hodden-grey of philosophy endures." The study of it has, however, added new knowledge, though hardly new substance, to political theory, but there is the danger of allowing a psychological study of the working of the mind to obscure the broad realities of human nature. Biology is a different matter. It "has perhaps greater contributions to make to the study of human welfare than any other science." The organisation of society in great masses must, indeed, depend on the biologist for much that makes that organisation possible. But philosophy is the thing that keeps political theory fresh and pure. Men pour streams of new thought like streams of pure water upon the changing problems of human polity. If we are to live at all we must think, and thinking as to human goals is the only thing that makes these goals gainable. But with all the thought and all the complexities of human society, with great goals that can only be gained by sober executive and burning reformatory forces, how is the individual to survive, how is freedom for the soul to be maintained? Milton finally answered that problem in his own way: freedom is a subjective thing. But whether it be subjective or objective it can only be gained and secured by education. Therefore Professor Barker harks back to the Platonic State. That is a conclusion which any University will admire and which to-day, at any rate, is accepted everywhere. But is the education that we are working for one that will give freedom to the individual or are we aiming at a dead level of high intelligence without a spiritual basis?

J. E. G. DE M.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

No Englishman has had better opportunities of studying the political evolution of Germany since the war than Mr. H. G. Daniels. *The Rise of the German Republic** provides an unadorned but authoritative sketch of the fall of the Empire, the struggle with Communism, the making of the Constitution and the acceptance of the Treaty of Versailles, the Kapp rebellion and other aspects of the militarist revival, the treaty with Russia, the invasion and evacuation of the Ruhr, the currency crisis and the stabilisation of the mark, and finally the application and operation of the Dawes plan for the payment of reparations. As correspondent of *The Times* in Berlin the author witnessed the successive political and economic crises at close range, and he rejoices in the gradual clearing of the sky. A final chapter, entitled Prospects of the Republic, breathes a spirit of cautious optimism. "The patriotic societies are in decay and no longer threaten the security of the Republic," which, as he reminds us, has been strengthened by the patriotism of Hindenburg and by the acceptance of office by the Nationalists. We are presented with the picture of a hard-working people, for whom revolution has no attractions, slowly recovering its prosperity and self-confidence, and in foreign affairs following the lead of Stresemann, to whose eminent services full justice is done.

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Modes and Manners of the Nineteenth Century† (edited by Grace Thompson) was compiled by Dr. Oskar Fischel and Max Von Boehm and translated from the German by M. Edwards. It is in four volumes, and each volume has about 250 illustrations in colour and in black and white. Fashions in dress and style, with much historical description of ways and manners, and many amusing stories, are divided into four periods: 1790 to 1817, 1818 to 1842, 1843 to 1878, 1879 to 1914. Miss Grace Rhys in her introduction to Volume I writes on European dress and its changes as an expression of a social history common to all men. Illustrations are drawn among others from the *Journal des Dames* and *Le Bon Genre*, Paris, from *The Gallery of Fashion, The Repository* and *La Belle Assemblée*, London, and from the *Hamburger Journal der Moden und Eleganz*. In Volume IV the editor has provided a chapter on sport and sports clothes which was not in the German edition: and she has substituted a chapter dealing with English social history of the period, for the corresponding German article. Many excellent portraits are reproduced in this volume, and there is matter to entertain old and young and small and great throughout.

* * *

Dr. G. H. Rendall in the introduction to his volume *The Epistle of St. James and Judaic Christianity*‡ draws attention to the fact that the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament has, with its practical completion, given the fullest range to the Higher Criticism, a range that is not, however, destined to end in confusion. Despite wild work by certain critics "the sum of constructive knowledge accumulates . . . the

* Nisbet. 15s.

† J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd. £2 2s. net the set.

‡ Cambridge: At the University Press. 7s. 6d. net.

margins of variation are steadily decreasing, both in time and place." But Dr. Rendall points out that " the products of Judaic Christianity stand in somewhat different case: the total output is small, the secular contacts much more restricted, and the documentary data for comparison scanty. . . . Yet the materials in my belief suffice to prove that the Epistle of St. James belongs to the middle of the first century, and the object of the present study is to gain a clear idea of its own values, and its relation to other books, canonical and extra-canonical." The Greek text is given, and scholars and others will find in the volume a wealth of suggestive material as to the message of " the minister of transition."

* * *

These two substantial volumes entitled *Joseph Conrad: Life and Letters** by Mr. G. Jean-Aubry represent no hasty work, since long before the famous novelist's death Mr. Jean-Aubry had begun to collect material for the biography " little thinking, however, that I should be so suddenly entrusted with the melancholy task of tracing the path through life of one of the rarest spirits of our times." Mr. Jean-Aubry has made his selection of letters from among " not less than two thousand of his letters, English, French and Polish." Some of the letters in Polish have been translated for insertion in these volumes but those written in French have been reserved for a separate volume for a French-reading public. The two volumes cover in detail Conrad's life from the earliest days (he was born on December 3rd, 1857, at Berdiczew in Poland) to the novelist's sudden death in Kent on August 3rd, 1924. This work contains full material for an estimate of this remarkable genius who made the English language wholly his own.

* William Heinemann. £2 2s. net.

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THE FASCIST CHALLENGE TO FREEDOM.

OBSERVERS of contemporary events often wonder whether people now care for freedom. If John Stuart Mill were still living, what sort of an essay would he write " On Liberty "? Can platform orators be sure of rapturous applause if they propose " to make the bounds of freedom wider yet "? In a Preface to Don Luigi Sturzo's book on Italy and Fascism,* Professor Gilbert Murray wrote some eighteen months ago: " Freedom in Europe is not secure. We need not flatter ourselves that it is. Free institutions are still on their trial, or, rather, the peoples are on their trial to see whether they are capable of freedom." Don Sturzo himself, formerly the powerful leader of the Italian " Popular " (better called the " Christian-Democratic ") Party, has analysed the problem with rare insight. He shows the close connection between political and economic freedom, and argues that the mistake of the absolute Governments in the first half of the nineteenth century lay in their failure to perceive it. In this country, on the other hand, the " Manchester School " thought economic freedom a panacea but forgot that, if only a minority could enjoy it effectively, the idea of economic and even of political freedom might cease to charm the majority. German economists and German Socialists soon agreed that " freedom is no solution," and set out in opposite directions to look for something more positive. The economists went towards combines, cartels and State monopolies, while the Socialists espoused Marxism and the dictatorship of the proletariate.

Whither the latter tendency leads we have seen for the past ten years in Bolshevist Russia. Even more striking, because carried out by similar methods under Western conditions, has been the Fascist experiment in Italy. Around this experiment—empirical, violent and originally devoid of doctrine—a political and social philosophy is now being woven, a philosophy so all-embracing, so " totalitarian "—to use a current Fascist term—that it has evoked protests from the Vatican in the name of human rights! Stranger things have happened. Did not a Sultan of Turkey once threaten to make war against Russia in defence of the liberty of Poland?

Last autumn, in New York, an American lady who had spent some weeks in Italy spoke to me enthusiastically of Mussolini and Fascism. My scepticism moved her to ask whether I really thought that Mussolini had done no good at all to the Italians. " On the contrary," I answered, " I think he is teaching the Italian people the value of freedom." This answer assumes that freedom has

* *Italy and Fascismo.* By Luigi Sturzo. With a Preface by Gilbert Murray. Faber & Gwyer. 15s. net.

real worth—an assumption which Fascism roundly denies. Obviously, freedom has the value which people ascribe to it. In this country we assign high worth to it, in theory and sometimes in practice. What value has it in the eyes of 40,000,000 Italians? If they cared, or care, for it why did they lose it, since they once fought and suffered for it and won it in large measure? Upon this question most of the arguments about Fascism really turn.

Books and pamphlets upon Fascism would fill a respectable library. Most of them are " propaganda " of a sorry sort. Some are honestly ignorant and unintentionally misleading. A few are enlightening. In English I have seen, so far, only two books really worth reading. One is Don Sturzo's *Italy and Fascismo*. The other is the first volume of Professor Gaetano Salvemini's *The Fascist Dictatorship in Italy*.* The two books are as different as the temperaments of their authors, though the men, like their books, have strong resemblances. Both Sturzo and Salvemini are high-minded and selfless; both are ardent lovers of their country; both cleave to truth and abhor falsehood; and both have risked their lives and are in exile for their convictions. Don Luigi Sturzo is a Sicilian priest of saintly life, wide outlook and profound mind. Professor Salvemini is a historian of unblemished record, militant disposition and scientific training. Politically he is Socialist, or " Socialistoid," yet with a faith in freedom that Socialists sometimes lack. A merry humour cloaks his earnestness—a humour which his critics and adversaries sometimes fail to understand, because it may, on occasion, put a very sharp edge on his irony.

What these men have to say of Italy and of Fascism commands respect. Don Sturzo speaks from intimate knowledge and first-hand experience of political life. Professor Salvemini, who has been a Member of Parliament, writes as a trained student of history. One defect of his work is that it makes insufficient allowance for the ignorance of non-Italian readers. Consequently, at first sight, its great merits may escape them. Familiar though I have long been with the major aspects of Italian life, I admit that, until I had gone carefully through the formidable mass of facts and evidence which he has accumulated, I hardly realised its overwhelming weight—or the severity of the lesson by which Mussolini and his controllers are teaching Italians the value of freedom.

The whole Western world needs to understand the quality of that lesson so that it may draw wisdom from the ordeal of Italy. As Professor Ramsay Muir writes in his Introduction to Salvemini's book:

> Law and liberty had become (before the war) the presiding genii of Western civilisation; and every serious student of history regarded their victory as the greatest triumph and proof of progress in human affairs.
>
> Since the war there has been a strange reaction against these beliefs. In many countries both Law and Liberty are less respected than they used to be. In two great countries, Italy and Russia, they have been dethroned; and the apostles of the new régimes in both countries assure us that a belief in the sovereignty of law, a hatred of arbitrary power, and a respect for Parliamentary Government and the free movement of public opinion, are old-fashioned superstitions, cherished only by the despised bourgeoisie.
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> Wide as are the differences between the Russia of Lenin and the Italy of Mussolini, they are alike in this, that they have re-established arbitrary or extra-legal power, that they use brute violence and terrorism as instruments of government, and that they have substituted dictatorship for self-government.
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> Whether we admire or detest these new methods, it is supremely important that we should understand them. But it is difficult to do so, largely because it is part of their procedure to prevent the dissemination of knowledge, and to suppress or doctor the facts.

* *The Fascist Dictatorship in Italy*. By Gaetano Salvemini. Former Professor of History at the University of Florence. Jonathan Cape. 15s. net.

Hence the importance of getting at the facts. It is all the greater because they are being rapidly obscured by a thick overgrowth of legend and plausible falsehood. The objection has been raised that Salvemini, as an Italian who has suffered under Fascism, is necessarily a " biased " witness. Few things are harder to overcome than the serene impartiality of the " butterflies upon the road," in this and other countries, who " preach contentment " to the Italian toads beneath the Fascist harrow. Some of the toads actually have the bad taste to get excited! What better proof of " bias " can there be? Moreover, do not the Italians belong to a species of political toad for which a little harrowing may be quite excellent? They are " dagos "; one of the " lesser breeds without the law "; quite unfit to govern themselves. Ought they not to be grateful that a " strong man " has arisen to make order among them and to put a stop to the ludicrous antics in which they indulged when they were " free "? Only superior races are fit for freedom if, indeed, even they know how to use it rightly. Have we not heard among our Captains of Industry, plutocrats and newspaper magnates the cry that England, too, " needs a Mussolini "?

Naturally, Salvemini is " biased." He loves neither Fascism nor its leader. But before we rule out his evidence on this account let us look at some recent and entirely independent testimony from another quarter. One of the foremost Australian writers, Professor Walter Murdoch, wrote, under his pen-name, " Elzevir," in the Melbourne *Argus* of February 25th, an article on " Italy To-day," which I wish every public-spirited man and woman in this country could read. (I shall certainly reproduce it in full in the *Review of Reviews* next month.) He spent five months in

Italy, just long enough, as he says, " to teach you that you know nothing at all about it—nothing, that is, with any sort of assurance or certitude." Therefore he gives his conclusions as mere impressions, " the impressions of a person who, when in Italy, did not live among the Americans at expensive hotels, who kept his eyes and ears as wide open as he could, who spoke with as many people as he could induce to talk, who accepted nobody's opinion as necessarily correct, and who was gradually driven to certain conclusions. To put those conclusions in a nutshell: I have an immense liking and admiration for the Italian people, and an utter loathing and abomination for the present Italian Government and all of its works and ways."

Salvemini, the excitable and biased Italian, uses no language as strong as these words of a, presumably, dour Scottish Australian. What is it that " got " Professor Murdoch's " goat "? He writes:

> This conclusion was not arrived at all of a sudden. I found, looking back, that one's attitude to Fascism went through three stages. At the end of one month I said to myself, finding the Italian cities so much cleaner and tidier and more orderly than when I had visited them before, and noting that the Italians were apparently more prosperous and more self-respecting than before, that Fascism had at least brought material well-being to Italy and was, so far, a good form of Government. (This was the superficial, or tourist, view of the matter.) At the end of three months my impression was that material well-being can be bought at too high a price, and that Italy had gained prosperity at the cost of liberty and all the precious things of which liberty is a condition. At the end of five months my conclusion was that Italy had not gained prosperity. She had paid the exorbitant price, and the goods had not been delivered. Fascism never brought prosperity to Italy. Prosperity came to her, for a few years following the post-war depression, from various causes, of which Fascism was not one; nor can Fascism preserve that prosperity or show any sign of being able to handle the present economic crisis. . . . Italy has lost her liberty—and what has she gained? What single good thing has Signor Mussolini brought to Italy in return for the gift of absolute power which has been handed to him?

Professor Murdoch foresees that the inevitable reply will be—" Order." He admits the disorder that followed the war, and finds no excuse for the crimes of violence then committed. But he says, truly, that for every crime of violence committed by the misguided Communists, five have been committed by the Fascists, whose rule has been, and still is,

> " punctuated by every kind of violation of the law, from assassination downwards—and you call it order? . . . Many good men and true, men of fine intelligence and high patriotism, have been kicked or clubbed to death by bands of young blackguards of the Fascist militia; and you call it order? Others have been lucky enough to escape into England or France. Many thousands are to-day herded with criminals in those horrible Italian prisons; and many hundreds are eating their hearts out on two small islands near Sicily which are kept as a limbo for Opposition politicians; and all for no crime except the crime of entertaining, or of being suspected of entertaining, liberal opinions. Order is heaven's first law, we are told; well, then, may heaven preserve us from such order as this!"

Professor Murdoch concludes:

> I wish there were space to talk of many things on which I must be silent. Of, for instance, the menace to the peace of the world which one cannot help seeing in a man who has only to press a button to set the whole Press of the country working up a war scare. They were working up a war scare with Yugoslavia while I was in Italy; and one could not but see the tremendous power of a perfectly unanimous Press over an excitable people, fond of flamboyant phrases and theatrical gestures. Of the abominable poisoning of the souls of children which is going on in all Italian schools. And of many other things; but I must stop. . . . One thing I must say in conclusion. It is common to say, and has been said with damnable iteration by a certain popular English newspaper, that though Signor Mussolini would not be stood for a moment in England, he is just the right man for Italy, which is unfit for freedom. It is always so terribly easy to say that somebody else is unfit for freedom. The Italian exiles in England justly resent that pronouncement. If Italy is unfit for freedom, what nation is fit? These living Italians are men whose fathers or grandfathers planned a free Italy with Cavour, hoped for and dreamed of it with Mazzini, fought and died for it with Garibaldi—and in their struggle for liberty gave to nineteenth-century Europe its most inspiring spectacle. I do not know any better way of proving your fitness for freedom than by dying for it; and the Italians shed their blood abundantly in the great cause. And the fruit of all their travail of soul and agony of body is—a country in the grip of a merciless tyranny; a sorry anti-climax! I have too much admiration for the Italian people not to feel well assured that the overthrow of that despotism, though it may be long in coming, is bound to come.

Professor Murdoch cannot have read Salvemini's book. It had not been published when he wrote. Besides, he gave his own impressions without access to the documents and facts which Salvemini has collected. Yet in Salvemini's " biased " pages there are few traces of the righteous indignation which Professor Murdoch obviously feels. On the whole, it would seem, the red herring of " bias " may be ignored, and the facts examined as though they were—as they are—fairly stated.

Salvemini begins by analysing what he calls the " post-war neurasthenia " of July in 1919; the effects of economic crisis, of demobilisation, of the return to civil life of some 160,000 discharged officers accustomed to spend money freely, and having acquired a taste for command and for a life of adventure; and, worst of all,

of the systematic propaganda organised by the General Staffs of the Army and Navy and by the Italian Foreign Office to convince the people that President Wilson and the Allied Governments of France and England were robbing Italy of the fruits of victory. The Allied Governments and President Wilson paid little heed to Italian threats, and the propaganda succeeded only in working up a great part of the Italian middle and intellectual classes into a state of frenzy. Out of this frenzy came D'Annunzio's raid on Fiume in September, 1919. A spirit of sedition was fostered in the Army and the Government became incapable of suppressing disorder.

Amid this psychological crisis the General Election of November, 1919, was held. The new Chamber consisted of 156 Socialists, 100 Christian-Democrats (Don Sturzo's Party) and 250 members split up into a variety of groups. The result was Parliamentary paralysis. Post-war neurasthenia prevented the regular working of Parliament, and the breakdown of Parliament increased the neurasthenia. The country seethed with unrest. The soldiers no longer obeyed their officers. The officers no longer obeyed the Government but favoured D'Annunzio. The Government lost all moral prestige, was swayed hither and thither by fear, exasperating strikes broke out and, finally, in September, 1920, the workmen seized factories in Turin, Milan, and elsewhere, while peasants seized land which had been promised to them while they had been fighting in the trenches.

What was Mussolini doing at this time? In March, 1919, he began to form " Fighting Groups," *Fasci di Combattimento,* with an Anarchist programme. In his journal, the *Popolo d'Italia,* on April 6th, 1920, he defined the programme thus :

> I start from the individual and strike at the State. Down with the State in all its forms and incarnations. The State of yesterday, of to-day, and of to-morrow. The bourgeois State and the Socialist State. In the gloom of to-day and the darkness of to-morrow the only faith which remains to us individuals destined to die is the, at present absurd but ever consoling, religion of anarchy.

When the workmen had seized the factories, Mussolini encouraged them and expressed the view that the workers ought never to be ejected from the factories again by force. But the more prudent leaders of the General Confederation of Labour and of the Socialist Party fiercely opposed the Anarchist and Communist proposal to extend the scope of the crisis and to give it definitely revolutionary aims. They carried their point against the extremists by a majority of 180,000. The workmen voluntarily gave up the factories to the owners on September 25th. Three days later, on September 28th, 1920, Mussolini wrote, untruthfully, in the *Popolo d'Italia* :

> What has happened in Italy in the September that is now ending has been a revolution, or, to be more precise, a phase of the revolution started—*by us*—in May, 1915. There have been no street fighting, no barricades, nor anything of the theatrical appurtenances of revolution such as thrill us in Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*. But a revolution has none the less been achieved, and we may add, a great revolution. A right, which has been sacred for centuries, has been broken down.

The truth was rather that the futile occupation of the factories sobered the Italian working classes, much as the General Strike of May, 1926, sobered them in England. It taught them, as Salvemini points out, that " their manual labour in conjunction with machinery was not enough to produce wealth." They came to understand something that Lenin had seen immediately. To Madame Balabanoff, who spoke to him enthusiastically of the seizure of the factories in Italy, Lenin said suddenly : " Comrade, has it ever struck you that Italy has no coal?" Lenin thus put his finger on one of the causes of the Italian economic crisis and of the post-war disorganisation of the Italian railways—the lack of coal. Italy has no mineral subsoil and is dependent upon coal-producing countries for a great part of her industrial motive power. If there had been no coal or oil in Russia, the Bolshevist experiment would soon have collapsed.

After the seizure of the factories, the Bolshevist peril, if it ever existed, had disappeared. As Mussolini wrote, this time truthfully, in his *Popolo d'Italia,* on July 2nd, 1921, nearly sixteen months before the Fascist " March on Rome " :

> To say that there still exists a Bolshevist peril in Italy is to substitute certain unnecessary fears for the reality. Bolshevism is vanquished. Nay, more; it has been disowned by the leaders and by the masses. The Italy of 1921 is fundamentally different from that of 1919. This has been said and proved a thousand times.

But if the peril was a phantom, fear of the phantom remained. In the spring of 1922, when I was last in Italy, I asked an experienced Italian friend to explain some things which I failed to understand. His answer was at once comprehensive and to the point : " Sono fenomeni della paura " (they are phenomena of fear). No passion is more cruel than fear. The Italian reactionaries who had never, in their hearts, loved the liberties won during the Risorgimento and whose watchword, even at the end of the nineteenth century when I lived in Italy, was always " Macchina indietro!" (reverse the engine), had been thoroughly scared. They saw that the failure of the " Bolshevist Revolution " had given them their opportunity. Industrialists and landowners, shopkeepers and tradesmen joined in an " anti-Bolshevist " campaign which the Nationalists supported. Violent measures against

moved," or interned all actual and potential opponents; which declares, in Bolshevist language, that "opposition is counter-revolution"; which controls the whole Press, destroys the Constitution on which the unity of Italy was based, arrogates to itself a monopoly of education from the cradle up, and procures money by mortgaging the economic resources of the country to foreign capitalists—can such a Government be overthrown? It seems improbable. But I remember a fleeting moment in the history of Italy when a reactionary Government seemed to have as firm a grip on the country as Mussolini and the factions of which he is the figurehead now have. Yet it disappeared in three weeks. Fascism may not disappear in three weeks, three months or three years. Ten years were needed to overcome the ferocious reaction that set in after the disasters of 1848. Yet the liberal soul of Italy "went marching on." I believe that quietly, without conspiracy, nay, without possibility of communicating with each other, tens of thousands of young Italians are working out for themselves individual answers to the great question: "What is the value of freedom?" and that, one day, they will find a means of giving effect to their answers in a manner which will astonish apostates from liberty the world over.

If this be mere conjecture it is, at least, not inconsistent with the conclusion to Don Sturzo's high-minded book:

> And one thing is sure, and corresponds to the profound consciousness underlying modern civilisation—that even in Italy the time must come when the advent of a peaceful and progressive Democracy, recognising all parties in accordance with the "method of liberty," will restore Italy to her proper place as a centre of moral and artistic life, of religious and juridical thought, of activity in labour and commerce, as a factor in international equilibrium, so that she may play her true part as a great pacific nation.

WICKHAM STEED.

LIBERALISM AND INDUSTRY.

I.

THE Report of the Liberal Industrial Inquiry, which was described by Sir Herbert Samuel in the March issue of THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, was published at the beginning of February. It is now possible to form some sort of estimate of the effect which the Report is likely to have, both upon the Liberal Party and upon the trend of British politics.

The book had a remarkable reception in the Press. Even hostile papers treated it with respect, acknowledging that no such wide-ranging survey and analysis had ever been attempted by a political party. But they consoled themselves with the reflection that the Report was far too sane, solid and realistic to be of much use as a political stunt. The criticisms of the Conservative newspapers (which now constitute the great majority of the Press) followed two incompatible lines of argument—often in the same article: first, that the Report was an attempt to compromise with Socialism, and that the reforms which it proposed were far too drastic and numerous to be practicable; and, secondly, that there was nothing in it to which reasonable men could not agree, and therefore nothing distinctively Liberal. The Labour papers also professed agreement with the greater part of it, and complained that the Liberals had been stealing their thunder: some parts of it were declared to be much too good to be true, and Mr. Wheatley predicted that the Liberal Party would never agree to the proposals about works councils and safeguards against arbitrary dismissal. These were the reactions of the regular party Press. The more independent organs of opinion, like the *Observer* and the *Spectator* on the one side, or the *New Statesman* on the other, described the Report as a far-reaching and constructive scheme of reform which no serious student of public affairs could afford to disregard; and the *New Statesman* not obscurely hinted a wish that the Labour Party had anything so coherent and well articulated to offer.

It is perhaps permissible to draw, from these comments, two instructive conclusions: first, that there is a widespread feeling among thinking people that great changes in our industrial order are both imminent and needed, though the timidity of Conservatism and the doctrinaire nebulosity of Socialism are incapable of working them out; and, secondly, that the Liberal attitude, as reflected in this Report, does very nearly correspond with the main body of intelligent opinion in the country. And these conclusions are reinforced by such evidence as one can gather as to the effect which the book is having upon those of its readers who are not

Anarchists and Communists, and equally violent Communist and Anarchist outrages, began in many parts of the country. In those days it needed some courage to be a Fascist; and the industrialists, landowners and bankers, who had not much courage of their own when the factories were seized, subsidised Mussolini's *Fasci* on condition that they should be the active vanguard of the " anti-Bolshevist " forces.

Soon the Government took a hand in the campaign. Giolitti, the Prime Minister, and Bonomi, Minister of War, authorised the General Staff and the military authorities to arm and train the Fascists. Officially countenanced, their numbers grew. They were given rifles, revolvers, bombs and military lorries for " punitive expeditions " in which they murdered and burnt to their hearts' content, while the police, the Royal Guards and the carabineers looked the other way. Wherever Socialists or Communists resisted or undertook reprisals, the fighting was fierce and was usually followed by counter-reprisals. Giolitti hoped, by Fascist terrorism, to crush the Socialist party and to curb the Christian-Democrats as a preparation for the General Election of May 15th, 1921. But so strong was public feeling against the methodical ferocity which the Fascist bands (armed and officered by professional soldiers) brought into the struggle, that 122 Socialists and 16 Communists replaced the 156 Socialists of the former Chamber, while the number of Christian-Democrats actually rose from 101 to 107. Parliamentary paralysis continued—with the aggravating circumstance that the moderate Socialists, who had been prepared to support the Government, dared not do so after Giolitti had employed the Fascists to " make the elections with revolvers and bludgeons." The new Chamber promptly overthrew the Cabinet of Giolitti, who found, in Salvemini's phrase, " that he had burned down the house in order to roast a pig."

A period of confusion followed in which a new factor came into play. The higher military authorities, who had acted in agreement with the Government in arming and training the Fascists, realised that the new organisation might become a formidable means of securing political power for themselves. With the complicity of the Duke of Aosta, a cousin of the King who may well have dreamt of ousting King Victor Emmanuel from the throne, the military " Black Hand " ceased to obey the civil authorities and acted on their own account. Salvemini sums up the position tersely as follows:

> The conspiracy of the high military authorities had a decisive effect on the subsequent development of Fascist activities.
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> The first Fasci, in 1919-20, consisted of patriotic youths who thought that by their " anti-Bolshevist " activities they were serving their country.

> In 1921, Fascism became an anti-Trade Unionist movement in the interests of the profiteers.
>
> In 1922 it also became an anti-Parliamentary movement in the service of a military " Black Hand."

From this position it was only one step to a *coup d'état*. Mussolini was not the first choice of the " Black Hand." D'Annunzio was cast for the part. The " March on Rome " of October, 1922, was originally fixed for November, 1921, D'Annunzio having first conceived the idea at the end of 1919. At the head of a large number of Fascists he was to make a great speech during the victory celebrations at Rome on November 4th, 1921, in order to announce the overthrow of the Government and his own dictatorship. But means were found to make him think better of it. As Salvemini says: " At the last moment the poet failed to appear. Signor Bonomi, who was Prime Minister at that time, could explain this deflection, but will never do so. The Fascists, gathered together in Rome without a leader, committed excesses of every kind but were repulsed from the popular quarters of the city."

Until then Mussolini had played a subordinate part. Thereafter the " Black Hand " saw that he might be their man, and chose him in preference to the untrustworthy D'Annunzio. Abjuring his theoretical Republicanism, he came to heel. Within a year he found himself Prime Minister of a Monarchy and Dictator.

Those who wish to learn the true story of the " March on Rome " and of the whole development of Fascism up to the abduction and murder of the moderate Socialist leader, Signor Matteotti, in June, 1924, can find it in Salvemini's book together with a searching analysis of the Matteotti murder itself. Even without the boastful speech in which—when danger was past—Mussolini claimed full responsibility for " all that had happened," Salvemini's documents leave no room for doubt that his moral responsibility for the murder of Matteotti was at least as great as the responsibility of Henry II for the murder of Thomas à Becket. They will find, too, instructive records of Fascist pogroms in Florence and other cities; and, if they read patiently, they will feel the force of the mass of evidence on the true nature of Fascism to be so crushing that they will share Professor Walter Murdoch's " utter loathing and abomination for the present Italian Government and all its works and ways."

What will be the end? Are a people who submit to such a system truly fit for freedom? Has not Mussolini proudly assured Lord Rothermere that " As you can see for yourself, the Fascist régime is *unshakable* "? Can a Government, based on an armed party militia, supported by the regular military authorities and tolerated by the King; a Government which has exiled, " re-

attend Trade Union Congresses or Labour Party Conferences their expenses were not paid by their unions. A sum of £5 had, indeed, been provided for each constituency to cover the actual out-of-pocket expenses of one Trade Unionist delegate; but even so, those who attended had to make the real sacrifice of forgoing wages for three days, and there were many more Trade Unionist delegates than were paid the small viaticum. This testifies to the reality of the interest aroused in a very important section of the community which is commonly supposed to have gone over *en bloc* to the Labour Party. There were also present a very large number of employers, big and small. One of the delegates (himself a Trade Unionist) said in his speech that this was the greatest gathering of employers and workers that had ever been brought together for the purpose of discussing industrial problems.

Two features of this conference deeply impressed those who took part in it. The first was the exceptionally high quality of the speaking. Almost without exception the speeches, both from the platform and from the floor, were able, clear, vigorous and concise. There were some notably good speeches by Trade Unionists. The impression which many took away was that the reserves of power and ability possessed by the Liberal Party were vastly greater than anybody had supposed. This was the more noteworthy because the majority of the speakers were quite unknown to the greater part of the audience. Even the officially selected movers and seconders were largely new men: it was almost as if a new Party had sprung fully equipped into activity.

The second noteworthy feature of the conference was its stalwart and resolute Radicalism. A large number of amendments had been sent in from various constituency associations—predominantly from Yorkshire, whose leaders have been a little dubious about Radicalism in the sphere of industry ever since they took the principal part in opposing the earlier industrial resolutions of 1921. But only a few of the amendments were in any sense hostile or weakening, and these were voted down by overwhelming majorities. Others raised reasonable difficulties of detail while fully accepting the proposals as a whole; yet others sought to clarify obscurities, or to strengthen the terms of the resolutions. The temper of the meeting was such that changes tending to stiffen the resolutions had a much greater chance of acceptance than any others. But, on the whole, the conference accepted the lead of the platform; any speaker who could claim to express the views of the authors of the Report could ensure the rejection of any amendment. This was so marked that it aroused some ironic comment. But the conference was in no sense a "packed" assembly. Every delegate had been freely chosen by the association or other body which he represented.

They had come to London with their minds made up that this was a sound and well-considered policy; and they were resolved to back its initiators. There was a rising tone of confidence and enthusiasm from the first session to the last; and the final session, which passed a general covering resolution and then listened to speeches by Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Herbert Samuel, Lord Beauchamp and others, reached a note of ardour and zeal which has not been known in Liberalism for a long time. As one experienced commentator observed: "This conference has destroyed for ever the notion that Liberalism is decrepit or disheartened. It has revealed the existence of a virile and resolute Radicalism which cannot be destroyed, however the luck of elections may go."

III.

No one will pretend that a series of resolutions passed in such a way must be accepted in every jot and tittle by every Liberal on pain of excommunication from the Party. That has never been the Liberal way. These resolutions, like others which have preceded them, are best regarded as contributions to the redefinition of Liberalism in its relation to the problems of the post-war world. They represent what is now undeniably the preponderant body of Liberal opinion. And this is the true significance of all the work that has been done in recent years. It amounts to a new formulation of the Liberal attitude, as important, in its way, as the work done by the Benthamites and other Liberal thinkers a hundred years ago.

In the first place, there is implicit in all this work a definite and decisive repudiation of the doctrine of *laissez-faire*. In a sense, this was scarcely necessary. As Gladstone long ago declared, Liberalism has never been identified with *laissez-faire,* which Asquith described as "administrative nihilism"; and nine-tenths of Liberal legislation during the last hundred years has, in fact, involved a repudiation of this doctrine. In spite of this, Conservative and Socialist writers and speakers always assume that *laissez-faire* is of the essence of the historic Liberal creed; and there is a handful of Liberals, like Mr. Arnold Lupton and Mr. F. W. Hirst, who still cling to this doctrine in defiance of all the facts. The modern school of Liberalism holds that the function of securing peace, justice and liberty for all its citizens, for which the State exists, cannot be excluded from the economic sphere. It holds that to let things drift is no more the mark of statesmanship in this sphere than in any other. It holds that to be content with a system of licensed private war between organised bodies which fight one another without regard to the well-being of the community is as definite an evidence of bankruptcy in statesmanship in the economic sphere as it would be in the political sphere. It holds—

primarily party men, but who are looking for help in thinking out the bewildering economic problems by which we are surrounded. It is not easy to get a party publication into the hands of such readers. The circulating libraries do not handle it; the bookstalls do not push it. For that reason party publications usually have to be distributed free. There has been no free distribution of this Report. It is a massive and closely reasoned document, peppered with statistical tables. Yet in the first six weeks after its publication its sales were on the scale of the most successful popular novels. One hears of many a business man—scornful of politics except when he turns out to vote against the Socialists—who has been reading this book with close attention; and of many a loyal Trade Unionist who has admitted that it gave him a new comprehension of vital facts.

It would be foolish to exaggerate the extent of the influence which is being quietly exercised in this way. When all is said, it is only a minute minority of the vast electorate who will read 500 pages of closely-knit facts and arguments; and any book which comes with the imprimatur of a political party (more especially of a party which the two most powerfully organised political forces in the country are eager to clear out of their way) has to fight against a great mass of instinctive prejudice.

The teachings of the Report will not get into the mind of the nation until they have been simplified and presented in popular tabloid forms: they must be coined into slogans. Whether this can be effectively done at all, and whether it can be done in time to exercise any material influence upon the next general election, remains to be discovered. But, short of this, something is being achieved by the publication of the Report, which will have a definite effect upon our politics. Coming after the earlier reports on coal, on agriculture, and on the problems of urban development, it has helped to banish the idea that the Liberal Party is a negligible faction of negative and querulous old fogeys. It is helping to implant—even among that vast majority who have never read, and will never read, any of these documents—the idea that these Liberals are at all events trying to think out our problems, that they alone are engaged in systematic, constructive thinking, and that they are honestly striving to face the facts and to discover how we can build from things-as-they-are a better and more prosperous social order. This is an idea which—coming home first to the more thinking part of the electorate, and from them gradually permeating the rest—is bound, sooner or later, to have its electoral effect. It may not at once have a very direct influence at the polls, because (under our insane electoral system) the

majority do not vote for what they believe in, but against what they dislike. It may be that the main result of this work will at first be to modify the attitude of the other parties, both of which will doubtless borrow (with no acknowledgment save a sneer) what suits their purpose. But even this result is not a bad one; and in the long run the Party which wins for itself the reputation of being the constructive party will reap its reward even at the polls, though not necessarily (on any large scale) at the next election. In short, the position of Liberalism has been immensely strengthened by the constructive work of the last few years. It has ceased to be the party of the past, and is coming to be recognised as the party of the future, the party to which ardent young men attach themselves. The rehabilitation of Liberalism is the first step towards the rehabilitation of the Liberal Party.

II.

Within the Party itself, the reception of the Report has been equally favourable. Before it was published, there were some who feared that it would accentuate existing differences. It has not done so. On the contrary, it has helped to weld the Party together, by giving to it a clearer idea of the distinctive position of Liberalism, and by defining, for a large part of the political sphere, the line of future advance. I happen to have enjoyed an exceptionally good chance of discovering how the rank and file of the Party reacted to these proposals, because it fell to me to explain their scope to a series of conferences of delegates from all the constituencies, in eight of the ten Federation Areas of England and Wales, besides two in Scotland. These delegates travelled, in many cases, great distances, at their own expense, in order to be present. They were, naturally, drawn mainly from among the local leaders, who are sometimes supposed to be, in the main, conservative in temper; the younger men and women (among whom the warmest adherents of what has been called "the new Liberalism" are mostly to be found) were not able to attend in large numbers; nor were there many Liberal Trade Unionists or working men at these conferences. But there was no mistaking the sincerity of the interest which those who attended displayed, or their satisfaction in discovering that the Party to which they had clung in its days of depression was addressing itself to the wide complex of industrial problems in regard to which the other parties have so little that is practical to say.

The big national conference—held in the Kingsway Hall on March 27th, 28th, and 29th—was yet more remarkable. It was attended by some 2,000 delegates, drawn from every part of the country, but more particularly from the industrial regions. Of these some 700 were Trade Unionists. Unlike the delegates who

and this is of the essence of Liberalism—that responsibility and self-government are the best cure for these as for other social maladies; but the machinery of self-government has to be wrought out and legalised. In industrial relations, as in international relations, there is no hope of peace until the standing machinery of peace has been created; and this machinery must be validated by law.

All the great Liberals of the past—even those who would have declared themselves believers in *laissez-faire*—have in practice held that the State was justified in intervening to remove or prevent abuses; and they showed it by their Factory Acts, their Company Acts, their Trade Board Acts, their Insurance Acts. Modern Liberalism goes somewhat beyond this. It holds that it is an essential function of statesmanship to study and to understand the character of the great economic movements which determine the character of our social life; and, within the practicable limits, to guide them so that they may yield the maximum of human welfare. And it holds that no party which is not able and willing to show to a democratic electorate how it would perform this vital function deserves to win its confidence. To proclaim to an electorate, bewildered by great problems: "We are in favour of peace, free trade and a reduction of taxes. After we have achieved these ends, we will see if something cannot be done for reform, but you must not ask us to tell you beforehand what we mean by reform; you must simply trust us, because we are noble and good "—this seems to the modern Liberal to be a mere abnegation of the responsibilities of statesmanship.

The need for intelligent forethought in the guidance of national economic policy is, indeed, the essential note of all this scheme of reform. It is expressed in the proposed Economic General Staff, in the Board of National Investment, in the Ministry and Council of Industry, in the Committee of National Development. These bodies have been described as additions to the machinery of bureaucracy. They are, in fact, designed as the means of simplification and co-ordination; they would take the place of more numerous un-co-ordinated bodies which already exist; and their purpose would be to facilitate an intelligent and coherent effort of national reorganisation.

This is not Socialism. Far from suggesting any increase of the number of enterprises brought under direct public ownership and control, the Report suggests that there ought to be a drastic overhaul of the methods adopted in enterprises that are already under public control, with a view to assimilating them to the methods of the most efficient large-scale private enterprises, and of freeing them from political influences. As strongly as the

Liberalism of the nineteenth century, the progressive Liberalism of to-day believes that the driving-force of all progress is now, as it always has been, to be found in the energy and initiative of individuals. It conceives that it should be the function of the State not to take the place of private enterprise, except in rare instances, but to create the conditions in which private enterprise can most fruitfully work, and for this purpose to regulate, to co-ordinate, to stimulate and to assist all useful enterprises for the increase of our national efficiency. Thus the immense undertakings which are loosely called trusts, and which are characteristic of modern development, may offer many advantages; but they also have dangers, and they need to be intelligently regulated in the interests of the community. Thus, again, the growing tendency to co-operative action on the part of whole industries through Trade Associations is in many ways a healthy and promising development; but this also has its dangers, and it ought to be brought under control.

Yet again there are many developments, vital to our equipment as a nation, such as the creation of a road system adequate to new modes of transport, or the organisation of an efficient electric supply, which must either be carried out (like the roads) by public funds, or (like electric supply) must be co-ordinated by a central authority, or (like many public utilities) find it difficult to obtain an adequate supply of capital because they can only offer a limited rate of interest. In all such cases there are indispensable functions which only the State can perform, and which the State ought to perform. Any sound view of national economy demands that, in this critical period of industrial change, the State should be so equipped as to be able efficiently to perform these vital functions of guidance and regulation. The conception which modern Liberalism entertains is that of a well organised community stimulating and enlisting all the forces of private enterprise for a common advance, but also regulating them where regulation is needed for the protection of the community.

This, surely, is a fine and imaginative conception of national economy in the utilisation of national resources, which, while putting its trust in the enterprise of the individual, and doing everything possible to emancipate it, nevertheless refuses to leave everything to chance, but insists that an intelligent community ought to be able in some degree to guide and plan its own development. But observe that it gives a generous interpretation to the word " economy," very different from that in which it is ordinarily used. There are some who limit their view of economy to the cutting down of outlay, almost without regard to the purpose for which the outlay is undertaken. And undoubtedly we ought to

apply the most rigid Gladstonian standards to all our outlay—especially upon unproductive services—and to wage merciless war against waste in every department. But it is the greatest of errors, in pursuing economy, never to look beyond the figures of the annual Budget. The true national economy is thrift and the avoidance of waste in the use of our national resources; and our national resources are not merely the money that comes from the taxpayers, but, first, the mental and physical powers of our people, and, secondly, the natural resources of our island. Wise expenditure on the development of these is not mere spending, but investment.

There are some who feel so poignantly the burden of our unproductive debt, and the load of taxation which it involves, that they hold the reduction of this debt to be the first of national needs, and up to a point they are right. But when they go on to contend that all claims for needed capital development by the State should be postponed to this overriding need, in order that the Chancellor of the Exchequer may be able to get money for debt-conversion at a low rate of interest, they are in danger of being forced to an untenable conclusion. For the logical consequence of this attitude would be that all capital development, private as well as public, should be discouraged, so that those who have money to invest may be forced to lend it to the Chancellor on his own terms. We want to pay off debt as rapidly as we can; but not at the expense of the capital equipment of the nation whereby alone the wealth can be earned that will make possible the extinction or inversion of debt.

At this stage of our economic development two supreme needs have to be met, and they are to some extent in conflict with one another. On the one hand, we have to pay off unproductive debt, or to convert it to lower rates; on the other hand, we have to re-equip ourselves for the work of production—just as a manufacturer may find himself faced by the double need of paying off a mortgage and modernising his plant. The manufacturer will be a fool if he neglects either of these needs; he has to make a just balance between them. The duty of easing the load of unproductive debt is exclusively the function of the State; but the State has also a necessary part to play—a greater part to-day than ever before—in the work of re-equipment, and it is only by playing this part that it can ease the burden of unemployment and help in the necessary transference of surplus labour to new occupations. To pursue either of these ends to the disregard of the other would be false economy. A just balance between them must be maintained. And the devising of effective methods of maintaining this balance is one of the necessities of modern statesmanship which the Industrial

Report has recognised more clearly than it has ever been recognised before.

These are some of the most fundamental elements in the redefinition of the Liberal attitude which is implicit in the Industrial Report. No one will question their importance. They involve not only a definite repudiation of *laissez-faire*, but the assumption for the State of a real responsibility for guiding the course of economic change, and for taking a more generous view of what National Economy demands if the system of private enterprise is to work with full vigour and without injustice to the community. This is not Socialism as the Labour Party understands it; but neither is it Individualism as the Conservative Party understands it. It is a clear and distinctive attitude and policy. And the significant thing is that this attitude and this policy have been accepted with enthusiasm by the preponderant weight of opinion in the Liberal Party.

RAMSAY MUIR.

THE BOYCOTT OF THE SIMON COMMISSION.

THE situation which developed immediately on the appointment of the Simon Commission, and which still persists, is exceedingly disappointing to all, at any rate in this country, who desire substantial progress towards Indian self-government. In this REVIEW, in August last, I referred to the rumours then current that the Government was intending, at an early date, to appoint the Statutory Commission. I then said:

> "The Swarajist and other Indian Nationalist parties exhibit a certain degree of disinclination that this course should be taken. They distrust the quality and temper of any Commission that may be appointed by a Government which they believe to be unsympathetic to their cause: and they suspect an inclination that the Commission should engage in its survey at a moment when distrust of the future of self-governing institutions for India has been fomented by the continual advertisement of the Hindu-Moslem dissensions."

I had in the same article explained the distrust of many Indian Nationalists in the sincerity of the intentions of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, and I said that if the developments of the next two years should not do more to satisfy Indian feeling as to our sincerity than those Reforms, well-intentioned as they were, had succeeded in doing, there might be worse trouble in India than followed the Rowlatt Acts and Amritsar. The immediate cardinal test of that sincerity, in the judgment of all Indian political parties, appeared, I said, to be the willingness of the British Government to invite Indians to propose a concerted scheme of progressive reform before the Statutory Commission should get to work.

The Government decided to open proceedings strictly within the lines indicated in the Act of 1919, and in the first place to appoint a British Parliamentary Commission. This mode of procedure was agreed to by the Labour and Liberal Parties, which consented to the appointment of representatives of each to the Commission, on the understanding that the Indian Legislature should be invited also to appoint a body of representatives to co-operate with the British Commission in their inquiries. The appointment of the Commission was prematurely announced in India before the intention was made known in Parliament here. No explanatory or preparatory statement could therefore be made of the methods in which it was contemplated that its work should proceed. The bald announcement of the intended appointment and membership of the Commission aroused immediate and general indignation among all reformers of all parties and denominations in India. Whether or

not that indignation was reasonable or justifiable, it is desirable to understand the grounds of it.

First, it was taken as an affront to India that no Indians should have been placed upon the Commission. Secondly, quite independently of any opinions as to the open-mindedness and unprejudiced character of the membership, it was felt that a purely British Commission, predominantly informed from the side of Indian officialism, which, it was known, had prepared a mass of material for its guidance, could not possibly be in a position to form unbiased judgments. Thirdly, and, this being a point of national pride, perhaps most strongly, there was the fact that the Indian Reform movement is a Nationalist movement, claiming the right of self-determination, and its spokesmen and representatives were not disposed to plead as suppliants to a British Commission or the British Parliament for just so great an instalment of further self-government as the rulers might think it reasonable to concede to them.

I have mentioned the understanding on which the Labour Party agreed to co-operate in the work of the Simon Commission, and in both Houses of Parliament the character of that understanding was clearly stated. The English Commission and the Indian representative delegates should, we contemplated, sit together and jointly examine and cross-examine all witnesses and consider all documents laid before them. Neither Lord Birkenhead nor Mr. Baldwin made any public promise that so liberal a course would be followed, stating only that it would be entirely open to the Commission to make such arrangements as they pleased. Only on February 7th, in India, did Sir John Simon announce that the Commission would be prepared to follow this course, reserving, however, the right to each national body to sit separately and in private.

The announcement of the Commission was thus launched in untoward circumstances, and a storm of prejudice had been aroused before even the best that could be said for the course intended could be explained. Having regard to all the circumstances, the Labour Party were in accord with the Liberal Party and with the Government that the kind of Commission that was appointed was the only kind suitable to appoint if the Government were to act in strict continuity with the provisions of the Act of 1919. Unless that Act were to be altogether ignored and a totally distinct procedure adopted, such as what Indian reformers have repeatedly asked for under the description of a "Round Table Conference," that was the only opening move the Government could suitably make. Of the Labour and Liberal Parties it may be said without reservation that they desired the Commission to be appointed in the sincere intention that it should set India on the road to self-government.

So far as the action of the Conservative Government was concerned no question of its good faith could fairly arise on the face of the position. There was nothing in its action to prejudice the cause of progress in Indian reform. There was, under the circumstances, nothing inherently insulting to India or necessarily wounding to Indian pride in the fact that the Commission was not constituted jointly of Indians and British. There was certainly in the acquiescence of Labour and Liberalism in such an arrangement no shadow of any sentiment in the slightest degree belittling to Indians.

I cannot say how far this first entirely uncalled-for feeling of Indians that all the British parties had insulted India may have died or be dying away. It appears to friends of India wholly mistaken : it is painful to us to have it imputed, and any such mistaken and erroneous belief must needs weaken the position of any political body that entertain it. We do not wish the position of Indian reformers to be thus weakened, and we are therefore distressed at the feeling of grievance on this account also. It remains, of course, that Indians may think we ought to recognise that we have insulted them, and the fact that we are too stupid and insensible to see that ourselves only shows that all Britons are quite incapable of dealing intelligently with our relations with Indians. The practical fact remains that those relations have to be settled between us and them.

Supposing that the full intentions of the British political parties and the Commission with regard to procedure had been made fully clear from the outset, and that there had been a less universal adoption by Indians of a position from which it is difficult for them now to recede, there would nevertheless remain some causes of dissatisfaction with the procedure and some arguments for the maintenance of their determination to boycott. For the arrangements proposed by Sir John Simon do not in fact go quite so far in the establishment of complete equality and complete publicity for the canvassing of all evidence as Indians consider necessary for an entirely fair handling of the questions in hand. I do not propose here to criticise the validity of these causes of dissatisfaction; it could be of little practical use. I return to the mere statement of the facts of the situation as they now appear to be.

Outside of the Mohammedan community, which is divided (the United Moslem League being in favour of co-operation with the Commission, but a minority led by Mr. Jinnah being solid with all the Hindu political parties for boycott), all Indian political leaders and practically all politicians of the Reform movement are filled with a spirit of hostile distrust towards all British political parties equally. That is highly regrettable, and appears to us to show some limitation of intelligence of realities. This attitude, so far as it arises from the feeling of insult, is distressing not only by its injustice but because it excludes us from giving any co-operation and, in so far as it is a positive error, is a source of weakness to the Indian Reform Party. There, however, it is.

With regard to the relations between the Moslem co-operators and the Hindu boycotters, and in a minor degree between the Moslem boycott section and the Hindu Nationalist Parties, the great cause of division is the principle of communal representation. The Moslem majority demand separate representation in the various Legislative Councils and local bodies on the basis of population, a system of separate electorates, a corresponding Moslem share of appointments in the Public Services.

The conflict between the Moslem community and the Hindu parties with regard to the basis of representation is crucial. Mr. Jinnah has endeavoured to establish a compromise with the Hindus for the sake of being able to present a united Reform programme, on the basis of having a common electoral roll, with a reservation of a certain number of seats for Moslems, proportional to the numbers of the local Moslem community. The majority Moslems stand out absolutely for separate electoral rolls, directly electing their own communal representatives, proportional in number to their population. Their reason for adhering to this position as against that of joint electorates and reservation of seats has been explained by a distinguished Moslem as being that " if the majority community desires to send a few ignorant, mean, contemptible and thoroughly un-Moslem candidates as representatives of our community it can easily do it, as our minority votes will be swamped by the majority votes of the other community." It is characteristic of Indian political disputants that they seem always to give the strongest weight to the most extreme hypothesis of contingencies conceivably unfavourable to themselves. At the present moment the prevailing sentiment expressed in the Press and on platforms of the Reformist movement is that all British political parties, and the whole British electorate, are now engaged in a conspiracy to diminish their freedom, and have devised the scheme of the Simon Commission as the best means of doing so. We cannot therefore be surprised if Moslems are convinced that any proposal on the part of Hindus as a means of securing their minority rights is also meant as a trap.

The system of communal representation is a disastrous expedient, bound to be fatal to the satisfactory working of any constitution that embodied it. It is an obvious and admitted fact that the existence of the communal electoral system now aggravates and exacerbates communal rivalries and hostilities between Indians whose political interests, in all matters falling within the

sphere of the mechanism of Government, are independent of creed. Moreover, the expedient is in itself ineffective. As Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru (himself one of our boycotters) has well put it :

> " The Mohammedans may insist on separate electorates and the Hindus on joint electorates—but the insistence on the one or the other representation is not enough. It seems to me that we are bound to arrive at certain conclusions : (1) that there is need for the adequate political representation of the minorities; (2) that no protection of the minorities can go the length of converting them into a majority; and (3) that in any democratic constitution of a mixed population the minority should, subject to the limits prescribed for the protection of its special interests, be prepared to accept the decisions of the majority."

Whether, however, the attitude of the Moslems is reasonable or not, and whether or not it is possible that any substitute can be found for this expedient to protect minorities (which is what Sir J. Simon's Commission will have to advise), we must accept, as an immediate fact of the situation, that the organised Moslem community will pretty certainly, as a whole, stand out for that principle. Also, that they will be found to receive very strong support in their demand from the British in India (as they do from Sir Reginald Craddock) and generally from all those who do not desire the establishment of a satisfactorily working Indian self-governing constitution. And I do not think I wrong the Moslem community in believing that they count upon that support. Moreover, whilst I am not prepared to say that their desire to impress this part of their case upon the Simon Commission is more than one of the reasons for Moslems' disposition to co-operate with it, yet I think that the fact that, on grounds entirely reasonable (as in the general interests of Indian Reform), they are prepared so to co-operate, is an additional cause for regret that the Hindu parties persist in throwing away the advantage to that cause of their co-operation, since one result of their refusal will be to strengthen the probability of the disastrous principle of communal electorates commending itself to British public and Parliamentary judgment. And whether the Hindu Nationalists think it dignified to recognise the fact or not, that is really what those who desire Indian constitutional reform have to deal with.

The basis of co-operation offered in Sir John Simon's letter of February 7th was promptly refused by the leaders of the various Indian parties, principally on the following grounds. (1) Government officials and the Members of the Legislature nominated by the Government were to be allowed to take part along with the elected members in the election of the Indian Committees. (2) No provision was made for the election to the Indian Committees of persons who were not already members of the Indian Legislatures, though this point was left open to the Commissioners in Mr. Baldwin's speech

in the House of Commons. (3) The Committee of the Central Indian Legislature was restricted to the consideration of Central subjects and treated as a disconnected* element during the inquiry in the various Provinces. (4) All Indian members might be excluded entirely from hearing evidence that might be given *in camera*. This is regarded by Indians as a fatal stumbling-block to co-operation, especially in view of their experience in connection with evidence received *in camera* at the time of the Muddiman inquiry. (5) There is no provision for the co-operation of the Indian Committees in the institution and conduct of subsidiary inquiries—proceedings of investigation other than the joint taking of evidence by the combined Committees of the several Legislatures. (6) Indian leaders felt very strongly that the aim of the Commission should be, along with the Indian Committees, to endeavour to arrive at an agreed report. This did not appear to be contemplated in the terms of Sir John Simon's letter.

In the Debate by the Assembly on the proposal to boycott the Simon Commission, Mr. Jayakar, the leader of the responsive co-operation party, declared that the door was still open for negotiations if Indians could co-operate with the Commission on what they considered honourable terms. He insisted that the Indian Committees should have equal status with the Statutory Commission, in which case Indians were still open to consider co-operation. He suggested that it would be easy to explore and find out exactly what they would consider equality by means of negotiations between Sir John Simon and six or seven Indian leaders. Mr. Jinnah also offered co-operation if Indians could be assured of equality of status and authority. He stressed the point that Indians did not deny the need for an inquiry, nor did they deny the ultimate authority of the British Parliament. They insisted, however, on having an equal share in framing the proposals.

It is impossible to say whether the attitude set forth in the last paragraph can be taken as one in which the whole constellation of Indian reformers would combine. For, although the Labour Party at least have advocated precisely this position, that Party has been as fiercely denounced as the rest of the British political world as having betrayed the interests of Indian reform and shown themselves unworthy of India's confidence. In hundreds of newspaper articles and speeches, Indian reformers have denounced the Labour Party from Mr. MacDonald downwards as Imperialists and reactionaries, seeking only to bind more closely on India the chains of British bureaucracy. It is difficult to speak of that fact without using unconciliatory adjectives about the intelligence and capacity for judgment of realities which it seems to embody. But the atti-

* NOTE.—This view does not appear to be necessarily involved in Sir J. Simon's words.

tude has been adopted by men and women whom I myself, and many others of my friends and theirs, know too well to be able to think, far less, in a controversy so riddled with prejudice as this is, to say of them anything censorious or uncivil; for we believe that if we could entirely understand, as we cannot, how such delusions and such mistakes can have arisen, we should recognise that there was really no perversity in the minds of our friends, but only obscuration of some of the facts of the case. For the present we can only discern the fact that all British opinion, however devoted it has been in the past, and is to-day, to the cause of Indian Nationalism, is just now in disgrace with all sections of Indian Nationalists. I do not believe that it can be unimportant for Indians that they should have and should know that they have innumerable supporters and sympathisers in this country.

If this imaginary cause for non-co-operation, which perhaps a little efflux of time may redress, is left out of account and we address ourselves to the practical facts of the situation, it is necessary, under conditions as they are, to recognise that Britain and the British Parliament do now in fact govern India, and that British government and penetration of Indian life are at present an organic fact : part of the vital tissue of Indian Government affairs. Assuming that we admit that India ought to govern herself, the fact remains that even if it were deemed justifiable, on a prescribed day, to supersede (as Mr. Gandhi at one time apparently considered it possible to supersede) and to dispense with every kind of authority, activity or influence exercised in India by Englishmen, it would be physically impossible to do so. If the British nation in a " change of heart " had been converted by Mr. Gandhi and had been willing to withdraw all its nationals and provide for them on the dole, no intelligent man can reflect for two minutes without recognising that the results would be very cruel to India, and on that account the British Parliament, which regards itself as having responsibility for Indian welfare, could not regard such an act as morally justifiable. But even if it were morally justifiable it is physically impossible. These things have to grow and they have to grow by agreed substitution.

In approaching the change of Indian Government, we have by the necessity of our position to make the move from our side, because we are in fact in power and in control of the organisation. The Simon Commission was our opening gambit, made in entire good faith. The Indian Reform parties precipitately refused it. I think it a very great pity that they so hastily did so, because, unless Indian self-government can be established by some such revolutionary procedure as established the Soviet Republic—which is not at present within the range of conceivable possibilities—progress has got to be made by persuading the British people and Parliament; and the particular items of constitutional change have got to be agreed on upon the basis of reasonable and practical argument. Moreover, the British Parliament and the Indian Congress Party are not the only parties who have to agree in a reasoned settlement. The Moslem community have to agree and the Indian Native States have to agree. Discouraging as has been the reception of the British opening move, I believe that even now the Simon Commission may more easily be made the instrument of establishing effectual advance towards Indian self-government than anything that I see any signs of at present as being matured by the Indian Nationalist political parties.

If we accept the uncompromising National view that the Indian Constitution is the affair of Indians only, and that it is an affront to India to claim any British hand in recasting it; that is an intelligible position, and it would, of course, be idle in the face of such a position to stress the fact that the attitude which has been displayed has affected and is likely to influence British public opinion unfavourably against really practicable proposals towards conceding self-government to India. The Indian Nationalist parties have, as I have observed, put all of us in the corner, and appear to indicate an attitude of entirely deciding for themselves what their constitution should, or is to, be. Under such conditions we can only stand aside and look on. I myself was desirous that before the Statutory Commission was appointed Indian Nationalists should agree among themselves what they wanted. They have still to do this, and when it is done they have got to get it accepted. I believe and I hope that they are in process of endeavouring to arrive at some such agreement; but I cannot conceal from myself that their precipitate repudiation of the Simon Commission has increased the immediate difficulty of their doing so, because it has given an opportunity to the Moslem community, and possibly to other large sections of Indian people, to associate themselves with the Simon Commission and to strengthen their own position against any generally agreed all-Indian National concordat.

OLIVIER.

WILL DISARMAMENT COME?

IN a recent cartoon, almost too subtle perhaps for the casual eye, Mr. David Low hit off an international situation with his habitual genius. Depicting a conference of cartoonists at Geneva to discuss the abolition or limitation of cartooning, he indicated the willingness of each delegate to discard those characteristics—in one case a monocle, in another a beard—of which his own national craftsmen made little use, and ended with a sketch of the Russian delegate striking a derisive attitude and observing crudely that " if you really want to abolish cartooning you had better all go and drown yourselves "—after which the conference broke up in scandal and disorder.

That, at any rate, illuminates legitimately enough one aspect of any international disarmament conference. You send generals and admirals there to discuss not merely the abolition of themselves—their public spirit and self-effacement might be equal to that—but the abolition of all those amazing instruments, battle-cruisers and submarines, howitzers and tanks and seventy-fives and battle-planes, to whose operation or elaboration their whole professional lives, and the lives of generations of their predecessors, have been devoted. And when it comes to naval disarmament you have five centuries of imperishable national tradition in the scale against you.

Here is one reason of many why the path towards disarmament is proving increasingly stony and progress along it proportionately slow. Your optimist, no doubt, will see the situation in one light and your pessimist in another, but on any dispassionate estimate of all the relevant facts it cannot seriously be claimed that the cause of world disarmament has made substantial headway in the past twelve months. Various conferences have been held, various commissions have sat. The Three-Power discussions of last June and July broke down decisively and indefensibly. The meeting of the League's Preparatory Commission three months earlier did, indeed, see a tentative draft of a disarmament convention framed, and if the Powers mainly concerned had made some endeavour to reach an understanding on the points left unsettled, real progress might have been effected. But they made no such endeavour; the expected conversations were never initiated; and April 1928 found the Disarmament Convention in precisely the stage in which it was left in April 1927—with the not unimportant exception that the breakdown of the Three-Power Conference had to all appearance made agreement on naval questions more remote than ever.

In spite of that the League's Preparatory Commission met again six weeks ago. There were grave doubts about the wisdom of that step. France had a General Election impending, and everyone

knew that was sufficient to tie the French delegate's hands even if he were disposed in any case to favour any extensive reduction of armaments. But Germany had a General Election impending too, and no German Government could go before the electorate and admit it had made no attempt to use its right at Geneva to press disarmament discussions forward. So the meeting of the Preparatory Commission was held, and ended quite frankly in fiasco, nothing, in fact, having been achieved except the decisive rejection of the only disarmament proposals considered—the Russian. The Preparatory Commission had been preceded by the first meeting (other than one formal session) of the new Security and Arbitration Committee. The diligence of that body was beyond criticism. It drafted arbitration treaties with unflagging assiduity—model treaties of every variety, suitable to the most widely differing tastes and temperaments. And next month it is going to meet again to draft some more.

Concurrently with all this we have had the Kellogg Notes, concerned not indeed directly with disarmament, but with those conditions in the world which make disarmament practicable or impracticable. Here, too, there has been a singular absence of what the motor advertisements call smooth acceleration. Progress, so far as achieved at all, has been by a series of uneasy jolts, of which each looked very like being the last. Whether M. Briand's laudable endeavour to be genial and encouraging to an American interviewer a year and more ago was ever meant to lead to anything serious may well be doubted, but there are earnest persons in the United States ticketed with various labels—the Borah label, the Levinson-Morrison label, the Murray Butler-Shotwell label—who clutched at a straw and turned it into a flagstaff strong enough to carry the Outlawry of War flag with the official Stars and Stripes flying over it. And the end of all that is that Great Britain and Germany, Italy and Japan are now invited to give their views on the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy—a subject, it must be remembered, on which the original negotiators, France and the United States, have by no means reached complete agreement.

The real question that needs answering is whether all this is really " toil co-operant to an end " or merely a confused muddle compounded of the enthusiasms of pacifists, the professions of diplomatists, and the calculated manœuvres of Governments anxious at once to advocate disarmament and evade it. A case could be made for either hypothesis, with the cynic's rôle on the whole more attractive than the zealot's. And, incidentally, the respectable may reflect with some complacency on the advantages of respectability in international as well as in social life. Discussions are

proceeding simultaneously on the abolition of armaments and the abolition of war, either process, it might seem, involving the other inevitably. One country proposes the latter, and a chorus of admiration, tempered only by certain doubts about the practicability of the suggestion, rings out round the world. Another country proposes the former and is saluted with a howl of indignation where it is not saluted with the studied silence of contempt. So we are to consider abolishing war, but to repudiate with indignation the idea of abolishing armaments. Suppose, instead, America had proposed abolishing armaments and Russia had proposed abolishing war? Who can doubt the result? We should have been with Kellogg to a man. Respectability would have been justified of her children still.

But to return to what has been described as the real question. The answer to that question, like the answer to most political questions, is complex. There is plenty of insincerity about the disarmament discussions. Webs of verbiage are deliberately spun to conceal the realities. Nations resolute to refuse disarmament for themselves are assiduous in pressing it on their fellows. The empty business of window-dressing lays toll, both in national and international conclaves, on energies better devoted to something more concrete. And yet, with it all, there is movement. A toil co-operant to an end is in actual progress albeit the toil be hard and the goal still far distant. And though on the basis of the immediately visible factors disarmament seems as far off to-day as a year ago, on the basis of the invisible, or less visible, it has moved appreciably nearer.

What, on the larger view of the problem, is the end, and what the means? Disarmament itself is not the goal. The goal is the abolition of war and the substitution for it of some peaceful means of achieving those purposes war is meant to serve—so far, of course, as the purposes are legitimate. The abolition of war may be attainable by the direct method which Mr. Kellogg is at present attempting. That remains to be seen. Dogmatism one way or the other is premature. It is certainly attainable, though the process may be longer, by the European method, which consists on the one hand of providing and popularising alternative instruments of war for the settlement of international disputes, and on the other of making an illegitimate violation of the peace more dangerous and difficult for any State contemplating it. The European method, if it covered the whole ground, and if it were uniformly effective in its operation, would, in fact, so completely abolish war as to make armies and navies, apart from a police nucleus, extravagant and indefensible luxuries.

Of the American method, a word in a moment. Meanwhile we need to examine the European in greater detail. Its essentials have been crystallised into the motto or slogan, " Law, not War," which, interpreted broadly, does represent the aim of all constructive minds in Europe. The word " Law " must not be taken too literally. When it comes down to practical procedure we shall have to analyse it into legal ruling, arbitration and conciliation. But in any of those shapes it is an alternative to war and should definitely exclude war. Unfortunately that is not quite the case to-day. We have the League Covenant, which excludes war in almost all cases, but not quite all. We have the Locarno Treaties, which quite exclude it, but only between a handful of States. We have a large, and fortunately an increasing, number of bilateral arbitration treaties, definitely excluding it, between pairs of States. But that process will have to be vastly extended before the ground is anything like covered.

Still, we are moving. Or at any rate we have moved. Does that movement continue, and with increasing momentum, and can anything be done to stimulate it further? Certain lines of advance suggest themselves clearly. Most important of all, the authority and prestige of the League of Nations as a whole must be continually fortified. That undoubtedly is happening. One landmark was the decision of Sir Austen Chamberlain, from the moment he took office, to attend all meetings of the League Council himself. The fullest recognition should be given to a resolve which, entailing, as it almost inevitably did, like action on the part of M. Briand and other European Foreign Ministers, set the League Council permanently in its proper place as an organ of international discussion and international co-operation. Another landmark was the admission of Germany in 1926, denoting the end of all distinction, so far as the League was concerned, between conqueror and conquered, the accession of a nation chastened by defeat but retaining all its best qualities of intelligence, industry and efficiency, and the creation of an effective personal triumvirate in the three Foreign Ministers of Britain, Germany and France. Not too much must be built on personalities, for personalities are not merely physically mortal but electorally transient. But the combination is striking deeper than that, and it is already regarded as an accepted dogma that so long as Britain, Germany and France are working loyally and resolutely at Geneva for European peace any menace of war in Europe can be held in check.

Perhaps one intermediate landmark should be noted—Locarno: though so far as world peace, not merely Franco-German peace, is concerned the chief value of Locarno was that it brought Germany into the League. And two more should be added. Fruitless though their collaboration may seem to be so far, the continued

participation of the United States and Russia in the League's disarmament discussions (as well as in the work of other League organs) does, at any rate, serve to avert some of the dangers which the persistent isolation of those countries might engender.

The broad result is that a leader who might have plunged recklessly into war five years ago will sit down first to-day and count the cost, and a leader who would five years ago have thought once before dealing his stroke will think twice or thrice to-day and almost certainly end by not dealing it at all. For propaganda purposes the League is at a disadvantage in that you cannot marshal as testimony to it a list of the wars that have not been fought. Yet this invisible tribute is real and impressive, as those who know Geneva best are assured, and more than one of the foremost statesmen of Europe has acknowledged it in private to the full.

That way comes growing stability, growing confidence, diminished danger of war and correspondingly diminished need of large armies and navies. But it comes all too slowly, and any means possible of accelerating the process must be put to full use. The case for armaments is narrowed down as the general prestige of the League, and its power of averting war by its cumulative authority, grows. It will be narrowed down still more when all States in the League are pledged to confine themselves to peaceful methods for the settlement of all disputes—not merely of most. Here the opposition between the British view and the view of most Continental States is undoubtedly an obstacle to progress. That is said without discussion of the rights and wrongs of the case. It is simply noted as a fact. A double programme has gradually evolved at Geneva—settlement by the Permanent Court of International Justice of all " legal " disputes, settlement by some form of arbitration of all others, with conciliation interposed first if desired, provided a binding decision is given by Court or arbitrators if conciliation fails. Germany, insensibly, has acquired a certain leadership in this field, for she—alone so far of the Great Powers—has, by signing the Optional Clause of the Court Statutes, undertaken to accept the Court's judgment without question in legal disputes, and by signing the Locarno agreement and a number of other all-inclusive arbitration treaties with different States has undertaken wide obligations of peaceful settlement in the case of non-legal issues. France, of course, is equally a signatory of Locarno, and there seems reason to believe that as soon as her elections are over she will duly ratify the Optional Clause. Mr. Baldwin's Government and Signor Mussolini's (in Great Britain's case for reasons which Lord Cushendun rather comprehensively disposes of as " well understood ") will have none of the

Optional Clause, and while Signor Mussolini has, in fact, signed a number of all-in arbitration treaties, not for the most part of first-rate importance, Downing Street refuses to accompany the Palazzo Chigi even that far.

Now the British Government's justification for its policy may be good or bad. That is too large a question to argue here. But that that policy has a direct bearing on the disarmament question is indisputable. If it were once generally agreed that all legal disputes not otherwise soluble went to the Hague and all others not otherwise soluble went to arbitration, in each case for a final decision, the case for the retention of large armies and navies for security or to defend a country's cause in a difference with its neighbours simply could not be maintained. It becomes relevant therefore, without arguing the merits of the present British Government's attitude, to consider whether that attitude is likely to be modified in any near future. That, to some extent, perhaps a little unfortunately, hinges on domestic politics, for it so happens that while the policy of the Conservative Government is what it is seen to be, the Labour Party and the Liberal Party have both committed themselves to signature of the Optional Clause and the conclusion of all-inclusive arbitration treaties with any nation like-minded. It may also become a question of Imperial politics, for while it was agreed at the last Imperial Conference that no member of the Commonwealth should sign the Optional Clause without further discussion with its fellows, Canada, in particular, has indicated in terms as explicit as she considers compatible with Imperial unity of policy that she favours far more rapid progress in the direction of arbitration than Great Britain at present approves. So far, then, as the attitude Great Britain feels it proper to adopt regarding the Court and arbitration is an obstacle to the progress of disarmament, that obstacle will certainly not increase in volume, and may, for one reason or the other, substantially diminish.

But now events are taking another turn. Once more the New World is called in to redress the balance of the Old, this time at the half-inadvertent suggestion of Paris, not the far-sighted instigation of London. Mr. Kellogg's proposal, if accepted by Britain and Germany and Italy and France and Japan, will, among other effects, close decisively the door the League Covenant leaves open. " Renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy " must, in the absence of contradiction, be held to mean simply renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy. For that reason the Six-Power discussions are likely to be lengthy and delicate, for the door in the Covenant was left open very deliberately, and it will take more than a suggestion from Washington to push it

shut. This country, in particular, has steadfastly resisted all proposals from Continental States to close the door on " private war " —war between individual States—altogether. Yet that is precisely what Mr. Kellogg wants. Or so it must be supposed, in spite of little episodes in Mexico and Nicaragua not immediately reconcilable with the clean-sweep-of-war principle.

However that may be, the extension of the American proposals to Britain, Germany, Italy and Japan opens up prospects infinitely hopeful. Difficulties will inevitably arise. Britain is as much under compulsion as France to make any new obligations she contracts consistent with her pledges as a member of the League of Nations. So are Germany, Italy and Japan. Mr. Coolidge and Mr. Kellogg are manifestly conscious of that, and whatever the full import of their proposal, they cannot be deliberately throwing down a challenge which they know the challenged could not in honour take up. They must be offering to the leading members of the League a contract the leading members of the League are free to sign without depriving themselves in any way of that right of collective action which it may be necessary from time to time to exercise for police purposes on lines marked out clearly enough in the Covenant.

All things considered, the Kellogg proposals have reached their present state of development at a propitious moment. The failure of the Naval Conference has brought a wave of favourable reaction, expressed in the reduction of naval programmes on both sides of the Atlantic. The League discussions on disarmament are necessarily suspended till France and Germany have got their elections over. And sufficient time is left for exploration and discussion between the six Powers which now have the Briand-Kellogg correspondence before them for the wider aggregation of nations to have a more or less considered scheme to discuss, whether formally or informally, when they meet at Geneva in September for the League Assembly.

The Kellogg project may fare well or ill, though it will be hard for any countries to make any objections to it beyond those which France has (quite reasonably) raised, and it does not look as if the French objections would prove fatal. If it fares well it will mean that the disarmament problem will take on a different colour, for with war renounced as an instrument of national policy, armaments to enforce national policies cannot be retained. Gradually, but rapidly, they must be cut down to the level necessary for " the enforcement by common action of international obligations." And, to pursue the process of deriving effects from causes, the " freedom of the seas " question, which is causing so much anxious thought behind the scenes in America and England to-day, will become in a

new degree soluble, for with " private wars "—wars as instruments of national policy—renounced by international agreement, " private blockades " will, of necessity, disappear. The only blockade left will be one declared by the community of States against a violator of covenants. Under present conditions even that form of blockade raises grave difficulties with America, but it can hardly be believed that a future United States Government would desire to obstruct disciplinary action against a nation violating a no-more-war pact which America herself had initiated.

But, of course, the Kellogg effort may break down. In that case the League of Nations will pursue its endeavours, as indeed it must do in the field of arbitration and of detailed disarmament agreements, whether Mr. Kellogg succeeds or fails. Disarmament through security, security through arbitration, will still be its goal, and each year, despite superficial appearances, finds that goal a little less remote than the last. Merely to make an atmosphere is something, and a disarmament atmosphere, and still more an arbitration atmosphere, has been unmistakably created at Geneva in the past half-dozen years. The dam against war may have to be built up by the laborious laying of single bricks. But they are being laid—one by one.

H. Wilson Harris.

CHINA AND THE POWERS.

SOME months ago, in China, hearing complaints from foreign diplomats of the intolerable situation in store for them, a quotation rang continually in my mind; a phrase recurring in one of the most living plays of the immortal Molière. The French humourist imagines a husband, George Dandin, who, through stupidity, is the author of all his own troubles, beginning with the infidelity of his pretty wife. The refrain is: "Tu l'as voulu, George Dandin!"; "You asked for it, George Dandin!" There is no doubt that the European Powers have been, in China, their own George Dandins.

Let us begin with the Great War. The only excuse for having brought China into the war is that in war one rarely chooses one's weapons; everything harmful to the enemy is good, even if it comes back upon one like the Australian boomerang. It is, then, useless to discuss to-day whether it was really opportune to force China into the Great War on the Allies' side, and whether, even then, the dangers of which the seeds were being sown should have been foreseen. Certainly Europe has gained nothing by it, either then or now. If anyone was the gainer, it was China. I mean official China, which maintains Ministers and Legations and means so little to masses of thousands of workers who only ask to lead lives regulated by their families and guilds, the true form of Chinese government. All other attempts at government from Peking, Nanking, and Hankow only stand for a Mandarin's gamble for power, in the eyes of the masses; the Mandarins themselves being sometimes the victims when the ups and downs of civil war occur.

Those students returned from America, who have taken possession of China, have lost touch, or never had it, with the genius of their race. In Italy, the men of the *Risorgimento* triumphed, in bringing out what already existed in Dante's country; Mazzini was, in a sense, the successor of Alighieri. Beyond the Alps, the *Sturm und Drang* period carried on Luther's work, and so triumphed. But the "returned students" of China, the "statesmen" of official China, are foreigners in their native land; and one may therefore pass judgment on their doings with no want of that respect due to every nation that wishes to be master in its own house.

It was only official, English-speaking China who reaped advantage from the war—advantages of show and "face"—such as none of us in our most sanguine moments would have dreamt of for ourselves. Since we first came in contact with them, we have always denied the Mandarins the right to judge white people.

Even six months before the war, if a Roumanian Jew had some squalid adventure in Peking—I say Roumanian Jew, since an anti-semitic Roumanian Government, unrepresented in China, would disown him—the Italian Minister, who, at that time, was myself, would get him out of his Chinese prison and have him thrown across the Russian frontier by two *carabinieri*; but he must not be punished by Chinese.

In August, 1917, when the declaration of war on Germany and Austria-Hungary was obtained from China, the Peking Government automatically acquired complete jurisdiction over the subjects of both countries. It followed that some Portuguese half-castes from Macao continued to enjoy complete exterritoriality—which frequently, given the restricted organisation of certain Consular Courts, meant impunity—while Germans and Austro-Hungarians came under the ordinary Chinese law. Among those were savants, men often chosen in the past by the whole diplomatic body to fill honorary posts in the common European interest. The Chinese felt hesitation where we felt none; as if they mistrusted the new power left in their hands, fearing that, with the first punitive measures, the whole of Aryan Europe might think better of it, and that they themselves would lose "face" just where they had expected to gain it.

At last, they were bold. The Germans and Austrians were interned and deported, and their property confiscated. The representatives of a Europe, then fighting for its liberty, engaged in a defensive which sometimes appeared hopeless, could have no thought but for the fate of their countries, then at stake from the Yser to the Piave—and they did not interfere, even if they doubted the wisdom of what was going on in China. The German and Austrian Concessions at Tientsin, together with the German Concession at Hankow, were taken back by the Chinese Government. Not that the Treasury gained thereby; those who gained were the Special Commissioners who administered such wealthy territories. Having installed themselves in the former Consulates, they must have thought: "When will it be the turn of the English, French and Italian Concessions, which we can spy upon from the terraces of the houses so easily fallen into our hands?" Not a few Chinese already realised that their acquisition of the International Settlement of Shanghai or of the neighbouring French Concession, would spell the ruin of thousands of yellow merchants who, under the guarantee of Western justice, had managed to pile up fortunes; and that to destroy a great portion of their European commerce would mean enormous losses for the Chinese themselves. But, in the matter of wealth, the Oriental truly democratic mind expresses itself by "Every dog has his day!" Vanity is, moreover, a

strong spring of Chinese patriotism; what amount of "face" might China not have derived from sovereignty over the Bonds of Shanghai and Hankow?

The recent war cry: "Back the Concessions!" was our doing, due to the fatal precedent of 1917.

As though the greater political decisions, whose effects are still being felt, had not sufficed, we added low street scenes, for the edification of the lower Chinese. What is the moral value of a victory, if not to teach serenity towards the vanquished? It should have been our duty and our privilege, in China, to remember that during the Boxer Rebellion (an event now further off to us than to the Chinese) the one European Representative who, conscious of imminent danger, wished to brave it by a bold stroke which might have succeeded, was Baron von Ketteler. The Legations were already beseiged, but the Tsung-Li-Yamen had not thrown off their mask. The German Minister left his colleagues and, alone, in his official sedan chair, tried to get to the Chinese Ministers and to make them feel the weight of their awful responsibility. He was murdered in the street of Ha-Ta-Men, four hundred yards from his own Legation.

In 1901, some months after the murder, following an expedition which was sometimes sternly, but always honourably conducted, in spite of the bestial orders which Waldersee had received from a crowned comedian, the Protocol of Peking, with the unanimous consent of Europe, decided that a memorial arch (Pei-Lho) should be raised by the Chinese on the spot where Ketteler, whose body was never recovered, had been murdered. Beyond being a monument to the brave diplomatist, this was to stand as a permanent lesson to the Chinese, its inscriptions reminding them of the shame of having attacked foreign Ambassadors. A Latin inscription on the Pei-Lho emphasised the "Catholic" meaning—I say Catholic in its literal sense of universal—of the monument. But—was not Ketteler a Boche? The shirkers who, during the war, had found a comfortable shelter in Peking, thought so, when the Armistice was made known on a November day of 1918. They ran to the street of Ha-Ta-Men and tried to blow up the Pei-Lho. But the international brawlers were powerless to destroy the fine monument; a few pillars alone were loosened, to the imminent peril of passers-by. Some time later, the Wai-Chiau-Pu, recognising this, addressed a cooing note to the Diplomatic Corps, informing them that the City administration was ready to undertake the removal of a monument which had become a public danger. Though there had been time for reflection, it had not been used. The Diplomatic Corps consented, and the Pei-Lho was relegated to a public park, far from the scene of the murder. The Latin inscription was lost,

as if by accident. The arch bears now no more than a Chinese inscription, of which the least that can be said is that it is equivocal. Literally translated, it runs: "The Right has conquered!" Not a word of Ketteler. Who will trouble himself about a foreign devil? Chinese casuistry may interpret the triumph of "Right" as it will—and it does.

While this total amnesty of the memories of 1901 was suffered in Peking, the Chinese at Versailles were treated all the world knows how. Out of respect for his "fourteen points," Wilson gave Chinese Shantung to the Japanese. It would really have been better not to include the Chinese among plenipotentiaries admitted to negotiations, a privilege of which they had been by no means assured, when Mr. Lu-Cheng-Chang was sent to assist at the Paris Peace Conference. I think this has not been stated before; it will probably be denied; nevertheless, it is the absolute truth. The hesitations and contradictions of Versailles were fated to bring about the concessions of the Washington Conference.

One thing led to another; tardy concessions and feeble resistances, where the right course would have been: (1) Quick concessions, cutting all the ramifications of private, excessive privileges, which spread like a forest across Chinese life; (2) A firm resistance when the trunk of the venerable tree, Western influence, was threatened. Europe, of whom China herself still has need, should have been protected; Europeans, so often unworthy, should have been sacrificed. This has not been done; the last years have been spent in fumbling. The events of to-day are but the logical outcome of seeds which we ourselves have unconsciously sown.

After the expulsion, the Germans and Austrians are back now. To see how they left and how they came back is a lesson worth learning—if there is such a thing as taking a lesson from our own past mistakes, which I strongly doubt.

Until 1914, and, it may be said, until the eve of the Chinese entry into the war in 1917, the Germans enjoyed a favoured position, not only with regard to China, on account of the exterritorial rights which they shared with us, but with regard to us all, English, French, Italians. Their strength was drawn from the peculiar tactics of their diplomacy, and from an attitude of mind peculiar to them. Their diplomatic relations with China were a cunning mixture of friendly protectiveness and aloof intimidation, reminding me, who had lived in Constantinople as a young Secretary of Embassy during the last years of Abdul Hamid's reign, of Baron Marschall, the debonnair, but feared, German master of the Sublime Porte. Individually, every German cultivated his own Chinese friendships; to such a degree that Germans could

boast of needing no Consular protection for their journeys "up country." In the clubs of Shanghai, Hankow and Tien-Tsin, where the most learned Chinese is not admitted by Western merchants who have grown rich in China but know nothing of the country and have not a Chinese friend, the Germans were seldom seen. They alone frequented the Chinese clubs. Impossible to believe that it was only done for material motives; one cannot succeed in a part without believing in it, or, at any rate, enjoying it to some extent. The Chinese, who are our masters in the art of compliments, are never deceived by phrases. But those were material acts, which they compared with the distant benevolence of the English, never violent but never cordial, and always so innocently convinced of their own superiority as whites.

The increase of German commerce in the six or seven years preceding the fatal July of 1914 was prodigious. From Canton to Chunking, from Hankow to Mukden, our Consuls were unanimous in reporting that German trade was carrying all before it, while English trade was falling off.

In the days following the invasion of Belgium, the Marquis of San Giuliano, then Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, wanted—as a personal exception—to get also the opinion of a distant agent on the situation created for Italy by two former Allies in waging war without previously informing her, this agent being the then young Minister to China; perhaps with the memory of certain discussions of theirs in London, when they had been there as Minister and Councillor respectively in 1910, and when San Giuliano had shown for the overwhelming force of Hohenzollern Germany an admiration not completely shared by the Councillor. The substance of my reply—since this Minister was myself—ran as follows: "I want only to say what I may think from the Far East. For three or four years I have been informing you that England cannot ultimately resist German competition, and that a great future lies here for German influence. If all this is to be risked on the throw of the dice of war, it will either be *quos deus vult perdere,* or else a dangerous will to dominate the world, soon to become intolerable. In either case, our duty and sphere of action appear to me indicated. In the event of your silence, I shall act accordingly." I need not say that it was silence.

With the war of 1914, the Germans abandoned in China a position to which no people had attained before; a position of prestige and respect, mixed with a kind of sympathetic feeling which had not been felt for the old English supremacy. When they came back in 1919 they were, from the point of view of jurisdiction, on the same level as Persians or Afghans. The old friendships were not really all extinct. China had gone into the war, almost

against her own will; moreover, she had returned from Versailles, soured and discontented. It needed but one step to make her sympathise with her foes of yesterday. That step was taken.

This renewal of cordial relations was perhaps what most helped the Reich Government swiftly and resignedly to renounce all rights and privileges of exterritoriality in its new Treaty with China, not insisting even upon freedom for Germans to travel and to trade in the interior, a freedom which the Powers only enjoy for their missionaries. If Germany *voluntarily* renounced her privileges—a huge triumph for China—it would have seemed natural to eliminate for the Germans those restrictions endured by other Europeans in exchange for an unusual amount of privileges, beginning with the Concessions, in which the Germans henceforth are but guests. It is true that the German negotiators demanded the rights of residence, ownership and trade in China outside the few Treaty Ports, and the Concessions to which they gave up their claim. But the Chinese replied that it would be too dangerous a precedent to grant this; that, indeed, Japan would have no right to take advantage of the most-favoured-nation clause, if Germany were to be granted it in exchange for giving up her privileges; but that Japan was strong. At the same time, it was whispered to the Germans that, in point of fact, they would be allowed to go everywhere. This, it seems, is done.

The real problem was the administration of justice; the Germans, deprived of their Consular Courts, and knowing that they could be dragged before Chinese Courts, tried to get out of it by adopting, in business matters among themselves or with the Chinese, a whole cautious system of contracts with arbitration clauses which actually eliminated the fear of prosecution and lawsuits. Naturally, the Chinese tribunal cannot always be avoided. From the fairly long experience which the Germans are beginning to have of it, it would appear that sentences in the first instance are nearly always grotesque and iniquitous. Most frequently, no violation of justice is apparent in the sentences; it works slyly in the course of the trial, by suppression of documents and witnesses, and similar tricks, the authors of which remain invariably unknown. Appeals appear to have more seemly results.

Prisons in China are the horror that can be imagined. All kinds of condemned persons are herded together in filthy rooms, in charge of ferocious warders. There are, however, two or three model prisons, run up quickly to be shown to the International Commission which, after the Washington Agreement, came to China to make a report on the exterritoriality question. There was only one way of maintaining these prisons in good condition; and that was, to keep them empty. They were empty when the Commissioners

decided to visit them. The Minister of Justice hurriedly asked some hundred of his clerks—the clerks of a Ministry number thousands in Peking—to go and play at being prisoners for two or three days. The Commissioners admired the educational value of Chinese prisons, the exquisite urbanity of the prisoners, their contentment with their lot. It is to one of these enormous empty buildings that a German is occasionally sent to expiate his crime. But this happens very rarely. The less worthy Germans who have not succeeded in trade and who become adventurers, become so like the adventurers in old Turkey, the Casanovas, the Bonneval Pashas, and others, in the days when our Ambassadors sometimes spent forced holidays in the prison of the Seven Towers; they become adventurers in the service of the authorities.

The Capitoline geese who give warning everywhere of mysterious plots and skilful German plotters would really have plenty of scope in China. Germans are working in the arsenal of Chang-Tso-Lin at Mukden; other Germans are preparing poisonous gases for the Christian General; a German (in reality an Austrian) is the Kléber of the Southern Army. They are, in most cases, poor devils who get a job where they can find it. The same thing happened in Europe after the great Napoleonic Wars: wherever an adventure started, there a former French, Italian or Polish officer was to be found, back at his old *métier*. But the great majority of Germans have preferred, when possible, to come back to their old jobs in the import-export trade. Their main protection is now to be found in the desire of the Chinese authorities to prove that there are good judges and tribunals in China, even for foreigners.

During the Hankow and Nanking troubles of 1927, the Germans wore on their breast a large paper whereon were written the two Chinese characters for " German " : " to-guo." They knew that an order existed imposing the greatest respect for them, not as Germans, but as citizens of a nation with no more exterritorial rights. In one of the two towns, a German was stabbed in the back by a knife. His Consul protested, and received an answer which he showed to me. The answer ran as follows : " The culprit has been arrested; he is as sorry as we are; he believed to have stabbed an Englishman." When asked by some of us about their situation, German officials and merchants answer, with a cryptic smile, that they are quite satisfied. We must know what it means; it means that they feel that there is no possibility for them of reverting to their old privileged position, and that they hope the same thing will happen to us. If, beside hoping, they do something towards it. Well! It would be only human. And, even in this case, we ought only to repeat the refrain of George Dandin!

Another, I would not say error, but event, whose repercussion

on China ought to have been considered and was not, is the peace we made with Turkey at Lausanne; and I told Lord Curzon so at the time. It aroused in Chinese minds a harmful comparison. Turkey, enemy of the Entente and—so the Chinese believed—defeated by it, succeeded in destroying every vestige of the Capitulations; while China, ally of the Entente, received a completely different treatment. It was not only an irritating, but a humiliating comparison—a thing that Chinese sensitiveness could not endure. Let us put ourselves for an instant in their place.

The episode in Shanghai, on May 30th, 1925, when the English Settlement Police fired on a Students' Demonstration, who, according to the Chinese, were unarmed, added fresh fuel to a propaganda which, henceforth, ceased to be purely nationalistic, that is, literary, political and lower-middle-class, in order to touch far deeper strata. Much more than the work of Bolshevik advisers, always of less account than was supposed in Europe, it was the result of one of those nervous jerks which, from time to time, shake the Chinese masses—often so far less inert than superficial onlookers suppose. A millenarian education, where no act or gesture is left to spontaneity, seems to immobilise the Chinese with its ritual. Once a violent emotion has shaken them out of their frame, we may witness one of those examples of collective enthusiasm or collective hatred such as the thirteenth century alone can show in Europe, with the *flagellanti*, with the disciples of the *Poverello* of Assisi.

In spite of the efforts of the Communist wing of the Kuo-Min-Tang, anti-foreign feeling declares itself as infinitely livelier than social hatred. The latter is sporadic, as, for instance, in the Hunan. All over China, the murders of Shanghai are still talked of. A legend is growing up round it, helped by a very special trait of Chinese mentality. If the English, they say, had only wanted to scatter a demonstration, they should have attacked the crowd with cudgels, or even bare blades; the wounded would then have had themselves to blame; but firearms stand for international murder.* The Kuo-Min-Tang who, if we except Canton—that eternal Ireland of China—had so far more or less beaten the air, felt this new strength accruing to them from the growing sentiment of the crowd, even though that crowd understood nothing of Sun-Yat-Sen's nebulous programme. The advance of the Southerners northwards is due far more to an atmosphere of sympathy, more unconscious than active, than to the overrated Russian military specialists.

* The Westerner who finds this strange has only to remember what horror our fifteenth-century ancestors felt when they found that firearms were going to transform battles into massacres. Was it not the knightly Bayard who caused the gunners to be killed? No prisoners could be made of men who, thought he, dishonoured the noble art of War.

Another blunder for which we are now paying is having made all sorts of protestations through Consuls at Canton and Shanghai, through diplomats at Peking, whenever some new taxation, not admitted by the Treaties, was imposed on foreign goods by the Chinese, but never having pushed our protests further; at the last moment, our merchants were invited to pay " with reserve," which has entailed a great loss of authority of the Powers. I should not be much astonished if the same were to happen to-morrow, on a larger scale, at Shanghai, where the needs of the Southern army will cause the creation of new taxes—purely Chinese ones—on luxury articles, liqueurs, wines, etc. The enforcedly passive presence of an English occupying force would increase the irony of the situation. Those Chinese peddlers who, for months past, have been using the barbed wire as a shop-front for their goods, would, without knowing it, have created a political formula.

So, day by day, the concessions contemplated at Washington have come to lose all significance. The Washington Conference had had one essential aim concerning China: to create a unity of conception among the Western Powers by graduating the concessions which had to be made. Growing Chinese excitement has forbidden a halt. All those who, in China, speak in the name of a Government, or the shadow of one, have been forced to the extreme limit of the programme of claims, owing to public opinion, which has ended by believing in good faith that foreigners are responsible for the country's ills, and so forgetting all internal discords, the military leaders' ambitions, the ravages of civil war.

Up till now, the most ardent Kuo-Min-Tang set out their aspirations in the following order: first, the Customs; then, the Jurisdiction; last of all, and as a distant problem, the taking back of the Concessions. The ease with which the British Concession at Hankow fell into their hands, the accepted pourparlers for transforming the character of the English Concession at Tien-Tsin, have placed this claim on a level with the others. The Diplomatic Body in Peking adds fatally, and through no fault of its members, to the difficulties of the situation.

Only two States, two nations, have undergone a profound and real change since the war: Russia and Turkey. In both cases, the capital has been altered, not for a whim, but in obedience to a new necessity and a new policy. Moscow—the former Russian centre—and Angora—the purely Turkish town—have replaced artificial Petersburg and Levantine Constantinople. The fate of Peking will be an outward sign by which to gauge future changes in China. Sun-Yat-Sen wished to re-establish the capital at Nanking, as it formerly was under the Ming. Others prefer to seek a new capital, farther up the Yang-Tse than Nanking, which is found to be rather too accessible to unwelcome visits from foreign squadrons. Their choice would rather fall on Wuhan, formed by the three towns gathered on the banks of the Yang-Tse: Wuchang, Hakyang and Hankow; a gigantic city at the cross-roads of the two great highways: one, the river Yang-Tse, the other, the Canton-Wushang-Hankow-Peking-Mukden railway.

Yet—and this is by no means the most inexplicable of Chinese paradoxes—even the partisans of Nanking or Wuhan are forced to approve the struggle for Peking. There are two reasons for this: one, psychological and inevitable; the other, partly due to Europe. The first reason is to be found in the majesty still breathed by the ramparts of Peking and, above all, in the venerability of the Imperial Palace. The Soviets, too, knew what they were about when they established themselves in the Kremlin, the very cradle of Russian history and the Russian soul. But the second reason is the presence of the representatives of the Powers. To install one's self near them in the Palace, with one's knowledge of Europe's intense wish only to have dealings with a Central Chinese Government, is to ensure official recognition; that is, essentially, to find a sure method of launching fresh loans, of forcing the Inspector-General of Customs to make big advances out of revenues, and so forth.

Since civil war has raged in China, the presence in Peking of the Diplomatic Corps has complex results, more harmful than useful. The worthy Heads of Missions are in no way to blame; their technical competence is beyond doubt, as well as their moral character. They have done harm in spite of themselves, as an organ is bound to be harmful if, healthy in itself, it is relegated to inactivity. The Peking Government counts for nothing once a detachment of Chang-Tso-Lin's troops is only a few *li* away. For a long time, the Wai-Chiau-Pu has been no more than a screen to hide emptiness; but diplomats can only go and lay their complaints before that screen, just as naïvely as a young Japanese peasant bowing before the looking-glass in the altar of a Shinto temple, and clapping her hands to call a distant Divinity's attention to her prayers. Such a work into the void has not only been morally bad, because it lacks seriousness; but it has caused complications which might not have arisen otherwise. The recognition by the Powers of the fleeting shadow of Peking has simply been an additional cause of civil war; for the prestige resulting from such recognition, and the possibility of making money out of it, prove too attractive to the Chinese generals. The diplomats of Peking cannot be asked for the impossible. They cannot be expected to give up being themselves; moreover, something can only be seen clearly from outside. The grand empty word, Peking, may still have power to deceive the ears of men.

But, if the Cabinets are convinced that the re-unification of China would be a supreme advantage, they should recall how recent in the history of the Middle Kingdom is that period when viceroys were practically independent, and when great was the stupefaction of the Peking Boards, some forty or fifty years ago—yesterday for China—on hearing European Envoys ask of the Tsung-Li-Yamen explanations or reparations for events occurring at Kuantung or Chekiang. Yesterday's truth continues to hold good; and will still do so, even if there appears to be peace in China. It is a pity for all of us; but so it is.

The Western Powers keep a Diplomatic Corps in Peking; for, desiring Chinese unity, they cling to its symbol. Perhaps they betray reality in preserving appearances. Perhaps, were they to take away from the Tukiuns that supreme stake for which they are still playing, the Diplomatic Capital—the possession of which means fresh funds and fresh loans—they would, in so doing, have worked for the advent of reality. By eliminating a cause of struggle, they would be coming nearer to the cessation of struggle.

SFORZA.

IRELAND IN 1928.

WHEN last I wrote some account of our doings in the Irish Free State I was tempted—but that it seemed too frivolous for this REVIEW—to choose for title of my article "Butter and Eggs and a Pound of Cheese." In justification I might have quoted Burke's stately rebuke to a House of Commons disposed to make merry over his remarks on tea. For, indeed, none of these homely commodities are unworthy of the attention of statesmen; nor will anyone who glances at the statistics of Irish imports and exports deny that the two first at least play an important part in the national economy. *Majores majora canent.* Suppose us, as a consequence of better farming and better marketing, to increase our export of these by two million pounds per year, and we have the equivalent of such a proportionate increase in staple British exports as no politician or economist would disdain.

I make no apology, then, for placing such things in the fore-front. With us, I suppose at least four in every five persons to make their living out of the land, whether directly as farmers and stockbreeders or indirectly as manufacturers, dealers, and shop-keepers. It is good, therefore, to have the assurance that the efforts of the Minister of Agriculture to raise the quality of our agricultural exports, and consequently their standing in the British market, have not slackened during the past twelve months; and that if, like Father O'Flynn, the Minister is by no means averse from "lifting the lazy ones on with a stick" in the shape of stringent penalties for slovenly work, the stick has of late to be less and less frequently applied. Farmers themselves show greater readiness to do what is needed without either compulsion or State aid—witness the revival of the Drogheda Meat Packing Factory as a co-operative concern, and the launching of similar schemes in Wexford, Waterford, and Cork. In the sphere of direct State development we have the Shannon Electric Power scheme, of which the first section is now approaching completion, and the subsidised Beet Sugar Factory in Co. Carlow.

Interest in economic problems grows apace. Chief among the problems now facing us are how best to provide the agricultural community with loans for reproductive purposes, and how to harmonise the interests of that community with the now generally accepted policy of protection of urban industries. The Irish farmer rarely possesses any considerable capital and, when he does, he prefers to place his money on deposit in a bank rather than use it to develop his farm. The Irish landlord, on the other hand, was always unaccustomed, and usually unable, to supply capital, whether for buildings, reclamation or repairs. He let, in a striking

phrase of the late Lord Dufferin, " land—not farms." In any case, he is no more; for with the passing of the Land Act of 1923, the status of landlord and tenant has disappeared from the Free State. The ordinary banks will not provide long-term credits; and short-term credits are of little use to the farmer. Thus, if the need is to be met, the State must step in. This it is doing by the creation of an Agricultural Credit Corporation which operates under a State guarantee, in conjunction with Joint-Stock and Co-operative Banks.

Tariff-reform, as we all know, is a still more perplexing business. With us it is the parties of the Left that are eager for high and almost universal tariffs, while the more conservative sections still cling to what remains of Free Trade. Organised Labour, haunted by fear of unemployment and seeing our small industries threatened increasingly by the encroachment of great combines, hopes that Protection will at least prevent wages and employment from dropping below their existing level; while the Republican followers of Mr. de Valera dream of a Robinson Crusoe island from which shall be excluded foreign goods and foreign capital, as well as foreign literature and foreign manners. On the other side are ranged the bankers and shippers, the rentiers, those who for private or public reasons are reluctant to widen the economic breach with Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and probably a majority of the farmers. It is true that these, or some of these, would like to see import duties levied on certain foodstuffs, such as foreign barley, chilled meat, and (possibly) American bacon. Yet all are aware that, so long as the bulk of their surplus produce is destined to be sold for the British market, any increase in the general cost of living must inevitably hit both them and their labourers without sufficient compensation in better prices. Thus they are rather disposed to complain of the incidence of existing taxes than to call for the imposition of new.

From the Protectionist side complaint is made that the Advisory Tariff Commission has shown itself dilatory if not deliberately obstructive. But in the course of a recent debate the Minister of Finance was able to show such delays as have occurred to be due to quite another cause, namely, that applicants, having launched their proposals without due reflection, have themselves, in instance after instance, asked for more time in which to prepare their case. The truth is that until lately we have had little occasion to go at all deeply into such questions; and it is only now we begin to suspect their complexity. During the September elections I heard a Parliamentary candidate propound a new way to get rich. " We pay foreign nations," said he, " some eighteen million pounds a year, being the amount of the (visible) adverse balance on imports and exports. Let us eat our own cattle, butter and eggs, and let us

refuse to bring anything whatever from abroad. We shall then have eighteen millions for reduction of taxation and for development."

In the Dáil the suggestions made are somewhat less naïve; but even there it seems to be assumed on the Republican benches that to place the highest possible duties on all articles which can by any means be produced in the Free State is inevitably to secure the highest possible level of private and public prosperity. At most Mr. de Valera will admit that, while we await the industrial millennium, there may have to be some tightening of belts, euphemistically termed the acceptance of a less costly standard of living.

I have dwelt at some length upon the tariff question, because it seems likely for some time to come to be the chief point of controversy between Government and Opposition. It is true that all parties, even the Farmers' group, which shortly after the last General Election decided to accept the Government Whip, are committed in some degree to Protection; and that in the whole Chamber I can think of but two, or doubtfully three, Deputies who openly profess themselves impenitent Free Traders. But there is a vast difference in spirit and method between the whole-hoggery of Fianna Fáil and the Government's policy of Selective Protection, cautiously applied, and intended rather as a means of assisting young industries than as a permanent part of our national economy.

I turn now to other issues, the relics of stormier times, and destined, as I believe, to become less and less important. For five years Mr. de Valera kept his party out of Parliament rather than subscribe an oath of allegiance to the Constitution of the Free State and of faithfulness to the King as Head of the associated nations of the Commonwealth. With the passing of an Act last summer requiring candidates to make, before nomination, a formal declaration of willingness to take the oath if elected, the abstention policy was suddenly abandoned—to the manifest relief of the electorate, which at the ensuing election proceeded to snuff out altogether the little band of intransigents led by Miss Mary MacSwiney. During the present session the Fianna Fáil deputies have, to do them justice, shown an increasing inclination to settle down to the routine work of the Chamber. I wish one could add that, while clinging to the Republican idea, they had yet accepted the Constitution of the Free State as frankly as the older generation of Nationalists and even convinced Unionists have accepted it—as something, that is, not cut altogether to their favourite pattern, but at the least entitled to the loyal obedience of all Irish citizens, and to be changed, if at all, by legal and orderly methods. No one, he perhaps as little as any, knows definitely for what Mr. de Valera stands, nor whether, if he wishes, he can control the wilder of his

present adherents. That, when in power, he will seek to reopen the Treaty Settlement and the subsequent agreements on the Northern Boundary and the financial relations with Great Britain—so much is clear enough. But by what methods will he pursue his ends? How far will he go in furtherance of his desire to exclude foreign, that is, British, goods? How does he mean to " punish Ulster "? Having repudiated the obligations of the Free State to Great Britain in the matter of land annuities, will he, like some of his followers, encourage the tenant-purchasers to repudiate their obligations to the Free State? Does he now accept the fundamental principle of Democracy, or does he still pretend to divine inspiration and hold, with Miss MacSwiney and the gunmen, that " the People have no right to do wrong "? Above all, does he agree that in a civilised country only one armed force can be allowed to exist, that which is under the direct orders of the Executive? Each one of these questions has been put to him again and again during the present session, and to no one of them has he given a plain answer.

The two last mentioned are the more important in that we have but recently had an ugly reminder that murder is still regarded by some of our countrymen as a legitimate weapon in political warfare. Just what motives of private hate or public policy caused Mr. Kevin O'Higgins, Minister for Justice, to be shot down as he walked unattended one Sunday morning to church will only be known when his murderers are discovered and brought to trial. Meantime it is commonly believed that he was a victim of such a gang of conspirators as was responsible for the Phœnix Park murders of 1882. For reasons evident enough to those who know anything of our history, secret societies have long been the curse of this country, upon which the course of events between 1916 and 1923 strengthened their evil grip. It is probably vain to expect that we have seen the last of them; but two facts may be noted as hopeful. The Executive Council has not found it necessary to use the very drastic powers taken under the Public Safety Act of last year, and that Act, though more severe in some respects than any similar Act passed under the British régime, was accepted with remarkable calm by the electorate. Irishmen, indeed, find it hard to rid themselves of the old notion of Government as of something alien and hostile. It will be years yet before the opposite conception is instinctively held, before the law is regarded as the People's law, before the word " informer " disappears as a word of unmixed contempt. But, if not felt, these ideas begin to be understood.

To this new understanding Mr. Cosgrave's tour in Canada and the United States, and the participation of Irish representatives in the work of the Imperial Conference and in the Assembly of the

League of Nations, have powerfully contributed. For the first time we have seen an Irishman received in other countries, not as the leader of a party, but as the head of the State. Geneva in the Irish imagination appears more remote than Philadelphia, London than New York. Nevertheless, it begins to dawn upon us that the Free State exists as a reality not merely within the four seas of Ireland but as an integral part of two World Powers. Here also, as in domestic affairs, our rise to recognised nationhood has been so sudden that we do not easily realise what has been achieved. To one of the older generation there is something amazing in the extension of the Dominion status recorded in the report of the last Imperial Conference. The " colonial " idea (never apposite to Ireland) has disappeared from the constitutional fabric; and with it has gone the claim to subordinate any part of the Commonwealth to any other, and any instrument by which that claim might be enforced. Except as a mere conduit pipe, the Dominions Office has now no functions in respect of the self-governing Dominions. Communications pass direct between the Governments of Dublin and London. The Governor-General is supplied with papers " for information " only. When, some weeks ago, Mr. James McNeill was chosen to succeed Mr. Healy, he received his appointment direct from the King, and the letter of appointment was not countersigned by any Secretary of State. It is thus made clear, in practice as in principle, that the Crown is bound in each Dominion to act in accordance with the wishes of the Government of that Dominion; that its functions in relation to the Commonwealth are not single but several. It follows that the representative of the Crown is equally so bound. He can oppose to such wishes neither the orders of Downing Street nor his individual judgment.

And as the overriding authority of Westminster has been abandoned in inter-Commonwealth affairs, so also in foreign. It was thought at that time a startling innovation that the Dominions should be invited to adhere individually to the Treaty of Versailles; but in international law the signatures thus affixed probably added nothing vital to the document, since the British delegation had implicit authority to bind the whole Empire. But since 1926 this prerogative also must be regarded as obsolete. The draft form of Treaty set out in the Report makes it perfectly plain that henceforward the representatives of Great Britain sign on a basis of equality with those of the Dominions; and that no self-governing portion of the Commonwealth is in any way bound by any instrument to which it has not adhered by the signature of its own plenipotentiaries or of other persons specifically authorised to act on its behalf. While the Monarchy lasts, London must obviously remain the place in which the vast majority of the diplomatic representa-

tives of Foreign States will congregate; and the Foreign Office be directly responsible for the appointment and supervision of the Diplomatic and Consular Service of the Empire. But even in this sphere significant changes have recently occurred. Foreign Consuls now receive their *exequaturs* direct from the Government of the Free State; while the arrival in Dublin some weeks ago of an American Minister-Plenipotentiary, following the sending of a Free State Minister to Washington, marks yet another stage in the recognition of Ireland as a virtually independent country.

Unfortunately these developments have attracted far less attention in Ireland itself than does the still hotly debated question, "Who began the Civil War in 1922?" It is a pity; for Ireland to-day lacks more than anything else a just pride in past achievement and confidence in future progress. And surely she would find reason for both, if only she came to estimate at its true value her place in the two greatest political organisations of our times. At Geneva her representatives are singularly favoured by circumstance. Brought, on the one hand, into close touch with other representatives of the Commonwealth, they are able, on the other, by reason of Ireland's historical position in Europe, and perhaps also of a temperament akin to that of several Continental peoples, to win sympathies denied to their Anglo-Saxon colleagues. It is no small thing to be assured both of the strength resulting from partnership in a great Empire and of the sentiment attaching to a champion of small nations.

For the moment, however, we are much more concerned with domestic questions; and I therefore conclude this article by making brief reference to two controversies which may be of some general interest. First, there is the question of the powers and mode of selection of the Second Chamber. As the Constitution now stands, a certain number of Senators are required to retire every three years, but may present themselves (along with other candidates) for election by the general mass of citizens aged thirty years and upwards—the whole Free State being treated as one constituency. Now at the last Senate elections, some three years ago, barely 30 per cent. of the electors took the trouble to enter the polling booths; and of this small number very few can have been familiar with a tithe of the seventy-odd names appearing on the ballot paper. Some useful candidates were returned; but the general result was to discredit direct election as an instrument for filling the revising Chamber with men and women of national, as distinct from local, importance.

A Joint Committee is now sitting to consider this question of election, as well as other provisions of the Constitution affecting the Senate. The difficulty is, of course, to find any method of

election which will not make of the Senate a weaker replica of the Dáil. So far the suggestion which seems to find most favour is that in future the two Houses should for this purpose act together as an electoral college. In what touches the powers of the Senate two bodies of opinion are observable. Mr. de Valera and his friends have pronounced in favour of abolition; while at the other extreme are those who, like myself, would not merely maintain but strengthen it by all possible means, and particularly by initiating some Government Bills in the Upper House and by permitting members of the Cabinet to be taken from among the Senators. Like the House of Lords the Senate suffers from under-work, except for a week or two at the end of each session. Yet such work as it is allowed to do it does well. To make it more efficient and more attractive to men of ability whose age, health or temperament unfit them for the hurly-burly inseparable from the work of a Primary Chamber is especially desirable in the conditions now obtaining in the Free State, where leisure, culture, and experience are hard to discover and still harder to make available for the public service. There need not be the slightest fear that the Senate can ever be a serious rival to the Dáil, for its powers are only those of revision and strictly limited delay.

The principle of Proportional Representation is also—though less immediately—in question. The last General Election gave President Cosgrave's administration a precarious majority of seven votes over the combined forces of Labour and Fianna Fáil. That so far it has been possible to carry on without too great difficulty is due to the fact that the possible totals of hostile votes are rarely brought together. For, if the leaders of the Labour Party have no great love for President Cosgrave, they appear to have even less for Mr. de Valera, though agreeing with him on the Tariff issue. It is easy to understand that in these circumstances Government deputies, nearly all of whom have professions, businesses, or farms to attend to, look none too kindly upon an electoral method which (whatever its theoretical advantages) seems responsible for the need of unremitting attendance in the Chamber and for holding over them the constant threat of defeat. And to this extent their dissatisfaction is justified that beyond doubt, but for P.R., their majority would have been greater than it is.

Yet, though thus myself a sufferer, I think that to abolish P.R. would be to treat the symptoms but not cure the disease. The root of our trouble lies in the sluggish imagination and political short-sightedness of the average citizen. Having made it clear that he is content with the Treaty Settlement and that, anyhow, he has no wish whatever to engage upon "another round" with the British or anyone else, he reverts to his normal interest in the price of

cattle and the racing prospects of a favourite horse, pitching all politicians alike " to the seventeen devils." Taxation is still high, notwithstanding the really heroic efforts of the Ministry to cut down expenditure on the army and other non-productive services. Trade is stagnant and unemployment considerable in the towns; in the country farmers are struggling with high rates and with costs of production increased out of all proportion to selling prices. Small wonder (though great pity) that at each election a main part of the well-disposed electorate stays quietly at home; or that as a consequence the non-active Republican section, recruited chiefly among young men and women, obtains more than its due share of votes. But for my own part I count this a small thing when compared with the less obvious advantage of avoiding those exaggerations of a temporarily dominant party's Parliamentary strength to which the alternative method of single-member constituencies would subject us. Even as things are, it is surely well that the Republican Party, having at last consented to enter the Dáil, should not have any excuse for pretending that it is inadequately represented in that assembly.

But, above all, violent swings of the pendulum are to be avoided by all possible means. We cannot afford to run unnecessary risks. Wounds are yet too raw; there are too many dangerous questions open and too many violent elements loose in the country. Ireland, as I think, needs chiefly—and will need for some years to come—three things: stability in her institutions; moderation in her government; confidence and pride in her people. In one of his essays Mr. Birrell borrows from Matthew Arnold the phrase " the luxury of self-respect." It is a fine phrase, and a better thing. Citizens of a free State, partners in a powerful Commonwealth, members of a League of Nations, ours is a goodly heritage. We shall have presently to enjoy, as we have not yet, the luxury of self-respect.

HUGH A. LAW.

THE REAL BLASCO IBÁÑEZ.

THE death of Vicente Blasco Ibáñez removes the figure of a born fighter from a position not so far, perhaps, as it looks, outside the Spanish political arena. Had his ideals triumphed in Spain during his lifetime, he might well have come to occupy a position of great importance there. As it was, he died in an exile from which he declared that he had no desire to return, alive or dead, while the present régime lasted. In Spain, both as a man of letters and as a polemist, he was entirely discredited, save by a very small proportion of his countrymen. Abroad, the fame which he achieved was almost wholly unconnected with his political activities, which, not least by those who can appreciate the peculiar difficulties with which the Directory has had to contend, will, it may be hoped, soon be charitably forgotten. The object of this article is solely to consider Blasco Ibáñez the novelist, and that part of his work which may not improbably become immortal.

An obituary notice in *The Times* of January 30th expresses what is perhaps the general view of the sensitive and cultured novel-reader who knows Blasco Ibáñez only through those of his works which have been translated into English. It comments on his " rich, luxuriant, over-decorated style," and his deficiency of " taste and judgment," crediting the account only with " his industry and his often brilliant power of description." " His work cannot be assigned a very high place," is the summing up; " indeed, it may be doubted whether it will long survive."

To my own mind there can be no doubt whatever that, when Blasco's ephemeral, ostentatious novels are wholly forgotten, as must happen very soon, the really great works of his youth and early middle age will re-emerge from the shadows and regain their rightful place in literature. In this country his reputation suffers from two disabilities: first, his best novels have not as yet all been translated; secondly, his work as a whole has never been seen in due perspective. His art was already, from a purely literary point of view, corrupted, when he wrote the *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse,* which contributed most to his celebrity outside his own country. After offering the British public that novel, together with others of the stamp of *Blood and Sand* and *Enemies of Women,* it was a hopeless proceeding to translate *Sonnica* or even *La Bodega* and present them as though they had been the novelist's latest writings; still less was it possible to expect the sensation-glutted public which reads its Blasco Ibáñez to savour the delicate regionalism of the *Mayflower* (' Flor de Mayo '), *Entre Naranjos* and *Arroz y Tartana*—all three novels which were written before Blasco had passed his thirtieth birthday. It is only as we survey

the first twenty years of his productiveness that we shall be in a position to estimate his greatness—a quality in his work, it may be said at once, which bears not the slightest relation to their magnitude.

The story of the solid literary reputation which Blasco Ibáñez built for himself in Spain, only to see it crash to the ground later, and to erect upon its ruins a pretentious edifice of no durability or of any but financial value, is the story of a man of phenomenal industry and an intense power of impressing himself upon his contemporaries. He was born in 1867, at Valencia of the Cid, a city which was in due course to return him again and again as a deputy to Parliament and to remain loyal to him down to the day of his death. At seventeen, he went to Madrid, where he sharpened his already keen political views and acquired much knowledge of all kinds, returning, after an interval spent in Paris, to his native city, as journalist, deputy, and author. For a long time he had small success: even a country which publishes but little and seldom could only account for a few hundred copies of each of his earliest novels. But he had a supreme confidence in his own abilities: he was prepared to undergo all kinds of hardships in order to bring himself to the top and to perpetrate all kinds of notorieties to keep himself there.

Up to the point where his international popularity leads him into degradation and he is engulfed by what a recent critic terms "the cosmopolitan, cinematographic wave of inartistic chaos," his work is clearly divisible into four periods: beyond this point we shall not attempt to follow him. The first period, which includes nearly all his best works and most of those which are likely to outlive the century, extends from 1894 to 1902, and is almost wholly regional. The very titles of the works (as *Entre Naranjos, Arroz y Tartana*) are more suggestive of the scenes of the stories than of the plots. Apart from the curious and charming *Valencian Tales* ("Cuentos Valencianos") there are six of them. Some in places are more than a little immature, but all have sterling qualities—they are wonderfully fresh and vivid, poetic in sentiment and attractive in their descriptions. They portray (with great faithfulness and sensibility) the city of Valencia, its *Grao* or Port, the *plage* of Cabañal with its short summer season, the luxuriant Huerta around the city and the phenomenally fertile Albufera. The author's early tendency towards the episodical gradually vanishes, and each of his works has an unmistakable individuality and unity. *Arroz y Tartana* (1894) is the weakest of the group, and *Sonnica la Cortesana* (1901) stands apart from the rest as being an historical novel which takes us back to Saguntum three centuries before the birth of Christ.

The other novels are powerful and vivid contemporary studies.

La Barraca (1899) is a tragedy of the land. An old labourer, working on the estate of a tyrannical usurer, meets him one day coming out of his cabin (*barraca*) and kills him in a moment of anger; a curse rests hereafter upon the land which he has tilled, and none will cultivate it until one Batiste, a stranger, strong alike in will and in muscle, takes it over: the story is of the persecution of the stranger and his family by the forces of tradition and sentiment. The fiercely realistic description of the initial murder gives the keynote to the novel, an impression of the feverish energy and mental stress with which it was written. There are other fine passages—the burial of Batiste's little son and the firing of the cabin, which forms the climax of the tragedy—yet the strength of the novel resides, not in any of its parts, but in its whole.

Entre Naranjos (1900) takes us, as its title implies, to the orange groves: we are in the village of Alcira, outside Valencia, and in a rustic setting of true Southern beauty are placed the most sophisticated products of civilisation: Leonora, an operatic singer of no great reputation, and Rafael Brull, a provincial deputy who falls in love with her. From this point until the book closes upon their last "Adiós" the theme works itself out in a sufficiently conventional manner: pathos and melancholy, however, blend with local colour to give it a distinction of its own. *Cañas y Barro* (1902) takes us to the mud and fertility of the marshy Albufera, and to the dwellings of humble fisher-folk. Here, again, the plot is a strong one, if somewhat overloaded with detail—but Blasco had already written his masterpiece of fisher-life seven years earlier, in the poignant story of the *Mayflower*.

This novel (*Flor de Mayo*, 1895) is to my mind, with whatever faults it may have, its author's most appealing, if not technically his finest work. The scene is Cabañal. Tona, the sturdy and independent widow of a fisherman who has been lost at sea, is left with two little sons, Pascual and Tonet. She first lives by asking alms, for she has nothing in the world to call her own but her children and her husband's broken boat on the sands. Then she conceives the idea of starting a little tavern in the boat itself, an enterprise which commends itself so well to the public imagination that she prospers exceedingly. The boys grow up—Pascual to be industrious and thrifty, Tonet to indulge in drink and vagrant amours. While Tonet is away on a voyage, Pascual marries a girl named Dolores on whom his brother has looked with some favour. On his return, Tonet says little, but marries one Rosario, and, the match being socially a good one, all concerned are pleased with it. But one day Pascual discovers that Dolores has been false to him, and that Pascualet, her son, belongs not to him but to his brother. Passion strives with reason for the mastery of him. He would kill

the intruder, but how can he live with the woman who has deceived him and a child not his own? Only a single way of escape is possible, and he takes it. On one fateful day, when stormy clouds are gathering on the horizon, the two brothers and the child who has come between them go out in Pascual's boat *Flor de Mayo* to meet the tempest. They never come back. . . .

It is hard to say whether the descriptions or the characters are the more admirable in this poignant and vivid little drama. The characters, with scarcely an exception, are life-like. Besides the protagonists, who are all boldly drawn, there are a number of pleasing minor personages: the " Siñor Martines " who takes up with Tona and leaves her too late; their little daughter Roseta; the man-like Tía Picores, who would scarcely have been disdained by Pereda. But none the less it is the Valencian scenes in this novel that live in the reader's memory; Blasco Ibáñez' art here has been compared with that of the Valencian painter Sorolla. The most memorable of his pictures are those in which he describes the scenes most familiar to him: the city stirring at dawn, the early morning fishmarket, the ceremonies of Holy Week, the fishwives of the Albufera. These give the book its hall-mark: the no less skilful description of the brothers' expedition to Algiers is a premonition of Blasco Ibáñez' immediate future.

The second period of his literary activity lasted only from 1903 to 1905, but, though in one sense it quickly passed away, in another it left its mark ineffaceably upon those which followed. It is the period of controversy and rebelry, in which art for art's sake is no longer a ruling principle, and everything is subordinated to a thesis, usually republican and anti-clerical. Of the four novels of this period (*La Catedral, El Intruso, La Bodega* and *La Horda*), the first, which has been translated as *The Shadow of the Cathedral,* is typical. Strangely enough, it opens with one of the finest of all Blasco's descriptions. The real heroine of the novel is Toledo's Cathedral, the mother-church of Spain. How true in every line is the arresting picture of the Cathedral at dawn those who know it best will testify. The cold touch of the clammy air as one goes down into the cloister. The glass of a hundred glowing windows—magic flowers opening with the first splendours of day. The forest of stone pillars; the wheeling bats; the glimmering red lamps in the chapels; the tiny, distant black-cloaked figures hurrying to the sacristy and staying but to genuflect; the hob-goblin with his bunch of enormous keys; the creaking of the doors as they slowly open. . . . Unhappily, those who are most captivated by the picture are most disappointed at the development of the story as it proceeds. Gabriel Luna, its progressive (not to say radical) hero, has been brought up as a boy in the shadow of the

Cathedral, and now returns there after much wandering and suffering, to end his days with his brother Esteban who has spent his life in its service. The book is dominated by Luna's ideas and sentiments: his visions of a Utopian society governed by the laws of love, of a world of peace and tolerance, with no " poor " and no " rich." But all this is " anarchistic " to the conservatives of Toledo, and the converts whom he makes are inspired to nothing nobler than the robbing of the Cathedral treasury. Horror-struck at this malinterpretation of his doctrines, he tries to prevent them, but one of them fells him to the ground and Gabriel Luna is added to the long list of martyrs for an ideal. For *he,* the known enemy of the social order, is assumed to have been the robber, and there is none to deny the assumption.

After this brief interval of three years devoted to controversial fiction, Blasco Ibáñez turned in intention to something like pure psychology, though the results of his endeavours present other features than those embodied in his apparent aim. They are among the most " powerful " of his pre-war novels; they show him practising the massing both of man-power and descriptive detail which became such a feature of his degeneracy. There is a tendency to sensationalism, no longer justified by a thesis, and apparent even in the titles of his novels. If those of his first period describe him, these do so even more clearly. *La maja desnuda* (1906) can only be translated as *The Naked Woman. Sangre y arena* (" Blood and Sand ": 1908) and *Los Muertos mandan* (" The Dead Command ": 1909) are almost equally transparent. The first of these novels, though by no means always pleasant, and full of that restless energy which led its author all over the world, is a most penetrating psychological study by an artist now fully matured. *Blood and Sand,* leaving aside its spectacular aspect, is a psychological study in contradictions. *The Dead Command* (" Dead Hand " would be a truer translation) is a variation on Pérez Galdós' famous theme of provincialism and traditionalism warring against progress. In this book the treatment of the subject is comparatively light, and its conclusion, for Blasco Ibáñez, is unusually optimistic. But the theme is developed in lines of wonderful power and with a seriousness which is unmistakable. " Where the dead command," is the leading motif, " it is useless for the living to disobey." We do not need to follow the tragic development of a similar theme in *Luna Benamor* (1909) to convince us that its author is still great.

By studying the commercial aspect of his work as conscientiously and industriously as the creative side, Blasco Ibáñez had by this time become the successful architect of his fortunes. For five years after *Luna Benamor* saw the light he published no considerable

novel. The European War, in which he was an enthusiastic supporter of the Allies, drove him into a new activity and to new successes. In 1914 he had published *The Argonauts,* which he followed up very quickly with *The Shadow of Attila.* Once again the title is characteristic. Then came the celebrated *Four Horsemen,* which, apart from its topical interest, is a work of super-horse-power, elaborate detail, and intense mass effect. Blasco Ibáñez has left the way to greatness for the way of success. He now travels widely, both in Europe and America, and, believing that the durable may be combined with the profitable by the re-clothing of his Valencian novels in the dress of his most recent style, studies local colour intensively and produces the Mediterranean novel *Mare Nostrum* (1918), the Argentine novel *The Land of All* (1922), and so forth. Death, it would appear, has now interrupted a realisation of the most elaborate post-war projects for groups and series of novels which no doubt he was capable enough of producing. Whether his picture-palace popularity would have faded as did the sincere admiration in which his early work was once held in his own country, is a question which will never now be answered.

His finest characters are a formidable gallery of genius, and outstanding among them are men of energy, determination and impulse like their creator. With women he is rarely successful, except in his earlier works, when he introduces them with great effect as minor characters mainly of emotional or pictorial appeal. For the most part his portraits are clear, sharp and incisive, engraving themselves as indelibly upon the memory as those of any contemporary Spanish writer. Let the critics say what they will, there is no young novelist in Spain to-day whose works are comparable, both in quality and number, with those which Blasco produced before the age of forty.

Nor can he be said to be far inferior, from the purely regionalistic standpoint, to that great regionalist, the Condesa de Pardo Bazán, who preceded him, or to others, such as Pérez Lugín, who have striven to create local atmosphere, and whose fame has been posterior to his own. That his art in this respect hardly survived being transported from Valencia to Castile is perhaps not surprising; what is more surprising is that he was able later to recapture so much of it. If I am not mistaken, it is where his colours first begin to develop harshness that his voice becomes strident; and future historians of literature may well seize upon that very point as one where a regionalist of exquisite sensibility took the tide that led him to an ephemeral fortune.

E. Allison Peers.

STALIN.

I.

AFTER the failure of the first revolution, the head of the Bolsheviks directed his whole attention to " expropriation " in order to obtain funds for the Party. In this sphere Lenin's best co-operator and right hand was the already well-known Caucasian fighter who bore the revolutionary sobriquets, among others, of " Koba," " Nizheradze," and " Chizhikov," and who is now the all-powerful Russian dictator, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin-Dzugashvili. Stalin is unquestionably the most remarkable of all Lenin's guards, and he is more thoroughly drenched with blood than any other living man, with the exception of Trotsky and Zinoviev. But I cannot deny that he possesses extraordinary capacities of strength of will, energy and fearlessness. Not only another man's life, but his own, is not worth a farthing to Stalin—in this he differs sharply from most of the other Bolsheviks.

Like the greater number of the present dictators he rose from the lowest grades of society. Mustapha Kemal was the son of very poor parents. Stambulisky was brought up in a shepherd's family, Mussolini's father was a blacksmith. Enver's mother washed the corpses in the mortuary. Talaat was a postman before he became Grand Vizier. Joseph Stalin was the son of a Tiflis boot-maker. People who had been closely connected with him have told me that he passed through a very hard school of poverty, privation and adversity in his childhood and youth, and that he grew up among the Tiflis *Kintos,** from whom he acquired his capacity for coarseness and cynical wit. His political biography began in the seminary where his father had sent him to prepare for the priesthood. Stalin—a priest! At the age of nineteen he was expelled from the seminary. In the same year (1898) he became a member of the Russian Social-Democratic Party, and was successively a member of the Tiflis, Batum and Bakou Committees, the editor of various party publications, *e.g., The Fight of the Proletariat, The Bakou Workman,* and wrote several Marxian books.

Stalin joined the Bolsheviks from the very moment when the split of the Social Democrats occurred, and he was soon acknowledged as the chief of the numerically small Caucasian Bolshevik faction. Six times he was arrested and six times he was sent into banishment: to Eastern Siberia in 1903, to Solvychegodsk in 1908, again to Solvychegodsk in 1909, to Vologda in 1911, to the Narymsky district in 1912 and to the Turukhansky district in 1913. From all these places, with the exception of the last, he managed to escape, without remaining there very long, generally a

* A special class of vagabond street-hawkers.

month or two after he had been brought to the settlement. Indeed, Stalin's life might serve as a lesson in humility for the staff of the Tsar's Police Department. A fine sort of banishment it was from which a man could escape five times! The peaceful way in which Stalin was sent into banishment was also not bad. The Police Department always accused him of mere trifles: the organisation of some street demonstration, some illegal publication, the management of an economic strike at the Rothschild works in Batum, or something else of the same nature. These grave crimes must have raised a smile on the lips of those who knew Stalin's real work.

He was the leader of the so-called Trans-Caucasian fighters. I do not know for certain, and probably nobody but Stalin himself can know, how many "expros" were organised under his direction. His highest achievement in that sphere was the memorable expropriation in Tiflis which secured to the Bolshevik Party for several years the means of activity.

On June 13th, 1907, at half-past ten o'clock in the morning, Kurdyumov, the cashier of the Tiflis branch of the State Bank, and the book-keeper, Golovnia, having received at the Post Office a large sum of money sent from the capital, were conveying it to the Bank in a phaeton, which was followed by another phaeton with two men armed with guns. The two vehicles were surrounded by a Cossack convoy. In the very centre of the town, when the first Cossacks of the convoy had just turned out of the Erivan Square into the Sololaksky Street, a bomb of terrific power was thrown from the roof of Prince Sumbatov's house into the procession. The window-panes of the houses for a mile around were shivered by the explosion. Almost at the same moment other bombs were thrown at the convoy from the pavement and certain *passers-by* began firing volleys from revolvers. The confusion that arose in the very populous square soon turned into hopeless panic. At the inquiry into this affair which took place afterwards none of the eye-witnesses could say what had happened to the money. The cashier and the book-keeper were thrown out by the first explosion. The horses galloped off madly with the phaeton, which had escaped by a miracle. At the other end of the square a tall *passer-by* rushed out to intercept them, and hurled a bomb at their legs. Another deafening explosion took place and everything disappeared in a cloud of smoke. However, one of the spectators saw a man in officer's uniform, who was passing across the square in a droshky, spring out of it and rush towards the wreck of the phaeton, seize something it contained and tear away at full speed, firing at random from a revolver.

In this, the most celebrated of all the "expro" affairs, about fifty people were killed and wounded. The money was never found,

the police arrested nobody and the inquiry elucidated nothing. Now we know that the Bolsheviks had carefully watched this money from the very capital. In Tiflis two women (Patsia Goldava and Annetta Sulamlidze) watched the cashier near the Post Office, and gave the pre-arranged signal to a company of expropriators who were waiting in the "Tilikuchury" restaurant. The man who was disguised as an officer was the notorious Ter-Petrosyan, a pupil and assistant of Stalin's, who had given him the nickname of Kamo. He hid the money in a place which really could not have aroused the suspicion of the very best police force in the world: the bank notes were upholstered in a sofa belonging to the manager of the Caucasian Observatory!

The part Stalin played in the Tiflis expropriation is not as yet known in detail. According to one version, it was he who threw the first bomb into the midst of the procession. But this is hardly probable: Stalin already occupied too high a post in the party at that time for him to take the part of the bomb thrower. Evidently he had the chief organisation of the business. The bombs for the expropriation were sent from Finland by Lenin himself. And it was to Lenin that the stolen money was conveyed for the uses of the party. Unlike many other expropriators, neither Stalin nor Kamo profited by the "expros" in order to enrich themselves personally.

Stalin's career between the first and second revolutions appears to have been less stormy. He was expelled from the Social-Democratic Party for his political acts by their Trans-Caucasian Committee. Soon after, Stalin left Georgia and for many years worked in Russia in various organisations of the Bolshevik Party. Well-informed people account for his present influence by the fact that the members of the party throughout Russia are well acquainted with this leader, who had never been an emigrant.

Then began the "damned imperialistic slaughter" which, according to the thousand-times repeated assurances of the Bolsheviks, "had plunged the leaders of the world's proletariat into horror and despair." In reality, this slaughter was quite an unexpected and unheard-of piece of luck that fell to their lot. Lenin wrote to Gorki in January, 1913: "A war between Austria and Russia would be a very useful thing for the revolution (in the whole of eastern Europe); but it is not very probable that Franz-Joseph and Nikolasha will afford us that pleasure."*

During the war Stalin was in exile. He arrived in Petersburg after the revolution and at once became Lenin's right hand. The part he played, however, was not a showy one. A prominent rôle was played in the beginning by Zinoviev and then by Trotsky.

* *Leninsky Sbornik*, Vol. I, p. 137. A collection of documents concerning Lenin.

II.

Trotsky has never had any original ideas. In 1905 he borrowed his revelations from Parvus, in 1917 from Lenin. His present oppositional criticism is but the commonplace of the emigrant Press. During the revolution Trotsky was particularly unfortunate with his " ideas." He swore to defend the Constituent Assembly two months before it was dispersed. He wrote :* " the liquidation of the State intoxication of the people has entered into the iron inventory of the revolutionary conquests," just before the State monopoly of the sale of vodka was re-established in Soviet Russia. However, it is, of course, impossible to deny Trotsky a great deal of cleverness and cunning.

The whole of the October revolution was, so to speak, a gala night for Trotsky. In any case, when he spoke about it at the time and also afterwards, he unfailingly posed as if he were the principal actor, modestly emphasising this with tactful affectation. He bowed with emotion to his contemporaries and to history, accepted the bouquets which were lavishly thrown to him, and bestowed some of them on the other actors in the performance, carefully choosing the worst bouquets and the least talented actors. In his books devoted to this revolution Trotsky has praised in a fatherly manner the shadiest of the Bolsheviks who had taken part in it. The more prominent men he kept carefully in the dark. Lenin, of course, he could not pass over in silence; Trotsky's craftily-flattering book about Lenin is sufficiently well known. But Trotsky has entirely forgotten to mention Stalin; Stalin did not receive the very smallest bouquet. Trotsky's work in two volumes about the revolution is adorned with portraits of the little people : Svedlov, Joffe, Antonov-Ovseenko, Podvoisky, Krylenko. Stalin's portrait did not find its way into the book. Nevertheless the part played by the present dictator in the October revolution was exceedingly important : he was one of the " five " who superintended the political side of the insurrection and of the " seven " who superintended its organisation.

From whatever cause it may have been, these two men, who are unquestionably the most prominent of the Bolshevik Party, went each his own way from the very first months of the revolution. Trotsky naturally sought out the most spectacular parts for himself. Before the signing of peace with Germany, the most conspicuous position in the Soviet Government was the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs. Trotsky took possession of it and, " in the eyes of the whole civilised world," acted the performance at Brest, finishing up with the trick, which it is true was not quite successful, but was something that had never been seen since the creation of

* L. Trotsky : *Vodka, Church and Cinematograph*, p. 43.

the world : " we finish the war, but peace is not signed." From the beginning of the civil war the most conspicuous post was that of Commander-in-Chief of the Red Army. Trotsky appeared as the War Commissar, the President of the *Revvoensoviet*,* the Russian Carnot, " the electrifier of the revolution." What was the real part he played in the civil war it is difficult to say now. After the first rupture with Trotsky, the Bolsheviks (read Stalin) published a series of documents from which it would appear that this part was fairly modest and that the " Red Napoleon " did not always behave in a Napoleonic manner, and least of all at the time when Denikin's cavalry was approaching Orel. This question (unlike most others) will be accurately explained by history. In any case Trotsky did everything possible for his legend. He entered the Academy, he travelled in the Imperial train with a printing-press van attached to it, and made fiery speeches on every front. Each of his speeches inevitably contained some eloquent exclamations and images. Trotsky will leave ten thousand exclamations, mostly figurative ones. After Dora Kaplan's attempt on Lenin's life he exclaimed : " We knew before that Comrade Lenin had metal in his breast!" Somewhere on the Volga—it was either Kasan or Saratov—in an outburst of enthusiasm he shouted in a hollow voice : " If the *bourgeoisie* wants to take for itself all the places in the sun, we will extinguish the sun!" The Volga public roared with ecstasy. Trotsky is also " a brilliant writer "—in the firm conviction of people who have nothing to do with literature.

Of recent years Trotsky has grown weak and behaves considerably beneath his reputation of a clever man. Some of the most arrogant of his poses were succeeded by the most humiliating repentance. Evidently the fundamental capacity of a revolutionist —the skill to calculate his own and the hostile strength—has deserted him. On whose support did he reckon? Trotsky has passed all his life before a mirror, for the historical gallery. If in the end he takes his own life or perishes on the barricades—for thirty years he has been declining the word " barricade " in every possible case—this will also be done for the gallery, for that many-volumed work which a Clara Zetkin of the future will write about him.

III.

Various people pass their days indefatigably before a mirror—often very talented people too. I might mention as an example Gabriele d'Annunzio. But it is easy for poets to live in that way. It is much less convenient to carry on war before a mirror, and usually it is people who do not look into a mirror who attain to

* Revolutionary War Council.

high revolutionary positions. Such a man was Lenin. Such a man is the present dictator of all the Russias.

Stalin, unlike Trotsky, never acted as if the Revolution were his gala spectacle. For four years he was " the People's Commissary for the affairs of nationality "; this post was afterwards abolished on account of its utter needlessness. Then he became the head of the Workman and Peasant Inspection—this post was probably of the same nature; how could Stalin control Stalin? As Lenin's closest assistant he could, of course, have obtained a more brilliant office. Evidently Stalin's fundamental idea was that under the conditions of the Bolshevik republic it was not so important to obtain posts in the government as in the party organisations. In May, 1917, Stalin had already become a member of the Politbureau; after that he entered the Secretariat of the Central Committee, and at last he was the First Secretary of the Russian Communist Party. This gave him the power to remove from the most brilliant posts Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev.

It seems that Stalin's idea was right. I say " it seems," for the affair is as yet not definitely settled. After Columbus the trick with the egg could be adopted by others—and the post of General Secretary of the Communist Party is not occupied for life. With a certain amount of luck the part of the head of the Opposition may prove to be a very profitable one. " Only the dead never return," said the famous actor in the Ninth Thermidor. Stalin probably understands that the wind in contemporary Europe changes often, that Russia is especially unstable in its actual conditions, and that, with the first change of wind, almost all his pack (with few exceptions) would be quite ready to go over to Trotsky. I venture to think the banishment of Trotsky to Turkestan is a great mistake on the part of Stalin, which perhaps will be fatal to him.

IV.

Jaurès says that the philosophical history of Karl Marx presents a combination of ingenious intuition and childish naïveté. Entirely absorbed with the idea of class war, Marx omitted to see beyond it the strife of parties within a single class, and the strife of individuals within a single party. Jaurès explained that it was because Marx had never had the opportunity of observing at close quarters how real, practical politics are carried on in Ministerial cabinets and the lobbies of parliaments.

Of course, Marxist Socialists are not at all stung by this critical observation or by superficial criticism in general. It is well known that they look at the very roots of things. With a little practice it is quite easy to discern the innermost feelings of each class, of each

party, of each faction, even of each separate member. For instance, there is nothing easier than to translate into the terms of class war the conflict that is now taking place in the Bolshevik Party. The terminology has been worked out sufficiently richly; there are journeymen, poor men, middle-men, *Kulaks*,* proletarians, semi-proletarians, *lumpen*-proletarians. One can add " specials," de-classed intelligentsia, and so on. It is only necessary to have the terminology and paper: Marxist sociologists will, of course, explain exactly which class of ideas was expressed by Stalin and which class group supported Trotsky.

We, however, will stop at the superficial point of view. What is now going on in Russia is a contest for power in the simplest form, a personal struggle, almost the kind of struggle that is found in the animal world. I affirm positively that all Stalin's ideas can be found in Trotsky's ideas and *vice versa*: it is only necessary to take their speeches and articles, not of a few weeks back, but of a few years ago. In the Communist Party there is a ceaseless *chassé-croisé*. People who supported the poor man now stand up for the interests of the *Kulak*, but they are quite ready to bind themselves again to the poor man, if by that means it will be in any way more convenient to wring the necks of their opponents. Formerly Zinoviev and Stalin fought Trotsky, now Zinoviev and Trotsky fight Stalin. Whose class feelings have changed? No wonder that our Press is lost in conjectures as to which of the leaders is more Left than Right? And do not the Left leaders support themselves on the Right masses? This, indeed, would border upon a wonder. The leaders themselves probably do not know anything about it, as they do not know what social experiment they will try when they have finished with the other leaders. It is sufficient to read their *Diskussionny Listok*.† Trotsky, foaming with rage, throws at the *apparatchiky*‡ " Chang-Kaishek, Purcell, Kulak! Socialism in our country!" He is shouted at in breathless voices: " You vagabond! Contemptible Menshevik! What baseness! Down, reptile!" It is not necessary to be a great psychologist to feel through the reports the atmosphere of that meeting, the character of this " theoretical discussion." No, there is no Chang-Kaishek and no Purcell here. There are no theoretical differences here. It is personal hatred, animal hatred, hatred of that ideal stamp, that Yaroslavsky and Voroshilov cannot even look upon Trotsky's face without rage.

I do not know which of them will laugh last. We shall laugh last of all. But this prospect of laughing among the ruins can scarcely console me.

* Rich and prosperous peasants, or anybody who is prosperous.
† Report of discussions.
‡ Members of the Soviet higher bureaucracy.

awful little being the primitive boy must have been. Judging by our knowledge of other allied but more primitive animals, we are, however, justified in believing that no very great change can have taken place in regard to the docility of children, and consequently that even a century of efforts to suppress the fidgeting of boys has not in the past produced any appreciable hereditary effects, and will not in the future. Here is one of several reasons which could be adduced for believing that common sense may endorse science in putting aside the inheritance of acquired characters as a factor in practical eugenic reform.

If the views which I have put forward are correct, natural selection is the only method of producing evolutionary changes which has to be considered when seeking for practical guidance in regard to our social policy. This conclusion does not tell in the least degree against all the efforts which are now rightly being made to improve human surroundings. But if natural selection has been the main agent in bringing about all those vast changes in organic life which we know to have taken place in the past, including the production of man from some ape-like ancestor, we have here opened out before us a possibility of almost illimitable improvement in the human race if steps be taken to promote the beneficial action of this selective process in the future.

No doubt it is now constantly being said that natural selection has lost much ground in the opinion of the scientific world. But I ask you to note that these statements are for the most part extremely vague, no reason whatever generally being assigned for the change of opinion which it is merely asserted has taken place. A few prominent scientists have, no doubt, adopted this attitude; but if we could obtain a census of scientific opinion, as far as I can judge, we should find that, amongst the young and rising men at all events, whatever ground may at one time have been lost by natural selection has now been recovered, and that it now occupies its former prominent place amongst the assigned causes of evolutionary progress.

All disputable scientific theories are likely to ebb and flow in popular estimation for reasons not difficult to understand. As to natural selection, my father studied the methods of organic evolution, that is, the question of the origin of species, for twenty-three years continuously before he wrote the book bearing that title. In the second page of that book occur the following words: "For I am well aware that scarcely a single point is discussed in this volume on which facts cannot be adduced, often apparently leading to conclusions directly opposite to those at which I have arrived. A fair result can be obtained only by fully stating and balancing the facts and arguments on both sides of each question,"—a sentence which

remained unaltered when the book was revised after thirteen more years of intense study. Now under our present system of University management, both students and teachers are practically obliged to write original essays or publications dealing with some disputable points or theories. If natural selection is chosen as the theme, before seeking to improve this edifice, on the building and enlargement of which thirty-six years' hard labour were expended, at least many months' continuous thought ought to be devoted to the task, a task which will not, therefore, be lightly undertaken by any serious student. On the other hand, it is comparatively easy to adduce some of the facts "apparently leading to conclusions directly opposite" to those arrived at in the *Origin of Species*, facts of the existence of which the author of that work was, as we have seen, so well aware; and with these facts to strike a blow at the belief in natural selection sufficiently well conceived to attract public attention. Even with regard to long established theories, destructive criticism may often exceed in volume, if not in weight, all attempts to restate the arguments in their favour.

It is not in the least surprising, therefore, that natural selection should often have been attacked, or that some modifications in the methods of presentation should have been found to be necessary. What may cause surprise is the way in which, on the whole, it has resisted all the innumerable assaults to which it has been subjected; this, however, being but a proof that the foundations on which it is built are indestructible.

The conclusion at which we have thus far arrived is, therefore, that if we wish to utilise the knowledge obtained by a study of the process of evolution in the past in order to promote human progress in the future, selection is the only method which has to be considered. In what direction we should strive to advance is another matter. We shall be told, and told truly, that natural selection acts largely by gradually killing the weak and sickly without remorse, and that in this respect nature cannot be taken as our guide. Certainly we must try to gain the advantages resulting from natural selection in some less cruel manner, and this we can do if we look to the birth-rate rather than to the death-rate. In our country at the present time selection is acting in the wrong direction; for the inferior types are multiplying more rapidly than the superior, this being due to what is known as the differential birth-rate. Indeed, the upper middle class, if I may put it bluntly, is probably committing race suicide or becoming biologically extinct; for if left to itself, and not recruited from below, it would, I believe, in time disappear altogether. On the other hand, up till now, the higher death-rate amongst the inferior types has been doing something towards maintaining our racial standards, a process which is

first of all try to ascertain to what extent it is really equivalent to a restatement of fact. If such a consideration is altogether omitted, it is not difficult to frame an evolutionary law which will appear satisfactory at first reading. Such a law might run as follows: "The ancestors of all existing organisms were endowed with a power or initiative which enabled and induced them in the circumstances to evolve in the way in which evolution has actually taken place." Now this law, if carefully analysed, will be found to contain little more than a statement that what did take place in the past did take place, and that what will take place in the future will take place. Laws less crude than this, it is true, may contain valuable generalisations concerning the past, which are likely, therefore, to be true as regards the future, and these may have great import from the philosophical point of view. But in so far as purely descriptive, though not to be condemned as materialistic, these theories certainly are fatalistic if they are to be accepted as our only guides. They are fatalistic because they give us no indication as to how we should act if we wish to make human evolution proceed in any direction deemed to be desirable. I, myself, refuse to believe that the universe is so constituted as to leave us without guidance in our efforts to make man become a more and more noble being in the future; and on this ground alone I hold that, when considering eugenic problems, we are justified in putting aside all theories of evolution in so far as they are purely descriptive, or at all events in demanding something in addition to them.

If we pass on to consider those theories of evolution which may be described as explanatory, that is to say, such as deal with causes and not merely with facts, there are only two now on the market which need be considered; namely, that dependent on the inheritance of acquired characters, and that dependent on natural selection. In regard to both of these theories, there is room for endless controversy; but I must limit myself here to a few observations on each in reference to their bearing on eugenics.

As to the inheritance of acquired characters, or Lamarckism as it is often called, we may take the following as being typical of the questions involved. Does the education of the parent make the child more educable by nature? No one doubts either the value of education, or the advantages to a child resulting from being brought up in a home inhabited by parents with cultivated minds. But will the child have a better start in life—a superior natural make-up at birth—as the direct result of the education received by its parents? My own answer to this question is that most probably but not quite certainly there will be no such inherited effect of education, and certainly that the effect, if any, will be so small that it may be neglected as regards immediate practical politics.

There have been many experiments performed on animals which were designed to set this matter at rest. It has been claimed that some of them have given positive results, whilst the claims made in favour of negative results have been more numerous. Now it is often said or implied by the advocates of Lamarckism that, if any of the positive evidence be accepted as valid, then the negative evidence counts for nothing. This is, however, not logical. If a properly conducted experiment fails to detect the inheritance of an acquired character, it shows one of two things. It may show that the inherited effect of the acquirement was so small that it could not be detected. The other alternative is that, whatever may be the case in other circumstances, under the conditions of the experiment the acquirement was not inherited. In other words, in all circumstances similar to that of the experiment, any valid negative evidence either indicates that existing acquirements will not be inherited to more than a minute extent, or it increases the probability that they will not be inherited at all. In my judgment, the conclusion to be drawn from this experimental research is that at all events reliance cannot be placed on education as a method of improving the inborn qualities of future generations to an appreciable extent within a reasonable period of time, and on the whole I judge that such future effects should be ruled out of account altogether in practical politics.

No doubt a common-sense view of this question does seem to point to a conclusion different from that at which I have arrived. It will be said that all bodily and mental qualities are inherited in some degree, and that there seems to be no reason why those qualities which are acquired during the lifetime of the individual should not be inherited also. Here I must not pause to point out that the term "acquired character" is almost impossible to define in a satisfactory manner, and being generally left undefined, much confusion is thus caused; and I must content myself with bringing forward a single illustrative common-sense consideration which throws doubt on these primary conclusions of common sense on this matter.

We all know what little boys are like, how mothers are constantly saying to them, don't do this and don't do that, and how these commands are sometimes enforced, if I may venture to quote George Eliot's expression, by making them tingle a bit in soft and safe places. This is a thoroughly practical form of education which, we must presume from its constant adoption, is not without immediate effects; and it is an education which has been going on ever since man was man, that is for perhaps a million years. Now if this education has during all that vast period been producing inherited effects, and thus making children slightly more docile by nature as each generation made its appearance, what a truly

awful little being the primitive boy must have been. Judging by our knowledge of other allied but more primitive animals, we are, however, justified in believing that no very great change can have taken place in regard to the docility of children, and consequently that even a century of efforts to suppress the fidgeting of boys has not in the past produced any appreciable hereditary effects, and will not in the future. Here is one of several reasons which could be adduced for believing that common sense may endorse science in putting aside the inheritance of acquired characters as a factor in practical eugenic reform.

If the views which I have put forward are correct, natural selection is the only method of producing evolutionary changes which has to be considered when seeking for practical guidance in regard to our social policy. This conclusion does not tell in the least degree against all the efforts which are now rightly being made to improve human surroundings. But if natural selection has been the main agent in bringing about all those vast changes in organic life which we know to have taken place in the past, including the production of man from some ape-like ancestor, we have here opened out before us a possibility of almost illimitable improvement in the human race if steps be taken to promote the beneficial action of this selective process in the future.

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It is not in the least surprising, therefore, that natural selection should often have been attacked, or that some modifications in the methods of presentation should have been found to be necessary. What may cause surprise is the way in which, on the whole, it has resisted all the innumerable assaults to which it has been subjected; this, however, being but a proof that the foundations on which it is built are indestructible.

The conclusion at which we have thus far arrived is, therefore, that if we wish to utilise the knowledge obtained by a study of the process of evolution in the past in order to promote human progress in the future, selection is the only method which has to be considered. In what direction we should strive to advance is another matter. We shall be told, and told truly, that natural selection acts largely by gradually killing the weak and sickly without remorse, and that in this respect nature cannot be taken as our guide. Certainly we must try to gain the advantages resulting from natural selection in some less cruel manner, and this we can do if we look to the birth-rate rather than to the death-rate. In our country at the present time selection is acting in the wrong direction; for the inferior types are multiplying more rapidly than the superior, this being due to what is known as the differential birth-rate. Indeed, the upper middle class, if I may put it bluntly, is probably committing race suicide or becoming biologically extinct; for if left to itself, and not recruited from below, it would, I believe, in time disappear altogether. On the other hand, up till now, the higher death-rate amongst the inferior types has been doing something towards maintaining our racial standards, a process which is

rightly enough being steadily frustrated by philanthropic efforts. If we are to preserve our civilisation for long into the future, we must reverse the effect of the differential birth-rate by increasing the fertility of all the superior stocks and by decreasing that of all the inferior. This is the task before us, and a mighty difficult task it is.

All experts on the subject now agree that mentally defective persons should have no children, and that this desirable result should be brought about mainly by confining these unfortunate beings in such surroundings as would make them as contented and useful as possible. Again, those who have been insane, or have many insane relatives, should have no progeny, though here we have to rely mainly on self-control, a practice which will be more and more widely followed as the evils thus to be avoided become more widely appreciated. And we may hope that some steps will before long be taken which will result in confirmed criminals and many other very defective types leaving fewer offspring behind them.

Unfortunately in advocating these common-sense measures we still constantly have to contend against very silly arguments; one of which, taken from a recent issue of a leading literary journal, may be worth mentioning as a warning example. Dickens was describing his father's character when he created Micawber, and as Micawber was feeble-minded, so it was said, we may be sure that Dickens's father was thus afflicted. But if this was the case, so the argument continued, and if eugenic reformers had had their wicked way, Dickens would have never appeared on earth, to the great loss of mankind. Now may I first of all recall to your minds the following words which Dickens put into Micawber's mouth? "Annual income twenty pounds, annual expenditure nineteen nineteen six, result happiness. Annual income twenty pounds, annual expenditure twenty pounds ought and six, result misery. The bloom is blighted, the leaf is withered, the god of day goes down upon the dreary scene, and—and in short you are for ever floored. As I am." And the man who is supposed to have uttered these oft-quoted words is described as feeble-minded! Even if Dickens, when depicting Micawber, really had some of the eccentricities of his father's conduct in his mind, surely this quotation is enough to knock the bottom out of the case in regard to his parent's supposed feeble-mindedness.

The argument has been mentioned by me, however, mainly because it illustrates one very common defect of this class of criticism, and that is reliance being placed on single selected instances and not on wide generalisations. If Dickens's father had not been allowed to marry, certainly Dickens would not have been born; but in those circumstances Dickens's mother would probably have married someone else, with the result that another individual would have appeared

in his place. Now, in order to estimate what would have been the results of a reform which would have frequently acted in this way, we must look to its effects as a whole. If we ourselves could all trace our ancestry back for, say, a hundred generations, we should all find that we had some one or more progenitors of such an undesirable type that everyone would declare that parenthood ought to have been prevented in their cases. Effective eugenic reform in the past would, in a sense, have prevented the appearance of every single one of ourselves; that is to say, no individual would then have appeared with exactly the same hereditary make-up as that with which any one of us has been endowed. But other persons would have appeared in our stead, and they would for the most part have been not very different from ourselves, except on account of the absence of those few or many drops of bad blood which are unquestionably flowing in all our veins. The broad result of such eugenic reforms would, therefore, have been a general raising of the level of the whole people, and that consequently more, not fewer, Dickenses would have appeared in our midst; more mountain-tops would have appeared above the general level of the land.

Considerations of this kind, moreover, point to the conclusion that attention should not be confined to extreme types, that is, to the very bad and the very good; for efforts ought always to be made simultaneously to produce widespread effects on the birth-rate of all who can be classed as either definitely superior or inferior. How this should be accomplished involves many difficult problems; but my hope is that if ever the need for such racial safeguards comes to be generally realised, the necessary reforms will follow in due course almost automatically. As to all those individuals who are unable to maintain their families up to a certain standard of living without constant assistance, or who are living uncivilised lives in our midst, some pressure ought to be applied to them to induce them to have no more children; for with them mere persuasion will, as a rule, be quite inadequate. The exact nature of this pressure will be the main problem to be faced when the public is ripe for any advance. Then as to all the superior classes of citizens, of which the skilled artisan may be taken as typical, my hope is that with an increase in their knowledge of the racial dangers arising from their low birth-rate, their moral and patriotic sentiments will lead to the production of larger families. It is in these directions that racial safety is to be sought.

Another unsound argument often brought forward against all kinds of eugenic reform is that, as the comfort of the mass of the people has improved so markedly in recent years, all that has now to be done is to pursue our present policy with increased vigour. But all is not going well with us. It is not improbable that mental defect,

insanity and crime are all increasing. Unemployment is rife. Our slums are still with us, and when new houses are built slum conditions not seldom reappear behind the clean outside walls. And but few great men are appearing in our midst. The truth is that an increase in creature comforts may take place for a considerable period coincidently with a widespread deterioration in racial qualities, and that the falling off in inborn qualities, now resulting from the differential birth-rate, may well be hidden by the rise in material prosperity. Racial deterioration if allowed to continue will, however, inevitably result before long in a turn in the tide of our prosperity.

The advocates of eugenic reform are as anxious as any other individuals to co-operate with other social reformers whenever it can be proved that their proposals would, on the whole, produce beneficial results; and I now wish to put before you certain reasons why, on the other hand, all social reformers ought to feel justified in supporting us in the reforms we advocate, even if only looking to their more immediate consequences. Possibly the best way to convey my ideas will be by describing a scheme of reform advocated by an imaginary social reformer, who might have appeared at any time in recent years. This hypothetical being was one of those many misguided persons who entirely neglect to take innate predispositions into account, and who believe that all the differences now existing between us are due to differences in the surroundings in which we have been brought up. He warmly supported, therefore, all efforts to improve the surroundings of the poor. But he could not shut his eyes to the fact that in some directions little or no progress was being made, and this set him wondering whether there might not be some as yet undiscovered and untried way of promoting social progress in addition to all existing methods.

With these thoughts in his mind, our reformer determined to inquire into existing home conditions, these being in his opinion, and in mine, the most important element in human environment. He first selected 1,000 children quite at random; he examined their homes; he graded or marked these dwellings in accordance with their suitability as a place for bringing up young children; and finally he calculated a figure representing the average merit in this respect of all these homes. Then he selected 1,000 parents, also quite at random, and went through exactly the same process in their case. On comparing these results he discovered, to his great astonishment, that the children were living in worse homes than the parents, as thus estimated. He at first thought, as you will think, that he must have made some arithmetical blunder; but on consideration he soon perceived that what he had discovered was the inevitable result of the differential birth-rate. If you remember

that in the household of the ill-paid day labourer there may be many children and only two parents, whilst in the better equipped household of the skilled artisan there will normally be fewer children and the same number of parents; and again if you remember that each child and each parent counts as one in these averages, then you also on consideration will be ready to accept our reformer's rather surprising conclusion. In this country it is certain that at present children are living in houses worse on the average than those inhabited by parents on the average.

The next fact which was observed by our reformer was that in the psychological examination of elementary schools, the children in poor areas did badly as compared with the children of better-paid parents, a fact which he thought could be entirely explained by their inferior home surroundings, though here we cannot quite follow him. But all must agree that, whatever may be the explanation of this fact, it certainly proves that the children of the poor are at a permanent disadvantage as compared with the children of the comparatively well-to-do. Perhaps the results likely to arise in the future as a consequence of this state of things can best be made clear by means of a numerical example; though in truth I do not know how the figures would really work out. One-half of all parents certainly may be described as now living in inferior and the other half in superior homes; and the higher birth-rate in the inferior homes may have the result that two-thirds* of the total number of children are now found living in these inferior homes. Now, when all these children will have grown up, and when they will have replaced their parents in the coming generation by becoming parents themselves, then two-thirds of these future parents will be suffering from some remaining disadvantage associated with being brought up in inferior homes. And this disadvantage, if suffered by the majority of parents generation after generation, will act as a force tending perpetually to drag down the civilisation of the whole nation to a low level. That this will be the case may also be realised by looking at the matter in another way. The gaps left in the higher ranks of labour, in consequence of their low birth-rate, can now only be filled, and are being filled, by recruits drawn from the poorer classes; that is, from those classes which are for some reason or other undoubtedly suffering from a certain psychological disadvantage correlated with their poverty.

With these conclusions in his mind our reformer at once realised that if the proportion of the children having the advantage of coming from well-to-do homes were to be sufficiently increased, the majority of the parents would be, not at a disadvantage, but at an advantage associated with their early surroundings, and that the action of the

* This exact figure is but a guess.

resultant forces would be reversed, so continually tending to raise our whole civilisation up to a higher level. He was thus led on to advocate, no doubt concurrently with other social reforms, many measures such as would tend to raise the birth-rate of the artisan and to lower that of the ill-paid labourer, again to take these two classes as typical, until the existing differential birth-rate between them would be reversed. Thus, to his great surprise, he found himself, as it were, marching hand in hand with eugenic reformers, whom up till then he had both despised and disliked. And he had come to his conclusions without giving one thought to either evolution, natural science, or heredity.

Eugenic reformers would do well to remember in this connection that the measure which they advocate would have the immediate advantage that all unable to earn a living wage, if having smaller families, would suffer less from poverty; whilst the larger families of the rich would result in a more even distribution of wealth, and this without necessarily giving rise to any discontent. On the other hand, I would beg those who are not interested in eugenics to consider at their leisure whether the conclusions arrived at by our imaginary reformer, which I have all too briefly indicated, do not afford a solid basis on which those who take no thought as to natural inheritance, and those who base their social policy largely on that factor, can act together in harmony in promoting social progress in many directions. If such harmonious co-operation could be established in any degree it would be an immense step in advance.

The point which I am, however, most anxious to emphasise at present is the importance of the part which women can play in regard to eugenic reform, whilst at the same time indicating that recent events have tended to draw away their attention unduly in other directions. Women have had a severe struggle in obtaining various legislative reforms; with the result, so it seems to me, that they have been led to rely, in connection with other subjects, far too much on political action and far too little on direct social influence. At all events in regard to eugenics, we are not yet ripe for great legislative changes, and for the more immediate future we must rely on the influence of moral forces. Then, again, on the one hand, women have been striving hard to enter all the professions and callings hitherto reserved for men; whilst, on the other hand, the special functions of women, namely, all those appertaining to motherhood, are quite safe from masculine invasion. Women have been advancing to the attack with their base of operations in the rear in perfect security; with the result that in some respects the organisation of that base has been neglected. In other words, there have been tendencies at work somewhat blinding women to the importance and nobility of the functions which they alone can perform. No doubt inborn pre-

dispositions constitute the foundation on which a civilisation can be built; but that civilisation, when built, is transmitted from generation to generation by tradition, the home being the place where the morals and customs of those who will come after us are now being determined, very largely by the mother. Then again, it depends as much or more on the woman than on the man whether or not in given circumstances a child is or is not to be born into the world. Lastly, women's special functions do not lead to the starring out of the individual for special notoriety, and here is another reason why they attract inadequate attention. But if we look at human life as a whole, then I say most emphatically that women's duties stand out as being amongst the noblest and most important of all human duties. If our civilisation is really threatened, as I believe, with an invisibly slow but deadly decay, then it will depend more on women than on men whether the situation is or is not to be saved. I conclude, therefore, by appealing with all the force at my command to women to take these difficult racial problems into serious consideration, and in doing so to trust more to moral force than to legal compulsion.

LEONARD DARWIN.

DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI.

A WRITER is accounted sufficiently fortunate if some figure, detaching itself from his creative imagination, persists as it were in the world of men and women, vivid and unforgotten. And from time to time a writer, manifested in his work, may himself prove typical, representative. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, the hundredth anniversary of whose birth we celebrate in the present month, is one of these last. He affords the conspicuous or unique summary of a certain balanced group of faculties. Furthermore, he is equal master in two arts. And, still again, where else should we find a man so curiously combining the spirit of the North and that of the South? It may be true, indeed, that too much has been written about him, and also not enough for the full comprehension. But, in the human default of the means towards a settled judgment, it is allowable to state once more the simple and richly intricate case of that Rossetti whom one admires, somewhat deplores, and none the less admires.

The origins and large relations of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood have often been traced. Coleridge, the Oxford Movement, and the Gothic revival in architecture; the English sentiment of Romance that had lapsed with the death of Keats and was awake anew, together with its seeming antagonist, the spirit of natural and truthful investigation; all this and more are set forth as sources, affluents to swell a rivulet of promise. Actually, three young artists co-opt four friends of like mind and obscurity; offer certain theories and tentative practice. And all the world is at a loss to understand. "What is the world coming to?" it is asked in wide anger and contempt. The neophytes themselves, their sparse but increasing sympathisers, their almost fanatical foes, can arrive at no definition of purpose and aim. A "rigid adherence to the simplicity of nature, either in art or in poetry," was the battle-cry. Ruskin, called in and gladly serving as golden-mouthed advocate, blessed this "going to nature in all simplicity of heart"; and later, in retrospect, mournfully eulogised this attempt to contemplate things as they are or were or should be; to discern and realise what is lovely in nature and the right emotion it suggests in regard of the present, the past, the eternal.

At all events there were fidelity and patience, simplicity and sincerity in this poetic realism, this brave endeavour to attain natural and historic and perennial truth. The movement won praise for its wholesome influence, and was accused of failure. Perchance it perished by its very realisation; by the hands of imitators, of disciples who did but substitute a new convention for an old. And, all the same, whenever there is a loan collection of

British art, with due room made for these pre-Raphaelites, so-called and by misnomer, visitors are apt to linger with them, taken and held by the charm of colour and feeling and veracity, almost reluctant to turn away to what else of other schools is offered.

But the course and sequel of the movement do not here concern us. Rather should we fix our gaze upon the years 1848-50 and the joint studio of Rossetti and Holman Hunt, with that of Millais, in which certain pictures were in process of becoming. And, perchance above all, one should count it barely a paradox to maintain Rossetti himself as sole begetter of the movement, the one head and forefront of the merit and offending. Here was a youth intensely vital and individual. He fascinated. None might resist his dominance. Twice over, in London and in Oxford, he cast his spell, almost unconsciously, and altogether disdainful in the after-recollection. He came to resent all prattle about pre-Raphaelitism and "the visionary vanities of half-a-dozen boys." It was not enough for him that he should have inspired Holman Hunt and Millais, William Morris and Swinburne and Burne-Jones; nay, inspired to such a degree that you can recognise at once, in their work, whether or not he has relaxed control. At all costs, even from his friends he must withdraw, to pursue a lonely dream. "Beauty is truth, truth beauty." With Keats, he thought to need no other knowledge. Not for him, by very reason of his high and sensuous gifts, the thin realm of abstractions, or any concernment as to the inter-relations of beauty, truth, and the cosmic or human good. He had, in its fullness, the imaginary belief that the artist in poetry and painting needs. Moreover, living in an age of materialism and spiritual disarray, he was and remained the indefeasible mystic. In *Hand and Heart* we have a document of his, dating from the time of the *Germ,* and anticipating the semi-autobiographical portraiture and style of Walter Pater. A Tuscan, beset with his problems, and wellnigh spent, is comforted of his mystical lady, his muse. What if fame, and faith, and the service of man by the means of his art, have failed him? Faith cannot fail, since faith is one with love. "What He hath set in thy heart to do, that do thou!" Rossetti was vowed to be as wise and humble as might be, obedient to his heart's conscience, true to himself.

It was within the purpose of the youthful and ardent Rossetti to raise English painting to the imaginative level of English literature. And later, at Oxford, he would say over and over again to the Burne-Jones he held captivated that, now, "if any man has any painting in him he should paint, for it has been all said and written and they have scarcely begun to paint it." But his other

muse, which yet was the same, had her peremptory calls. Before ever he had wrought on canvas his " Girlhood of Mary Virgin " and his " Ecce Ancilla Domini " (The Annunciation), the lad of nineteen years was the master who could write those haunting stanzas of the *Blessed Damozel* known to so many who know no more of Rossetti. Conscious of his lyrical gift, he could but contrast, impatient and dismayed, his ready aptitude in the one art with that technical shortcoming in the other, that lack of preliminary discipline and skill which at length he largely overcame. Besides, the sworn lover of Beauty, must he not serve her as she would? Lighting upon the early British ballad literature, it had flashed upon him : " There lies your line "—the line of Romance. And therewith came the thrill of beauty, the reverberating joy that is like to bring pain and melancholy withal. For æsthetic emotion, of its nature, is concerned with the distant, the far-away and fleeting in space and time; is matter of vague and ever unsatisfied desire.

Into the bargain, the chosen line, the writing of romantic narrative at once lyrical and dramatic, has its own great or insuperable difficulties. The ballad, like the epic, is the product of circumstances that cannot be renewed. The modern ballad is an anachronism. In spite of all which, there is high achievement in this special and personal prolongation of the manner and method of Coleridge and Keats. It can be said that mysticism is the soul of Romance. And, once more, Rossetti was the persistent mystic. His *Rose Mary* is fraught with the brooding sense of mystery within and without. The pure of heart and life may read the magic Beryl-stone; but woe if the usurping spirits of flame and evil have entered for false prophecy! Only by sacrifice of life may *Rose Mary,* grown resolute from weak, save her soul alive. Again, there is embodiment of tragic passion in the unfinished and ungratefully depreciated *Bride's Prelude.* The Rossetti, indeed, who insisted that, in enduring poetry, the dramatic movement and interest should outweigh all else, here loiters, that he may fully present the dreamy and feverous anguish, the pauses and suspense of the soul-stained Aloÿse, compressing, even postponing confession. But where is more lavish store of pictorial, of " pre-Raphaelite," detail? Or, should one, preferring the other extreme of conciseness, wish to taste the true quality of Rossetti's supernaturalism, there is the *Sister Helen* to hand. " Why did you melt your waxen man, Sister Helen?" asks her little brother. And the dialogue proceeds in ever-increasing intensity, with its single-line ejaculations of a woman whose love is turned to hate, and the varied moan of the recurrent chorus-

burden, till the image is consumed, and the soul of the faithless lover is lost, " as mine is lost."

Perchance one might specially note that the element of mystery and the supernatural, pervading this and other romantic poems of Rossetti, centres upon the tragic theme of betrayal, upon man's inhumanity to woman, bringing guilt upon her. Somewhat apart, indeed, stand the shorter ballads of *Troy Town,* overcharged with sensuousness, and *Eden Bower,* altogether too demoniac and monstrous. Setting these aside, one could wish to dwell, were it possible, upon other romantic work : the numerous and seldom-seen water-colour drawings, Arthurian and mediæval in subject. Ever mysterious and strange of pattern, these glow with prismatic intensity, or are darkened by excess of transmitted and coloured light, or court the hues of nightfall. Surely account shall be taken of them when future critics compare, as they will, Morris and Swinburne in their Rossetti-phase with the master himself, only less pictorial and intense than the one and less liquid and musical than the other because he was aiming at golden mediocrity.

With the British ballads, or earlier, Rossetti studied the *Vita Nuova* for himself, and regardless of such politico-philosophical theories as his exiled father sought to unveil in Dante. He was for shaping a sonnet-sequence; for building a *House of Life.* Spacious, or too narrowly confined? Throughout, and in a latest prose-sketch for a poem, he could say : " All my life I have dreamt one dream alone." Beauty, for him, was a Beatrice, and Beatrice Beauty. Celebrating her, he is moved inevitably to sadness. The joy of contemplation comprises melancholy, as love comprises pity. The presence of the Beloved implies absence. She is subject to dire change and death. Worship is frustrate by foreboding and thick-coming fears, anguish at loss, remorse. Shall death and oblivion assuage; or no power sever him from " the one Hope's one name "? This, the theme. For the ebb and flow of emotion, the recurrence and variance of *motifs,* the lulling or cloying cadences, nothing may serve but the private hearing. And how should one interpret the impression? By the ingenuous, here may fairly be found the veiled story of Rossetti's love for the lady whom, already marked for ill-fortune, he lost after delayed and briefest union. Or, if we are mindful that poetry raises what is individual to the typical or universal, this Beatrice may reveal herself to us as collective womanhood. Or again, should not one revert for clue to the allegory of *Hand and Soul*? " I am an image, Chiaro, of thine own soul within thee." To behold her, is to know himself. Or again : " I loved thee ere I loved a woman, Love." So he addressed Beauty, Art, in a verse-line which is dateless, companionless.

In any case, here is somewhat of narrower range and bearing than the aspiration of Dante, Michael Angelo, and our own Spenser. Rossetti has, indeed, a "Birth-Bond" Sonnet in which the Beloved is "known for my soul's birth-partner"; and Love is beheld of him enthroned among kindred entities. But he has no ante-natal vision of the Idea, in Plato-Plotinus fashion. For him, there is no cosmic principle of universal attraction applied to the woman beloved, "the light that mediates between truth and intelligence," as in Aristotle-Dante. Rather, with Keats, he "loved the principle of Beauty in all things"; and could dimly wonder at times how that she seemed not herself alone, but "as the meaning of all things that are." And one thing at least is sure. There is weariness in the admiring survey of this heaped treasure, despite the full craftsmanship, simple and elaborate by turns, and ever magical. The most of us will presently seek escape from the narrow, the stifling room of the sonnet; will turn for relief to Rossetti's lyrics. Whereupon it is incumbent to point out that the escape is but seeming; is but an exchange of form for form. The content of the sonnets and the lyrics is the same. It would be altogether possible to arrange *The Cloud Confines, Love's Nocturn, The Stream's Secret, The Portrait,* and many another sad and dulcet strain so that they should recall the ordered structure of the "House of Life."

And, parallel with the sonnets and the kindred lyrics, is the array of painted poems accomplished in the decade of triumphant maturity, 1866-76. Rossetti, in both arts, is recurrent, shifting backwards and forwards along the lines of his development. But the range is visible enough. In these single figures of the half or three-quarter length, these realised dreams of a dream, there is all radiancy and fragrance and the pervasion of solemn, hushed music. Loveliness, spiritual or intellectual or physical, comports itself in various dominance and blend. There is poise of health and youth, but also the ever-increasing manifestation of an over-sensitiveness and morbid subtlety, a brooding quality that results in a fateful, terrible, extra-human "Venus Verticordia," or an "Astarte Syriaca." While, on the other hand, who shall choose to forget, say, the "Blue Bower," "Beata Beatrix," "The Beloved" (Song of Solomon); or "Monna Vanna," "Veronica Veronese," "Proserpina"? The list and fit discrimination of such masterpieces were too long. Perchance, for succinct consideration, it is enough to cite three drawings, reproduced and accessible. Set side by side the virginal grace of the lovers in the chalk study for the unused frontispiece of his *Early Italian Poets* (Dante and his Circle); the highly individual interpretation, rather than illustration, heading Tennyson's *Palace of Art* in the pre-

Raphaelite edition, with its drugged ecstasy; and the "Perlascura" of 1878, lone-abiding, awe-stricken, and Medusa-like.

But was Rossetti altogether to remain in dreamland; to be accounted a nympholept, much as a fabled Endymion or the young Chateaubriand? The world is multifarious. The flow and passage of Time provokes meditation. Thus, a winged beast and god, coming to be stored along with our spoil of dead Greece, engages that artist of *Hand and Soul* who "would sit for hours in thought of all the greatness the world has known of old." From whimsical and satiric in the first draft, the *Burden of Nineveh* swells to nobility. And meditation—how shall it avoid the burden of sorrow and suffering? In the period of the *Blessed Damozel* and the *Girlhood of Mary Virgin,* Rossetti was already shaping out a *Jenny* and a *Found* that defied effort for completion. In the picture, a country drover encounters in London streets his early love degraded, shrinking from him in abasement. In the poem, a cultured man of town escorts home a light o' love who is child-like still. It is the situation of *Rolla,* without Alfred de Musset's violent rhetoric and sonorous malediction. Here is naught of the sordid. In girlish sort, Jenny is drowsy from the dance. She sleeps, and he muses, protesting against the fashion of this world, quietly wistful. "Come, come, what use in thoughts like this?" But yet the pity of it!

Sorrow and suffering again, poignant realism and dramatic evocation, mark *Dante at Verona,* and *A Last Confession,* with its approach to the Browning of the *Dramatic Romances* and *Men and Women.* That he might save her soul, the penitent has slain his love, whom he pictures in what one might select as the central expression in words of Rossetti's type of beauty. These two poems are set in that Italy he never visited; while England and Scotland furnish two latest ballads which have incurred odd blame as too detached, uncharacteristic.

But it should be remembered that Rossetti's character was not only *ondoyant et divers,* in Montaigne's phrase, but antithetical. In life and style, he cherished simplicity and the recondite. He would be romantic without asceticism; intellectual and spiritual while conscious that mysticism needs must seek sensuous expression, symbolise the higher by the lower. Superstitious as a man of the Middle Ages; harbouring a latent desire to confess and be absolved; throughout venerating the gentle piety of mother and wife and illustrious sister; convinced of immortality by evidence that sufficed him; he was also the agnostic, and could design "The Question." Here he shows us Youth and Manhood and Old Age reaching the secret haunt of the Sphinx, only to sink outright, or mourn irretrievably, or at life's very end vehemently consult

the inscrutable, irresponsive. Not that Rossetti, upon the death of his wife, flouted life, cloistered himself. For sympathy or distraction he could lead, with Meredith and Swinburne and his own devoted brother, as it were a collegiate life tempered by a household menagerie of uncanny wombats and zebus; and, with isolation growing upon him, he yet was ever eager to welcome and foster young talent.

But the delicate equilibrium of opposite tendencies was threatened. After the illness of 1872, he laboured sorely under a triple scourge of insomnia, chloral, and the rigmarole-pamphlet accusing him of " fleshly " poesy and the corruption of the public. As for the chloral, there was no consciously vicious indulgence in a remedy that might prove worse than the disease. And his dignified rejoinder to the misdirected attack against him might well have served him once for all. For had he not, like Dante, ever addressed himself to the *fedeli d'amore*; to those alone that " have intelligence in love "? But more and more his imagination came to tyrannise rather than to offer ministry. Illusions began to throng. The friends whose love and admiration he earned must front a spectacle of tragic piteousness. And nevertheless, laborious and sincere, he could indite the gnomic wisdom of " Soothsay," with its ringing call to Stoic endurance and all duty. He has even been claimed as the austere poet of Responsibility.

It is sometimes asked or wondered whether Rossetti was more the poet or the painter. Or it is held that, a poet born, he made himself a painter, dispersing his energy. He would declare himself the painter by special function and ambition; and also lament that one cannot live by writing poetry. Of close affinity in all his work there is no doubt. But did he charge his poems with more than the allowable colour and form, and his pictures with a wealth of idea beyond pictorial reach? Let us rather welcome him in either field, content that he approves himself a painter's painter and a poet's poet. The task, again, of assigning his position and influence, of measuring the degree or the lack of his acceptance, is somewhat otiose or vain. As partner for a time of the Morris firm, he may have contributed to the regeneration of household art, but was entirely alien from that " Æsthetic " movement which *Punch* and W. S. Gilbert laughed down. " The greatest of English colourists," it is claimed. But where, then, is his School? He stood upon Ruskin's list as the first of men to raise and change the attainment and direction of modern art. But Ruskin varies from Ruskin in impulsive enthusiasm; and Rossetti, practising two arts, was lonely and esoteric in both. Has he given us a fifth body of sonnets to be associated with those of Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth, and Mrs. Browning? That shall be as it may in

individual appreciation. We must reckon with the broad English temperament of the public. Rossetti, beyond mistake the Italian, and also no little the Englishman, erected a remote shrine in a " vale of magical dark mysteries." Pilgrims, more or less scanty in number, will visit the shrine, all storied within and heavy-laden with the fumes of incense; and not a few, even of these, will it irk till they recover the free spaces of heaven.

For summary one could not do better than apply to Rossetti himself what he wrote about Blake. Here is a feast spread for such as can know at a glance what is theirs and meant for them; for such as can use sympathy and recognition even when their host " offers them the new and strange fruit grown for himself in far-off gardens where he has dwelt alone, or pours for them the wines which he has learned to love in lands where they have never travelled."

GARNET SMITH.

THE AMERICAN PREPARATORY SCHOOL.

THE "College Preparatory" Schools of America, which correspond to the English Public Schools, deserve more attention than they have yet received on this side of the Atlantic. Few Englishmen realise the American enthusiasm for education. Not only do American professors lead the world in educational theory and experiment and in the application of psychology to teaching, but the general public is keenly interested in their work, and lavishes money upon good schools. Much of this enthusiasm has centred on the State or "Public" Schools, but the private schools have also been stimulated by a rising demand. Consequently there have been many recent foundations in the more prosperous parts of the country. There is also to be noticed a tendency to experiment, to take risks and to encourage new educational developments, even in the old established preparatory schools of the Eastern States.

This growing enthusiasm for education has been marked by an increasing confidence in the educationalist, which has modified the strong American prejudice against delegating parental responsibility. Boarding schools are still viewed with some suspicion, but they are now patronised by the more "Europeanised" classes. There are many good boarding schools for older boys; younger boys are kept at home. The British custom of sending children of nine to distant boarding schools is still looked upon by most Americans as little more humane than the exposure of infants at Sparta! Most American boys, in consequence, attend a day school until they go to college. The tendency is for day school hours to increase; the boys are generally under school influence from nine in the morning to five o'clock in the evening, five days in the week.

The type produced by the preparatory schools and the Universities will soon control American business, and already supplies the leaders in the American professions—the profession of politics being always excepted. It is, therefore, interesting to contrast the product of an American "Preparatory" and of a British "Public" School.

In one respect the two schools are similar. The relations between masters and boys are much the same in both countries. Contrary to the accepted English view, discipline is not harder to enforce in America, in spite of the fact that corporal punishment is forbidden. The parents, perhaps, are less docile; the school is still expected to defer to their point of view more than is the case in England; but as educational science advances, the teacher, with his specialised jargon talk of "cognition," "skills," "intelligence quotients" and so forth, finds it increasingly easy to impose on

the layman. When the schoolmaster is supported, as he often is, by a consulting School Psychologist, he becomes almost unassailable. The educational "Harley Street" is a new and most useful department, from the point of view of the teacher harassed by "Rachel mourning for her children."

The greatest contrast with England is in the relations between boy and boy. A British boy's earliest school lesson is *subordination*. He is a "new boy," unprivileged and unimportant. He must answer with speed the senior's long-drawn yell of "fa-a-ag." His crimes are undignified and retribution sudden, frequent and painful. Every circumstance of his life reminds him of his inferiority. In all this he acquiesces without protest and even with pride. He feels for the various aristocracies of games, prefectorial authority and seniority a genuine respect and admiration. He never loses the sense of position thus early acquired; at every stage of development he knows how he shall bear himself, neither presuming, nor suffering presumption in others.

The American schoolboy is never a fag and never an underling. He neither fears his seniors nor regards prefects. He respects the school team as a body, but not its individual members; if he worships at any athletic shrine it is that of the professional baseball player—"Babe" Ruth, not the captain of his school team. Even the claims of seniority are ignored. The American school has no prefectorial system. There is a "School Council," a small body of older boys, which is given responsibility for a few details of school administration, but it is not responsible for the discipline or tone of the school. These boys do not act without the Headmaster's sanction; they have few privileges and small powers of punishment. Even in their supervisory work they have to be supported by a master. The Headmaster is a member of this Council, and attends its meetings; according to the extent of his predominance, the senior's sense of responsibility decreases, and the junior's respect is lessened.

The absence of any juvenile "aristocracy" and the comparatively greater influence of the home endanger the unity of the school. This danger is realised and is met by the sedulous inculcation of "School Spirit." In modern preparatory schools this is stressed on all occasions, and many English expedients are copied. Boys are taken to school matches; they wear caps and jerseys of the school colours. One school has adapted to its own requirements the songs of Eton and Harrow. In the last few years games have become compulsory and junior teams have been started. This is rendered possible by the lengthening of the school hours. Time is taken from lessons for the practice of a "School Cheer." Taught by these and other methods, "School

Spirit " is increasing in strength, though it is not yet as strong as the unforced growth of our Public Schools.

The contrast which I have tried to point between British and American schools applies with equal force to the Universities of the two countries. Only, *the terms are exactly reversed.* The British boy, accustomed to the discipline and subordination of a Public School, finds liberty at Oxford and Cambridge. He is given scope for individual development; he is free to work, to play and to speak as he chooses. At an American University he will be allowed none of these liberties. The Freshmen are actually " fagged " by the seniors, as though they were small boys of twelve. They sometimes undergo a regular course of " hazing " or bullying from the older boys. Each College has its own customs; in one, a Freshman must wear a small black cap; in another, his head is partially shaved.

In the second or " Sophomore " year, an equally rigid conformity to established institutions is necessary to secure admission to a good Fraternity, the basis of social life at nearly all Colleges. When a boy has been " called " by a Fraternity he must face the terrors of " initiation." Before he can be admitted he must show his loyalty and nerve by making himself ridiculous in some public manner. One candidate was made to quack like a duck in the streets; another had to interrupt a popular play by hissing; there is no end to the ingenuity of the Fraternities: in some cases their sense of humour is so extreme that the candidates have to be branded with hot wires!

Games were made compulsory at College some years before they became so at most preparatory schools. Many other instances could be adduced of the subordination and control that the undergraduate hourly experiences.

It has been suggested by critics of the British Public Schools that the subordination of boy to boy tends to destroy individuality. A boy is said to abandon creation for imitation. However this may be, we do not find any more originality in the normal American school, where there seems to be more freedom. If anyone doubts this fact, let him peruse as many American School Magazines as he can digest; let him then look at any of those British School Magazines which purport to be more than mere chronicles of facts, or a volume of " Public School Verse." A curious state of affairs will be revealed; the American " type " is most marked among American children.

One reason for this state of affairs can be found outside the preparatory schools. America is faced with the problem of fusing her immigrants into a nation. The greatest hope of the " Americaniser " lies in the children. Therefore every means is adopted

to mould them when young. Through the Sunday papers, the comic section of which is regularly perused by every American child, through parades of boys carrying the national flag, through advertisements, through social pressure, through vast camps of boys in the summer, and many other means, the American child is moulded into the dull and tiresome " Buddy " type. In this process individual as well as racial traits are weakened, and a public opinion among the boys themselves, opposed to eccentricity, is created. If the parents are exceptionally original people, the child will be less affected by this stream of propaganda, but he will not find an outlet for his talent at school. I have met many original and some gifted children in America, but their gifts and originality were a handicap to them in their education. On the other hand, I have known boys of very different origin—Armenian, Japanese, German and Italian—who have lost most of their racial characteristics in the course of two generations on American soil. Only the young Jew baffles the Americaniser.

Little originality survives the four years spent at College. I once asked an Englishman, lately arrived from Oxford, whether he had met many graduates of American Universities. " No," was his weary answer, " I have met them all."

In spite of this criticism, the American educational system, at any rate in the East, produces an excellent type. Nothing is commoner or more fallacious than to judge a school or College by the presence or absence of a few brilliant individuals. The graduate of an American University has many typically American virtues; particularly that of kindness to strangers. Unlike most graduates of British Universities, he is fond of other people, and takes trouble to make them happy. A self-centred American of education is hardly ever encountered. Moreover, he has escaped the disease of omniscience, so prevalent at Oxford and Cambridge, and with it the innate superiority, degenerating into blasé cynicism in stupid boys, which often afflicts our very young. We laugh at the American tourist who sits in Doctor Johnson's chair at the " Cheshire Cheese," but this strange being has got something that we lack. Content with simple pleasures, his Fraternity (of which he will talk for hours), his Boosters' Club, his baseball, he retains the sense of " wonder," the naïve outlook on life, which we admire in children. True, his conversation is serious and boring, seldom illumined by any spark of wit or fantasy, but it is not more boring or more serious than that of a nice boy of ten describing a cricket match. He is easily misled by his enthusiasm; so is a child. After a slightly longer residence in America my Oxford friend was able to supply me with another epigram—" Americans become of age on their fortieth birthday."

Perhaps it is this long period of immaturity and growth that gives the really old American his peculiar charm and culture.

Slow development, then, would seem to be the keynote of American education. Responsibility, with its accompanying rapidity of growth, is avoided. In a land of great wealth and unlimited convenience, in which, moreover, there is no such thing as a governing class, it is possible to shelter and protect the youth of the nation, and to delay the time of their maturity. The course of study recognises this fact; more emphasis is laid on foundations, and less on advanced or specialized knowledge, than is the case in England. Languages are not taught so early; children are expected to reach a higher standard of accuracy in the elementary processes of arithmetic than we demand. The Standard Tests, used throughout the country, are exercises in accurate knowledge of the groundwork of each subject; they do not test, and are not meant to test, the stage of development which the student's mind has reached. Accuracy of knowledge, not freshness or profundity of thought, is the aim.

But this is not enough. Mere groundwork is useless, unless there is a desire to go farther. American educationalists realise this, and seek to stimulate the pupil's interest. The means they adopt are various, but the general tendency is to lay more stress on the individual pupil. The educational devices analogous to or comprised in the " Dalton " Scheme of individualised education have this in common—they all stimulate the boy's wonder and interest, and I regard this as even more important than the accuracy which is their primary object. But our schools would do well to watch, if they cannot imitate, the experiments which are being made in all progressive parts of the States.

The University courses are not of the type which we should describe as " Honours Schools " at Oxford. They are " Pass " Schools, containing little specialised or advanced work. Students, who would be working for a " First " at a British University, are doing " General " courses of this elementary nature in America. But many of these stay on at College for two years or more of " post graduate " work, which *does* correspond to our Honours Schools. Nothing is more significant of the great wealth of America or of its wise use than the numbers of students who are able to remain at College for several years after they have graduated.

There are signs that the interest which Americans display in our educational system will soon be reciprocated. Let the Englishman who studies American schools remember the fact of their difference in aim. The British school aims at the " finished product," the American does not. Where the Briton builds, the American lays foundations.

IDDESLEIGH.

ISLAND MAGIC.

I

THERE are some people, we believe, who have no ears for the call of the island. Perhaps they were not brought up on Robinson Crusoe, or, if they were, there is not enough of primitive man in them to respond to a tale that carries the reader back to a Golden Age in which animals and men lived together as equals. But on most of us the island—and the more like a desert island it is, the better—exercises a kind of spell; and this is true whether we dig it out of the sand on the seashore, or whether we grow up to live on one of our own like a savage monarch—or like two at least among living authors, who have acquired these story-book kingdoms of their own. But there is yet a third way of hunting down island magic, and that is by landing on one as a summer visitor and pretending to be a genuine islander, as the present writer, though not with any startling success, did in Sark.

Sark is not like any other place on earth. " Were it not that venomous reptiles do not exist there, Sark might easily be mistaken for the Garden of Eden," prattles the guide-book. Without possessing the special geographical knowledge of the guide-book, one can only be sure that this mortal earth does not contain another Sark. It is quite true about the reptiles, however. St. Patrick saw to that when he sailed across to the bailiwick of Guernsey, to which Sark belongs, after leaving with disgust the inhospitable shores of the sister island, Jersey. Our authority, it becomes necessary to explain at this point, is a Guernsey legend. It goes on to relate how the holy man, wishing to mark his sense of the warmer reception given to him by the people of Guernsey, gathered up all the snakes and other reptiles to be found there, dropped them into a sack, and emptied the sack into Jersey on his way home. Whether the visitor believes this story or not depends on the degree of impartiality in his attitude towards the Channel Islands, both severally and generally. But it appears to be a fact that even the imported toad languishes and dies on the two islands thus singled out for benediction by the Saint, who did not seem to include reptiles among the creatures to be loved because God made them.

Sark has naturally a family likeness to the rest of the Channel Islands; but then, the Channel Islands themselves are not like any other place on earth. They belong to England without being in the least English, and they speak a French that is no longer spoken in France. Having passed automatically to the English Crown with the other dominions of William the Conqueror, and afterwards remained loyal to England when Normandy lapsed to the French Crown, they have a charming blend of loyalties that gives them

their unique position. Channel Islanders consider that they pay the King of England a compliment when they allude to him as Duke of Normandy; they acknowledge no lesser overlord, as the summer visitor finds who assumes that a mere upstart House of Commons at Westminster has any jurisdiction over them; and above all, they never forget that they are one of England's conquerors. They are quite polite about it, but they do not forget it.

This subtle sense of superiority in a proud and ancient race that down through the centuries has preserved the right to call its soul its own, though "G.R." is on its letter-boxes, is probably one reason why the sensitive British visitor feels a foreigner on entering Sark. But there are other reasons, too.

II

Sark is at once so minute and so vast—only about four miles by two at its greatest extent, yet with something like forty miles of indented coast—and at once so welcoming and so aloof, that the traveller who lands there is instantly caught by the magic of it. The very approach to Sark is coy, for the little steamboat that takes you there from St. Peter Port in Guernsey has to negotiate currents and reefs, skirting quite two-thirds of its perilous coast before it forces an entry, which is more like an intrusion, into the tiny inlet that plays at being a harbour. Straight in front of this miniature landing-place rises a precipitous cliff, through which an archway of rock grudgingly admits visitors to the steep and stony roadway beyond that mounts to the interior.

No motor is allowed to enter Sark. A few old-fashioned vehicles, drawn by leisurely horses, stand waiting on the quay; so does a cart that is there to fetch the mail-bag and any other evidence there may be of a real world elsewhere. You look round, your luggage lying at your feet where the sailor has thrown it over the side of the boat, and you catch the roving eye of the driver of one of the "chairs," as the rickety carriages are called. He looks you over without active hostility, but does not appear anxious to be hired. "Is it far?" asks the stranger. "Very steep; quite twenty minutes," is an answer that is obviously based upon a set of values acquired through living in an area that is four miles by two. But most people who are there for the first time scorn the lazy alternative—which offers no probability of being a quicker form of progression—and leave their possessions to be driven to their lodging while they toil up the rocky road under trees, with gorse and bracken rising high up on either side, until the top of the gorge is reached; and at the top of the gorge is the wind-swept and sunny Sark where people live.

There is no village. There is no income-tax, which specially delights the few foreign residents who come there to live from the super-taxed world beyond. A small tax is paid upon capital; and every inhabitant, without class distinction, has to work two days a year on the roads or pay the equivalent in a man's wages. But these feudal dues do not disturb the itinerant visitor, who is merely asked to pay a fee for the privilege of landing in Sark.

There is no train or omnibus or factory. One venerable stone cottage proclaims itself a post-office; another represents a store. There are four small hotels, happily obscured in bracken and trees, and a few scattered farms and some more white cottages, and alas! a bungalow or two. And there is a church in which, on Sundays, one service is read in English and one in French; and there is a thing looking like a stone hen-house, which is the prison and unused; and there is a new white lighthouse of a period much later than that in which Victor Hugo placed his "Toilers of the Sea," describing a Sark and Guernsey that have not changed save in these modern measures of defence against the eternal peril of the sea. And, equally important, there is the Seigneurie, where the Seigneur of Sark lives like a feudal lord, and where he died like a feudal lord, one stormy day last summer; when the bell tolled all day till sunset, and the Dean and all the feudal lords of Guernsey came over the water to bury him, and the Sark vassals put on their Sunday clothes and went to the funeral.

It was a Christian funeral, conducted with Christian rites; but it was not difficult to imagine that pagan gods were also invoked that day to bring peace to the Seigneur's soul. For these islanders, who learn in their schools to speak a particularly precise and accurate English in order to converse, when compelled, with the conquered race, have a queer Norman-French dialect of their own, reminiscent of the Chanson de Roland, which reveals an ancient culture going back to a still more ancient barbarism based upon fear of the supernatural. It is not long, indeed, since the States of Guernsey had to pass a law forbidding people to run about with burning brands on Midsummer Eve, not because it was dangerous but because it was witchcraft—as it undoubtedly was. And this brings us to a Sark that no State-made law can touch or change.

III

People who go to Sark and rave about its beauty—and there is at the moment almost a Sark cult among intellectuals—are, it may be suggested, unconsciously influenced by this queer undercurrent of myth and folk-lore; for there are assuredly other places with as great a claim to natural beauty. But they do not bind the traveller with a charm, making him feel that he must get away at

all costs lest it bewitch him to his undoing, and then, after his escape, haunting him till he discovers that no rest will be his until he returns and solves its secret. How much actual belief in magic still exists in the different isles of the bailiwick of Guernsey is not easy to conjecture, for Channel Islanders do not readily give their confidence, even to one another. But some evidence, not too old to be convincing, is to be gathered from the later history of a very ancient stone gate-post that stands at the entrance to one of the churchyards, rather an anomalous position for it, since the monument is clearly the remains of the figure of some female goddess.

Some eighty years ago, it was found that the parishioners were secretly bringing offerings of fruit and vegetables to this figure, which was at that time set up in a field. Whether they were conscious of subscribing to some old form of Nature-worship in doing this, it is impossible to say, though the probability is that, as in known cases of similar survivals, they had an ingrained feeling that the success of their crops depended upon some such act of propitiation. The parson and churchwardens saw it, however, as plain idolatry, and, like Moses, they threw the idol down and cracked it across. But the idolatry continued by night; and finally, the figure was removed and fixed where it now stands, perhaps with the intention of placing it " out of bounds " as far as paganism was concerned. The device apparently had the desired effect, though it is said that, quite a short time ago, the image was seen one May morning with a wreath of flowers on its battered old head.

There are other signs, too, of that belief in magic which preceded religion and occasionally survives side by side with religion. On several of the very oldest of the cottages in Sark and Guernsey may be seen small stone ledges projecting from the wall, generally on the chimney side of the house, which are said to have been constructed originally for the purpose of affording a seat for witches. The legend runs that in the Channel Islands witches were begotten of fairies, who, having killed all the island men and married the women, would naturally have as their offspring those who possessed the gift of flying without the aid of broomsticks. But a witch without a broomstick must have a seat on which to rest, otherwise there is no guarantee that she will not come down the chimney and take up her abode in the house; hence the provision of the stone ledges.

But it must not be thought that the mere tourist is told these things for the asking. " The little stone ledges?" repeats the old fisherman who has just landed with his lobster pots, and, in return for some help in pulling his boat above high-water mark, is disposed to converse a little in his sing-song, high-pitched voice.

" Ah, they would be to keep the rain from coming down the chimney, no doubt." The visitor points out respectfully that they are situated far below the chimney-stack, at which his innocent countenance expresses a bland surprise. " Ah, then I could not say. I do not know these things myself. There are many strange things in Sark, ah, yes. But I do not say I know them myself. Ah, no!"

Now and then, one stumbles accidentally across an actual exhibition of superstitious fear that defies concealment. A farmer's wife, hitherto in all outward appearances entirely free from such weakness, is suddenly found in a state of nervous disorder. " One of these witches came in just now," she explains in a tremulous voice. " She asked me for a cup of tea. I was trembling so, I could hardly speak."

" Did you give her the tea?" she is asked by the sympathiser.

" Of course!" is the surprised answer. " I shouldn't dare refuse her anything."

" Why not?"

" Because of what she might do to us. You cannot tell what a witch may do, if you offend her. I was glad when she went back!"

" Back? Where to?"

" Where to?" A bewildered pause. Then— " Back to the place where witches come from, I suppose!"

Antiquaries who have collected stories of the reputed doings of these " sorchelers," as they are called—the dialect form of " sorçeliers," it is to be supposed—have been forced to the conclusion that the tales about them are not entirely legendary, and that an explanation of the " magic " involved lies perhaps in the possession of some hypnotic power by certain men and women of this old island race. It can readily be understood that any manifestation of magnetic force soon passes for magic among a simple folk whose geographical and racial isolation is left practically untouched by the short annual incursion of summer visitors. Probably, the possessors of this uncanny power have never defined it to themselves; but there it undoubtedly is, and it renders them supreme among a population that has not yet outgrown a primitive awe of Nature's more mysterious phenomena.

" Why do you call him *Mess* L——?" asked one of the inhabitants, on hearing some boys bestow this title, which is inferior to " Monsieur " but superior to " Sieur " and at all events a title of honour, upon a man who clearly had no social right to it. Not being a " foreigner," she managed to coax an explanation from the reluctant children, who confessed that he was a " sorcheler " and that they were afraid of the consequences if they failed to show him this exaggerated respect. Nor are such fears wholly groundless

and absurd. Not long ago, a villager incurred the hostility of a "sorcheler," and, anxious to propitiate him, wished him good-evening as he passed him in the lane. "It will be many an hour before you see your home this evening," was the unpropitious reply; and sure enough, when the luckless victim "came to himself," as he expressed it when telling the tale afterwards, he found that he was wandering in a distant part of the island, several hours having elapsed since the other man spoke to him.

A belief in ghosts not unnaturally goes hand in hand with this fear of witchcraft. When the war broke out, all the martello towers round the coast of the Channel Islands were manned by the local militia, on the assumption that the islands might be used by the enemy as a submarine base, though the rocky nature of the coast rendered the apprehension groundless. But in one of the round towers, in appearance exactly like all the others, the little garrison refused to stay after dark because, they asserted, a spectral drummer-boy in Napoleonic uniform came every night and drummed them out of it. This would make a better story for the psychical researcher if their evacuation of the tower had led to its occupation by the enemy; but, alas for realistic fiction! nothing of the kind occurred, and one more instance was added to the sum of alleged supernatural phenomena that help to throw a halo of mystery and romance around the "Îles normandes," as they were once called.

IV

It would be very unfair to attribute all this mysticism solely to the peasant folk of the Channel Islands. One of the original Norman families with a centuries-old lineage—for a family tree of some of these old families requires a parchment roll that will extend a yard or two when unfolded—has a tradition that the head of the house always dies in a year of which the last figure is three; and such is the power of suggestion (or so it may be explained) that this appears actually to have been fulfilled more than once. It is, of course, credible that minds attuned to superstition, in an atmosphere favourable to magic survivals, can unconsciously assist a tradition of this sort to come true; any serious illness occurring in a year fulfilling the numerical fulfilment might be sufficient for the purpose. A similar explanation can be suggested of two other traditions attached to island families, asserting that in the one case no sons, and in the other no daughters, are ever born; but whether these two particular inhibitions are regarded as the result of curses or of blessings in the past cannot readily be ascertained.

The survival of ancient beliefs is not really surprising in a people among whom historic customs also persist, though both are found side by side with extremely modern innovations in fruit and vegetable culture, for instance. Most tourists know all about the

"Clameur de Haro," that old Norman custom whereby anybody labouring under a sense of injustice may stop all proceedings connected with the act complained of, by falling upon his knees in a public place and crying aloud "Haro! Haro! à l'aide, mon Prince, on me fait tort!" ("Help, help, my Prince! I am being wronged!") Whether this appeal is really made to the shade of Duke Rollo, or dates back still further to the use of the old verb "haran," to "cry out," its immediate result is to cause the grievance, generally a trespass upon property, to be taken into the courts for arbitration.

Interesting as the historic remains are in the Channel Islands—and for these it is better to visit Jersey with its magnificent prehistoric relics as well as its mediæval castles—it is not these that thrill us with the sense that here is a place in which to study something much older and more elemental than solid stone ruins, a place where constant reminders occur to those who are sensitive to impressions of the kind that far back in the story of mankind queer instincts and fears produced certain effects that in their survival we roughly call superstitions. The whole atmosphere in the less sophisticated islands of the group is acutely charged with this sensation, until, if you are privileged to receive the information that a certain dark lane in Guernsey is haunted with the spectre of an enormous white goat, you find it difficult to walk down that lane in the twilight without imagining that the creature is trotting noiselessly by your side all the way!

Little Sark, where Nature is specially lavish both of her beauties and her perils, offers the most appropriate setting of all for the persistence of a credulity that in more sophisticated surroundings would have yielded long ago to the inrush of human knowledge and human experience. And herein, probably, is to be sought the secret of Sark. In other spots there is the same exquisite loveliness, with gems of rock scenery such as the Pool of Adonis or the Bath of Venus. Elsewhere, too, remnants of native tradition and folk-lore may be found existing among the inhabitants. But in Sark all this unspoilt beauty of scenery and this unbroken tradition are to be found, not as accompaniments of a barbarism rapidly vanishing before an advancing modernism, but hand in hand with the unconquerable spirit of a race still dominant after many centuries on its own territory, a race which, whether in landowners or in fisherfolk, retains the marks of a civilisation that at one time led Europe in culture.

But Sark does not thus reveal herself to those who go there merely to escape paying income-tax, or to stay in the tiny hotels as summer visitors. "Foreigners" are welcome to the sunshine and the bathing and the scenery and the picture-postcards; but they

will get nothing else. For underneath the superficial existence of the tourist the Sark folk go on leading their own life in their own imperturbable way, mysterious and aloof, convinced that witches fly by night though determined not to reveal the fact to an outsider, ready with unconscious cynicism to take the foreigner's money, but apparently indifferent to his departure when winter comes and wraps the island round with storm and tempest, more secure than ever in the inviolability of its secret.

But travellers who, as Sir Thomas Browne puts it, carry with them the wonders they seek without, find another Sark, and may perhaps be pardoned, with the present writer, for being so proud of having guessed that it has a secret that, sooner than run the risk of finding they are wrong, they feel it would be wiser never to land there again.

EVELYN SHARP.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

AMERICAN PROPOSAL FOR PACT OF PACIFISM.

MR. KELLOGG has made his expected proposal for the total and general abolition of war. So unconventional a proposal, cutting across all the accepted tenets of Western European thought on this subject, at first made the European diplomatist gasp, even though he had reason to expect that the American proposal would contain something extreme as well as something simple. Mr. Kellogg's idea simply is that pacifism is enough. It happens that the European diplomatists have been wrestling with this very problem of making war impossible ever since the last big war ended in 1918. There was first the League of Nations, whose Covenant, partly the work of an American President, bound the contracting parties in the words of the Preamble to " the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war." Unfortunately the United States was not then ready to follow President Wilson. Then there was the Genoa Conference, where Mr. Lloyd George in 1922 induced the nations of Europe to forswear war. Again the United States held aloof. Next there was the Locarno Conference, whose purpose and effect was to bind a certain group of European nations to surrender their " right to make war " in case any dispute should arise in a particular storm-centre, the Rhine frontier. Locarno was essentially a particularised application of the Covenant principle.

The distinguishing character of that Covenant principle, as applied both at Geneva and at Locarno, is that organised war is made the sanction against aggression. Under the Covenant the signatories bind themselves to take common action against an aggressor. Under the Locarno treaties the guarantor State, say Great Britain, is bound to make war on either France or Germany, whichever " aggresses."

By contrast, Mr. Kellogg jumps all the philosophy and simply proposes that the nations shut their eyes and, in advance of any contingency whatsoever, publicly commit themselves never to go to war. Those jaded commentators whose business it has been for a decade to chronicle the successive attempts to organise international pacifism are now given something to whet their appetite. Mr. Kellogg, by implication, refuses to contemplate the contingency of the pact of pacifism being broken. In Europe it has been common ground among the political philosophers through eight years of unceasing work and discussion that if war is to be outlawed as a diplomatic method, there must be an alternative method to take its place and a " sanction " to deter any nation from

violating that alternative method. The analogy has been consistently made, and is commonplace enough, with national life. Private disputes are no longer settled by personal combat, for the double reason that they can be settled by law, and that a police organisation—that is, an organisation of force—compels recourse to law as an alternative to physical violence. In national life, therefore, it is broadly true that peace is dictated by force, and it is broadly arguable that a mere general undertaking to keep the peace would be a brittle guarantee of peace without the " sanction " of the police.

If any other diplomatic source in the world except Washington had proposed a simple international pact of pacifism, the proposal would probably have been laughed at. At Geneva, in the middle of March of this year, Mr. Litvinov in effect made this proposal: " If you want to disarm, why not simply, completely and immediately disarm, disband your armies and sink your ships?" Lord Cushendun led the chorus of criticism, of which the burden was: " If Russia advocates complete disarmament, what about the enormous Red Army?" By contrast Mr. Kellogg as crudely proposes: " If you want peace, why not let us all solemnly undertake never to make war, without reference to the dangerous distinction between ' aggressive ' and ' defensive ' war?" Logically one might have expected a corresponding chorus: " If the United States wants to lead a pacifist movement, what about the United States navy?" No one but a fool applies logic to human affairs. Mr. Kellogg was taken seriously, Mr. Litvinov not. The distinction, it is true, was partly due to the fatuous difference whereby Russia preaches disarmament at Geneva and civil war and revolution everywhere else, whereas the United States proposes pacifism but refrains from proposing that her fleet be given promiscuous exercise in war. The greater reason for the difference, however, was that the United States is the richest and therefore the most powerful nation on earth. Inasmuch as Mr. Kellogg has now chosen to use American power to force pacifism upon the world's diplomacy, the fair and obvious comment seems to be: " Thank God for what the Germans call the almighty dollar."

The American Note proposing the abolition of war was delivered simultaneously (April 13th) and in identical terms to the British, German, Italian, and Japanese Governments. It begins by recalling that a series of Notes had passed between the United States and France " dealing with the question of a possible international renunciation of war." It then makes the substantive proposal in these words: " The Government of the United States, as stated in its Note of February 27th, 1928, desires to see the institution of war abolished, and stands ready to conclude with the French, British, German, Italian, and Japanese Governments a single multilateral treaty open to subsequent adherence by any and all other Governments, binding the parties thereto not to resort to war with one another." In the next paragraph it deliberately outlaws all reference to the Geneva and Locarno qualifying epithet " aggressive," and makes the following submission: " The Government of the French Republic, while no less eager to promote the cause of world peace and to co-operate with other nations in any practical movement towards that end, had pointed out certain considerations which, in its opinion, must be borne in mind by those Powers which are members of the League of Nations, parties to the Treaties of Locarno, parties to other treaties guaranteeing neutrality. My Government has not conceded that such considerations necessitate any modification of its proposal for a multilateral treaty, and is of opinion that every nation in the world can, with a proper regard for its own interests, as well as for the interests of the entire family of nations, join in such a Treaty. It believes, moreover, that the execution by France, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Japan, and the United States of a treaty solemnly renouncing war in favour of the pacific settlement of international controversies would have tremendous moral effect, and ultimately lead to the adherence of all the other countries of the world. The discussions which have taken place between France and the United States have thus reached a point where it seems essential, if ultimate success is to be attained, that the British, German, Italian, and Japanese Governments should each have an opportunity formally to decide to what extent, if any, its existing commitments constitute a bar to its participation with the United States in an unqualified renunciation of war."

British opinion clearly agreed, at first sight, that any proposal made with the combined prestige of the Powers mentioned would *ipso facto* be half way to achievement, because the major decisive force of the world's diplomacy would be therein engaged. The Note ended by stating that " the Government of the United States would be pleased to be informed, as promptly as may be convenient, whether His Majesty's Government is in a position to give favourable consideration to the conclusion of a treaty such as that transmitted herewith, and, if not, what specific modifications in the text thereof would make it acceptable." It seemed certain, however, that the British answer could not be prompt. The Dominions would have to be consulted, and it appeared to be taken for granted in Whitehall that the Kellogg proposal, precisely because it was so simple and profound, called for a careful tempering of enthusiasm with tactical skill. It was felt in London that the real purpose of the proposal could be achieved only in proportion as it was universally accepted and applied. Uncritical precipitancy in

accepting it without reference to the tactical expediency of carrying the laggards abreast of the movement might prove to be an irreparable mistake. Once a simple thesis of the Kellogg kind becomes entangled in reaction, whether due to *amour propre* or other imponderable motives, the moral capital that is its chief asset is impaired. Such, at any rate, was the feeling of some of those realists who often, in practice, become the best idealists.

It is probably unfair to any professional diplomatist to impute any motive except that of safeguarding the peace. Such is his business. War is the verdict of diplomatic incompetence. It often happens, however, that the professional diplomatist appears to shy at such unqualified idealism as that underlying the Kellogg Note. The reason appears to be that the diplomatist's sense of tactics is often sharpened by a knowledge of lurking dangers unsuspected by the mere spectator of diplomatic action. For instance, French opinion promptly reacted against the multilateral extension of the Kellogg enterprise. There were two main reasons for such a reaction. One was the human factor which made the average French commentator almost subconsciously resent the intrusion of others into a limelight that for nearly a year had played exclusively on Paris and Washington. The other, and more important, was that M. Briand's reservations had been implicitly ignored, and that in the wider field of the discussion those reservations would be likely to recede further and further into the background. Now the practical diplomatist at once diagnosed that the object in view, which was essentially a common object presupposing the whole-hearted co-operation of all the Powers concerned, would be achieved quickest in the long run if French feelings were humoured. The difficulty of any common endeavour is well known. So far, however, as the British Government was concerned, there could be no doubt of the wholehearted welcome with which the American proposal was received.

The British Government is probably the most pacifist in the world both temperamentally and by necessity. Having suffered as much physically, and far more financially, than any other belligerent, and being now faced with the prospect for two generations ahead of paying the greater part of the financial cost of the war, pacifism is imposed from above on the British Government. The American Big Navy party is well aware of the lever thereby put into their hands; and that fact adds a rather fine complexion to Mr. Kellogg's courage.

The American Note of April 13th contained "for consideration a preliminary draft of a treaty which the Government of the United States is prepared to sign with the French, German, Italian, and Japanese Governments, and any other Government similarly disposed." The draft proved to be the simplest conceivable document providing in treaty form and at minimum length for the pact described in the Note as "an unqualified renunciation of war." The Preamble to the draft states that the parties, "Deeply sensible that their high office imposes upon them a solemn duty to promote the welfare of mankind; Inspired by a common desire not only to perpetuate the peaceful and friendly relations now happily subsisting between their peoples, but also to prevent war among any of the nations of the world; Desirous by formal act to bear unmistakable witness that they condemn war as an instrument of national policy and renounce it in favour of the pacific settlement of international disputes; Hopeful that, encouraged by their example, all the other nations of the world will join in this humane endeavour, and, by adhering to the present treaty as soon as it comes into force, bring their peoples within the scope of its beneficent provisions, thus uniting the civilised nations of the world in a common renunciation of war as an instrument of their national policy; Have decided to conclude a treaty. . . ." The draft contains only three articles, two short ones giving the substance of the matter, and a longer one making the usual provisions about ratifications. The two essential articles are these: "Article One: The high contracting parties solemnly declare in the name of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another. Article Two: The high contracting parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts, of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means."

The Alternative to War.

By a fortunate coincidence the opportunity is given this very year of completing the enterprise started by Mr. Kellogg. The chief "Root" treaties of arbitration between the United States and the other leading Powers fall due for revision or for renewal this year. Renewal is out of the question. France has already negotiated her new treaty of arbitration with the United States, the Root principle being therein abandoned in favour of something more businesslike. The Root principle of arbitration was not so much a principle as the denial of all principle. A treaty of arbitration which excludes from the arbitral scope all questions affecting national honour or vital interests—the only questions which ever lead to war—is only interesting as a freak of diplomacy. The new pattern adopted by Mr. Kellogg and by M. Briand excludes only four non-essential categories of dispute—namely, (1) matters falling within the domestic jurisdiction of either party, (2) or affect-

ing the Monroe doctrine, (3) or affecting the interests of third parties, (4) or affecting French obligations under the Covenant of the League. The fourth category was included in deference to M. Briand's insistence, but in practice it would be grotesque to anticipate that French commitments at Geneva could conflict with a Franco-American treaty of arbitration. The preamble to the new treaty contained a reference to the larger enterprise of outlawing war. It stated that the parties were " eager by their example not only to demonstrate their condemnation of war as an instrument of national policy in their mutual relations, but also to hasten the time when the perfection of international arrangements for the settlement of international disputes shall have eliminated for ever the possibility of war among any of the Powers of the world."

The Anglo-American " Root " treaty falls due for replacement in June. Sir Austen Chamberlain has publicly drawn attention to the merits of the existing Spring-Rice-Bryan treaty of conciliation as better than any machinery of precise arbitration in the case of the United States and Great Britain, and Mr. Kellogg has publicly expressed the like opinion. A buffer period of twelve months, such as is provided for in the Bryan Treaty, to be interposed between the outbreak of a dispute and the possible outbreak of something worse, is a clearly sensible safeguard, for it would be odd if two nations, not in any event disposed to go to war, were to sustain a temptation to go to war (if such there could be) through twelve months of waiting. In the particular case of the United States there is the further argument in its favour—an argument which has been made by Mr. Kellogg—that the non-binding force of a purely advisory Commission of Conciliation would prevent any embarrassment arising from the constitutional fact that the American governmental machine could never be bound in advance to adopt arbitration for hypothetical contingenies. It is therefore expected that an attempt will be made to set up a double instrument of arbitration and conciliation when the Root treaty lapses, as it will without doubt be allowed to lapse in June. A six months' extension of the operation of the Root treaty may be decided on to give fuller time for the drawing up of the new instrument, but no one doubts that the Root principle is now a matter of only historical interest.

For the first time since the Locarno Conference of 1926 the world has something to be excited about. The United States has taken the initiative in suggesting that the five leading Powers in the world take a vow of general unqualified pacifism, and the suggestion by the nature of things cannot be ignored. Concurrently a new and convincing system of conciliation and arbitration as the

alternative to war is being thought out. Optimism about the outcome of the various attempts that have been made to organise pacifism since the war has, in nearly every case, been cooled by the event. Few of those who have taken a part in those attempts would deny that the chief obstacle has been the fact that the Atlantic divided, instead of linking, American with European diplomacy. It has been a truism that Europe and America separately were helpless and together would be irresistible. For the first time in our generation the two have a chance of joining their pacific forces. The occasion does not belittle the importance of Geneva, but will give to the League of Nations a greater scope than it has ever had.

The League and Disarmament.

Before Mr. Kellogg made his famous gesture, the League of Nations was steadily pursuing its own admirable attempt, kept up against great odds, to divert the world from war by scientifically examining the feasibility of disarmament. The League had to work without the United States, for the presence of an American delegate at the meeting of the Disarmament Commission was of less significance than the aloofness of the United States from the League itself, whose organism was the very basis of the work being attempted. There is a common sort of human lopsidedness in the fact that the League of Nations has been trying for ten years to secure the peace of the world and has been crippled by the very refusal of the United States to " do her bit "; and now, suddenly, after ten years, the United States decides to do her bit by completely ignoring what Geneva has done, and is doing, and by commanding Geneva, as it were, to attend at Washington. Pride, however, in these circumstances is as little permissible to Europe as a sense of humour to Washington.

A further session has been held of the Preparatory Commission of the League of Nations Disarmament Conference. The session was empty of visible achievement, but visibility in this matter is an irrelevant factor at the present stage. No one who knows or cares about disarmament believes that paper plans for disarmament can be drawn up now, or that such plans could signify much. Before the plans can be formulated the essential problem of war will have to be solved; and when that time arrives the plans for disarmament will be an easy epitaph.

The Commission met at Geneva on March 15th, and was attended by the representatives of the United States, Turkey, and Russia. It had before it the results of the kindred Commission's work on arbitration and security, but that dossier did not provide an immediate spur to the new work. It is easy to understand the

helplessness which no doubt seized those who met to discuss so wide and deep a problem as disarmament. They shied at the start on the pretext that it was necessary for them thoroughly to examine the findings of the Security Commission. Inasmuch as the personnel of the two commissions was largely the same, the pretext had more of irony than of business in it. All that happened on the first day was that the German delegation propounded a general scheme for effecting the provisions of Article VIII of the Covenant about the reduction of armaments, and that a telegram was received from the Argentine League of Nations Society requesting that the Covenant of the League be expunged of its reference to the Monroe doctrine, and that Mexico and other non-member States be invited to become members.

Perhaps because of the Commission's initial aphasia, perhaps because of his own pronounced lack of aphasia, Mr. Litvinov, on the second day of the Commission's session (March 16th), plunged into the middle of things. He repeated his now familiar argument against the regional method of attempting to organise security. Pacts of mutual assistance, he submitted, were the means of entangling alliances, the effect of which was the opposite of peace. The road to peace, he repeated, was a quick scheme of total disarmament. The Russian proposal was known in its essence before, and as the first formal business of the Disarmament Commission was to approve the work of the Committee on Security and Arbitration, Mr. Litvinov's speech did not draw any immediate debate. Mr. Politis merely commented that the Russian delegation had not thoroughly examined the work of the Security Commission, and Count Clauzel (France) reminded Mr. Litvinov that the French Government regarded the work that had been done on the subject of arbitration and security as of the greatest importance. No emotion was on that day provoked by Mr. Litvinov, and the Commission proceeded to approve the Security Commission's report.

While the Disarmament Commission thus haltingly approached its business, something happened which, if imaginatively looked at, ought to have stirred Geneva to immediate enthusiasm. Mr. Kellogg, on March 15th, made a speech which proved to be the first rumbling of the important event recorded on an earlier page of this survey. At that time his exchanges with M. Briand were in a state of suspense because M. Briand had delayed for some time his answer to Mr. Kellogg's latest plea for a multilateral unreserved declaration against war as a diplomatic instrument. The point at issue was whether M. Briand would agree to drop his epithet " aggressive " as qualifying the particular category of war to be outlawed. Without waiting for M. Briand's answer, Mr. Kellogg,

on March 15th, definitely stated that he intended to pursue his attempt to organise a multipartite pronouncement against war, and that he intended, in the first instance, to approach France, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, and Japan. His reason, he said, for refusing to qualify war by the epithet " aggressive " was partly that he did not want to qualify his ideal, and partly that he agreed with the diagnosis consistently made by Sir Austen Chamberlain of the danger of rigidly defining what " aggression " means. Sir Austen Chamberlain's speeches on that head are well known. On one occasion he went as far as to surmise that an attempt to define " aggression " would be a " trap for the innocent and a signpost for the guilty." Mr. Kellogg said he agreed with Sir Austen, and that what he wanted was simply " an unqualified multilateral anti-war treaty." He declared his faith in these words: " I do believe that the world is making great strides towards the pacific adjustment of international disputes and that the common people are of one mind in their desire to see the abolition of war as an institution." It is known at Geneva that the United States will never join the League of Nations, and to express views on that unfortunate circumstance is not the business of practical people. None the less it is easy to understand that the men who have done such good work at Geneva should have found their initial enthusiasm about Mr. Kellogg a little slow and difficult, realist enough as they were to recognise that rich men and rich nations have a sort of prestige against which only fools argue so long as it serves, even if belatedly, a common purpose.

In the meantime the Geneva Disarmament Commission continued its difficult work. On March 19th Mr. Litvinov produced his famous fantasy. His first sentences seemed to imply that he had heard something of the general criticisms that had been levelled against a country which at Geneva proposed total and sudden disarmament, and which based its policy at home and abroad on a big Red Army and an incitement to universal revolution. He assumed the defensive. There was no inconsistency, he argued, between his present proposal and the extensive training of the Red Army, because the Red Army was a protective measure necessitated by Russia's surrounding enemies who most of them were guilty of what he described as " hostile manifestations." He then propounded anew his specific means to disarmament. It led to a curious debate. No one seemed disposed to speak plainly about Russia's diplomacy until Lord Cushendun set the pace. The first speaker was Count Bernstorff (Germany) who even welcomed Mr. Litvinov's proposal on the ground that it might provide a fillip to the work of the Commission, although he safeguarded his Government by affirming his preference for the League

tactic of disarmament by degrees. The Turkish delegate, Rushdi Bey, almost enthusiastically urged that the Litvinov proposal be immediately and fully discussed and saved from being relegated to a sub-committee. He then, however, made a reasoned argument in favour of conciliation as a better first method of settling disputes than precise arbitration, therein agreeing with the lately expressed views of both Sir Austen Chamberlain and of Mr. Kellogg. He also approved of pacts of non-aggression as providing the best available method of achieving security.

On the following day Lord Cushendun made his speech about Mr. Litvinov. He did not hesitate to repudiate the spurious type of idealism which refuses, as it were on principle, to criticise a proposal ostensibly made to further the cause of disarmament. Lord Cushendun is not the kind of diplomat to suffer equivocation gladly. This was a League of Nations attempt to achieve disarmament. The Soviet Government, said Lord Cushendun, had been trying to undermine the League's influence ever since the League began to function. Mr. Litvinov's proposal, made before a League Commission, not only made no mention of the League or of its machinery, but proposed to set up a body which, in essence, would become a rival to the Council of the League. That body was Mr. Litvinov's proposed Permanent International Commission of Control. Some of the clauses of Mr. Litvinov's proposed plan had not only not been co-ordinated with the League machinery, but were incompatible with the provisions of the Covenant. He asked whether Mr. Litvinov's desire to eradicate war applied to civil war? He pointed to the further inconsistency of the Russian argument whereby in its general principle it advocated disarmament as the best protection for a State, and in one of its clauses proposed that local police should be armed as a protection for the State, and that individual persons should be allowed to carry arms for personal defence. By that speech Lord Cushendun seemed to open the flood-gates. On the following day (March 21st) the delegates of Greece, the United States, Holland, Sweden, Poland, Belgium, Bulgaria, Jugoslavia, Finland, and Cuba " roasted " Mr. Litvinov, who, on March 22nd, rejoined with a somewhat puerile " tu quoque " addressed exclusively to Lord Cushendun. The foreign policy of Great Britain, said Mr. Litvinov, was inconsistent with the spirit of the League Covenant. He naïvely added that he was sorry that the United States had not supported him, and tamely offered to modify the details of his plan, if the Commission would accept its principle.

After that depressing episode the spirits of the Commission were raised again by two incidents, the one important and gratifying, the other merely intriguing. On the same day (March

22nd) the Spanish Government informed the President of the Council of the League that Spain accepted the Council's invitation to rejoin the League. The two years' gap was thereby closed. What was gratifying was that the letter of acceptance stated that the Spanish Government would leave " to the Assembly to determine the manner and position in which Spain's co-operation can be of the greatest efficacy and usefulness." The other incident was a speech of Count Clauzel, who vaguely referred to conversations then in progress between unspecified Powers about the limitation of armaments. Because of those conversations he pleaded that the reading of the Draft Convention on Disarmament be postponed till a later date, when it might be possible to read it in more favourable conditions. Some exaggerated speculation was provoked abroad by Count Clauzel's cryptic disclosure. Lord Cushendun, however, took an occasion later to explain that no " negotiations " were in progress about the matter referred to by Count Clauzel; that no Notes were passing; that what had happened merely was that delegates and technical experts had talked " shop " (as experts will) in Geneva, in Paris, in the train, at meals, on the golf course. So much the worse for the golf, no doubt; but it appeared that some good had been done by the talk out of season in clarifying some of the preliminary work to discussion about disarmament, especially naval disarmament. On March 23rd Count Bernstorff protested against Count Clauzel's proposal to postpone the second reading of the Draft Convention. The German diplomatists are naturally sensitive about postponements. In 1919 the Paris peacemakers loudly proclaimed that Germany's enforced disarmament was the prelude to general disarmament. Nearly ten years after, history reveals that only one Great Power has taken any step to redeem that pledge. There is also the postponed evacuation of the Rhinelands, which acts as a constant irritant to German diplomatic nerves, especially as the Locarno Treaty is now two years old. On March 23rd Count Bernstorff complained that in the past the absence of Russia from the Geneva discussions had been made the pretext for delaying disarmament. Russia, he broadly submitted, was now present. That submission visibly oiled the wheels of Mr. Litvinov. Of course, Russia was present. Mr. Litvinov got on his feet again and propounded a new plan of disarmament by stages, equally drastic as the other, but tempered by the concession that the ships, etc., should be sunk, not to-morrow in one fell sinking, but one by one during the next two years. The only immediate thing he demanded was the immediate discussion of his new plan. It was not discussed either immediately or at all. So the Commission passed from day to day without achieving much tangible result.

On March 24th the Disarmament Commission finished its work, not, however, before Count Bernstorff made another complaint. He now complained that the Commission had wasted a whole year, and demanded that a date should now be fixed for the meeting of the Disarmament Conference. His colleagues were not disposed to fix any such date, and the session was ended by the passing of three resolutions to the effect that (1) the draft of the Russian proposals could not be accepted as a basis for the Commission's work, (2) the German proposal about the last paragraph of Article 8 of the Covenant (" The Members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military, naval, and air programmes and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to war-like purposes ") was taken note of and commended to the various Governments, and (3) the President of the Commission was left free to decide when it would be expedient to convene the next session of the Commission.

The work was therefore adjourned *sine die*. The interesting thing was not that the session had spent itself without tangible achievement, but that the emptiness was made the occasion of regret, and even of surprise, by the faithful. The regret and the surprise were both unintelligent, and as such were of no use to the League. The satisfactory thing was that the League of Nations had kept on pioneering—not an easy achievement—through the long years of America's sulking in her tent. The meeting of the League's Disarmament Commission was adjourned as the intimation came from across the Atlantic that Mr. Kellogg was about to take his part in the work. There can be no better tribute to those stalwart Europeans who have made their sustained pilgrimages to Geneva than this, that they have slogged at work that can be finished only with America's help, and have slogged at it through nine fatuous years of American abstention. Yet there is a beam in Europe's eye. By a peculiarly European paradox the nations of Europe (except the " enemy " nations defeated on the battlefield of the last war, and except Great Britain defeated on every other field by enemies, allies, and associates alike) maintain a prodigious reserve of men trained for war. One has become tired of the irrelevant but general comments of certain Geneva enthusiasts who blame the British Government for most things. One of the real obstacles to disarmament is a European obstacle. France and her 100 per cent. system of universal conscription is only typical of Europe as a whole outside of Great Britain and of Germany. The propaganda which flings mud at Great Britain because she (1) refuses to underwrite any and every danger in Europe after the Locarno manner, and (2) refused to accept the Gibson proposal last July, is known to be unfair by every European statesman, yet the propaganda goes on without disapproval from those who know that it is the worst possible form of disservice to the cause of disarmament. As long as the present tactic continues in most of the European countries of maintaining a trained military reserve consisting of the entire manhood population, the League of Nations Disarmament Conference must remain a dim and distant mirage.

The Effect of Nahas Pasha.

Mustapha Nahas Pasha appears to have emulated the achievement of Mr. Winkle, who shot at the crow and wounded the pigeon. He began his duties as the new Prime Minister of Egypt on March 18th, made an immediate statement to the Cairo correspondent of the *Times*, explaining that the best guarantee for British interests in Egypt was a friendly Egypt " on the same footing of equality," and on March 30th delivered a Note to Lord Lloyd. " Your Excellency," it ran, " I have the honour to inform you that I have taken cognisance of the aide-memoire which your Excellency delivered to my predecessor in regard to certain legislative proposals made to Parliament which you considered as probably calculated to weaken in a serious manner the power of the administrative authorities responsible for the maintenance of order and the protection of persons and property in Egypt." That was the first paragraph, pitched in a key of confident and didactic stiffness. The second paragraph recalled the warning transmitted from London that " H.M.G. cannot permit the discharge of any of their responsibilities under the declaration of February 28th, 1922, to be endangered, whether by Egyptian legislation of the nature indicated above or by administrative action, and that it reserves the right to take such steps as in its view the situation may demand." In the next paragraph Nahas Pasha expressed the Egyptian Government's " deep regret " that " it has been confronted with the aide-memoire of March 4th, which does not correspond with its frank willingness to develop and fortify the bonds of friendship which should govern the relations between Great Britain and Egypt." He next let off his squib, a damp squib, as he was later to discover, in this pronouncement: " Considered from the point of view of international law, the aide-memoire is an evident departure from the rules admitted in matters of diplomatic intervention which cannot, without a complete change of character, give to the intervening State a right of control over acts of the other State." Having thus, as he thought, disposed of the anachronism of British intervention in Egypt, he proceeded (lest apparently the British Government should feel concern about British interests under the new order thus proclaimed) to reassure Great Britain that all would be well. " In fact," ran his next paragraph, " the

Egyptian Government has always endeavoured to convey to British subjects, as to foreigners in general, the clear impression that it watches over their security and tranquillity, and that the protection of their interests is the object of its particular solicitude. In this connection the well-defined inclinations of Parliament would make this protection an imperative duty of the Egyptian Government if it were not itself deeply and traditionally inspired by them. The Egyptian Government, both by its declarations and its acts, has constantly given proof that foreigners can count in Egypt not only on treatment in no way inferior to that which they could find in other countries, but also on a courteous hospitality which is one of the distinctive features of the Egyptian people." And so on, in a crescendo of assurance which ended with these brave words: "As the Government of a sovereign and independent State, it [the Egyptian Government] is fully conscious of the duties which devolve upon it. It intends to fulfil them strictly and with the help of God to the satisfaction of all."

There is something pathetic as well as deplorable in that stage of evolution, whether of certain individuals or of certain nations, where the protégé, suffering from a perverted sense of pride, finds irksome the memory of an obligation to his protector. Gratitude seems to be a difficult, instead of an easy, state of mind in the case of some persons, and of some nations, who have benefited by the services of others. In the case of Egypt the prosperous assurance which enabled Nahas Pasha to address the British Government as he addressed it on March 30th was largely the result of British services, diplomatic, financial, technical, to Egypt during half a century. The British Government, in such a case, has the mature quality of long experience. Whitehall was completely undisturbed by Nahas Pasha's ungracious communication. Its irrelevant violence was not even regarded as an occasion for surprise. When Nahas Pasha formed his Wafd Government his political capital was his reaction from the Sarwat policy of accommodation with Great Britain. The content of his first communication to the British Government was, therefore, a foregone conclusion. It was 100 per cent. Wafd-like. Nor was it politically practical for him to be less than 100 per cent. Wafd-like, if only because none of his predecessors, not even Sarwat Pasha, had ever accepted the full logical implication of the 1922 bargain. They accepted one side of the bargain, namely the continuing services of Great Britain to Egypt, but never conceded the corollary that Great Britain retained any resultant status in Egypt. In one way the effect of Nahas was rather in the direction of consistency, bringing us back to the period when, in 1921, Lord Allenby left Egypt with his resignation in his pocket.

Yet, as British official thought had tried for nine months to make clear, the 1922 declaration was a fact which could not be ignored as simply as Nahas apparently wanted to ignore it. Nahas, in effect, invited the British Government to tear up its declaration of 1922, and to withdraw bag and baggage from Egypt. The matter is not so simple. The very Constitution on which Nahas now relies for the passing of his Wafdist measures about arms, local authority, and the right of assembly, is based on, and proceeds from, the 1922 instrument. That fact, it is true, would not matter much if Nahas could simply ignore the origins of his Constitution. He cannot. Other foreign Powers besides Great Britain are concerned. Both Italy and France, since 1922, have asked if the British guarantee of foreign security in Egypt could be relied on, and have stated that no other guarantee would satisfy them. Their misgiving has been due, not to the intransigence, but to the elasticity of British diplomacy towards Egypt during the past five years. By simply repudiating 1922 Nahas puts his head in the sand. If he, from that position, cannot see the implications of 1922, it does not follow that others, whose heads are not buried in the sand, do not see it. When a certain Labour member of the British Parliament not long ago visited Cairo to sound Wafd opinion about the feasibility of withdrawing British protection, he was surprised to find that the supposition of, say, an Italian protection of Italian interests in Egypt was provocative of more Wafd emotion than had ever been caused by controversy with Great Britain. Not only did he find that Italian "intervention" in Egypt would be less attractive than British intervention; he found that Wafd opinion would not consent to any form of Italian supervision whatever.

The British Government is pledged to secure Italian and other foreign interests in Egypt. There have been incidents in Egypt during the past five years which need not be recalled in their ghastly details, but which conclusively show that foreign lives and foreign property cannot be secured by an Egyptian paper guarantee. It is an axiom of British official thought, that if and when Egypt develops to the point where she can effectively guarantee respect for all legitimate foreign interests, British protection will be proportionately withdrawn. Moreover, in the recent draft Treaty of Alliance, drawn up by Sir Austen Chamberlain and by Sarwat Pasha, the British Government offered to help in the revision of the Capitulations, and in enabling Egypt to become a member of the League of Nations.

Is Egypt competent to maintain order? Does Nahas or any serious person in Cairo believe that if his projected Omdah Law, which would transfer the responsibility for maintaining local order

from the Ministry of the Interior to the local mayors, were made effective, the water supply of Egypt would be secure? It has been a cardinal principle of the British-Egyptian policy since 1922 to keep the control of Egypt's vitally important water supply in the hands of the Central Government and to strengthen that Government's control over the whole of Egypt. It may be that Nahas never thought out the practical effect of his Omdah Law, but it seems odd that at the outset of his bid for Egyptian integrity he should sponsor a measure which would weaken his own authority and raise civil issues affecting the very life of Egypt. His other projects—the removal of all restrictions against the carrying of arms by all and sundry, and the granting of the unrestricted right of assembly—are a terrifying prospect to all who know how little the Egyptian political genius is characterised by stability or by self-control.

On April 4th the British Government made its answer to Nahas Pasha's Note of March 30th. Patiently but firmly it reminded Nahas that the problem is not a 100 per cent. Egyptian affair. It corrected the misconceptions of the Nahas Note about the relations existing between Great Britain and Egypt. It reminded the Egyptian Government of the content of the 1922 declaration, reproduced verbatim the text of the four reserved points, underlined the British undertaking to protect Egypt from foreign aggression as well as to protect foreign interests in Egypt, referred to the Egyptian rejection of the Sarwat-Chamberlain draft treaty which would have superseded the 1922 reservation, and ended thus: "The Egyptian Government having refused that treaty, the *status quo ante* continues. The position to-day is, therefore, the same as when the Ramsay MacDonald-Zaglul negotiations broke down, except in so far as it has been modified by the Notes exchanged in November, 1924. The reserved points remain reserved to the absolute discretion of His Majesty's Government on these matters."

Between the delivery of the Nahas Note of March 30th and the British answer of April 4th there came indications from Cairo of an uneasy spirit among the supporters of Nahas Pasha. Lame attempts were made to inspire the belief that the Nahas Note was not as bad as the summaries had made it out to be. Since April 4th all has been quiet. The Wafd was clearly relieved that the British Note was so restrained. Having, in haste, defied or thought to defy Great Britain, Nahas Pasha has, at leisure, discovered that all he has done is to destroy the building done since 1922 of the very edifice of Egyptian independence which he affects to desire. His much ado was about nothing much.

April 15th, 1928. GEORGE GLASGOW.

No. 320. *May, 1928.*

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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LORD CURZON.*

Lord Ronaldshay has discharged the first portion of his formidable task with conspicuous success. Praising without flattery, and blaming without harshness, he builds up the living image of a man born for greatness. Nobody could say of Curzon, as Burke said of Fox, that he was made to be loved; for his unconcealed ambition and his challenging consciousness of his own superiority produced their inevitable reactions. Yet, though never a popular figure, his devotion to the public service, his thoroughness in all that he undertook, and his courageous triumph over physical disabilities won him the respect of friend and foe. Moreover we learn from these pages that, like Pitt, he could unbend among his intimates and become a natural human being, full of fun and frivolity, craving companionship and affection. His love for Mary Leiter was the romance of his life, and revealed the emotional side of an unusually complex temperament.

The present instalment of a three-volume biography, which brings us to the threshold of the Viceroyalty at the age of 39, is a story of roses, roses all the way. The author rightly describes as meteoric the performances of his hero's precocious youth. Curzon was almost a celebrity before he left Eton, and at Oxford he "flashed like a comet across the horizon of undergraduate political life." As President of the Union he already possessed the burnished self-confidence and the power of ornate speech which seemed to herald a speedy rise to the loftiest positions in the State.

* *The Life of Lord Curzon.* By the Earl of Ronaldshay. Vol. I. Benn. 21s.

The wise and kindly Jowett warned him against his besetting sin of prolixity; but he loved the magic of the written and spoken word, and his style remained Corinthian to the end. While some of our leaders, like Disraeli and Gladstone, constructed their creed brick by brick, the maturity of Curzon, like that of Lord John Russell, was but the fulfilment of his boyish dreams. "Neither character nor plan of life was built up slowly from year to year; both were ready-made from an unusually early date, and remained singularly little affected by the external incidents of his subsequent history." He dedicated himself from boyhood to the service of the Empire, and no lover's vow was ever more faithfully observed.

The record of Curzon's journeys round the world and the analysis of his three classical works on Transcaucasia, Persia and the Far East, fill several chapters, while the story of his rapid rise to Parliamentary fame completes the picture of his schooling for the glittering prize to which, when once the East had laid its irresistible spell upon him, he reached out his eager hands. The Conservative Party rejoiced in its brilliant recruit and rewarded him with the Under-Secretaryship for India in 1891 and the Under-Secretaryship of the Foreign Office in 1895. His speeches in the House and the country were heard and studied with a degree of attention rarely accorded to the effusions of a subordinate; for he was armed at all points for the encounter, and he parried supplementaries with the dexterity of a professional gladiator. The House respected his abilities, but never took him to its heart. It was in vain that Labouchere implored him to realise that he was not "a divinity addressing black beetles"; for the Under-Secretary was acutely aware of his shining talents, which were gratefully acknowledged by his chief.

To the historian the chapters on his three years at the Foreign Office are the most valuable in the book, and it is interesting to learn how widely he sometimes dissented from the cautious policy and methods of Salisbury. He complained that the Foreign Office was "so very deferential and polite," and described the Prime Minister as "that strange, powerful, inscrutable, brilliant, obstructive deadweight at the top." Curzon was a Russophobe of the Disraeli school, and he panted for a quicker *tempo* and a firmer hand in the diplomatic battles with Russia in the Far East. All the keener was his satisfaction when he persuaded the Government to occupy Wei-hai-Wei during the scramble for China in 1898. His religion was the might and majesty of the British Empire, and it was in the conviction that at a critical moment he could serve it better than any other candidate that he asked Lord Salisbury for the Viceroyalty in 1897 and again in 1898. The granting of his request was to open the most brilliant chapter of a memorable career.

G.P.G.

A VIEW OF THE FRIARS.*

The Second Volume of Dr. Coulton's great work on *Five Centuries of Religion* carries the story, begun in Volume I, on through the period from A.D. 1200 to 1400, and is chiefly concerned with the rise and work of the Friars. His account of St. Francis and St. Dominic is prefaced by chapters dealing with the condition of the Monastic Orders at the time of their appearance. The treatment of the position of the monasteries in the social and the economic order of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is particularly full and careful. Dr. Coulton makes an exhaustive survey of every scrap of available evidence, both English and Continental, sifts and weighs it carefully and presents the results in a dispassionate account that exaggerates nothing and extenuates nothing. He leads up to his main theme by a valuable account of the precursors of St. Francis. His portrayal of St. Francis and St. Dominic is sympathetic, and he does justice to the greatness of the Religious Movements they originated.

Yet, as might be expected, the author is unsparing in his exposure of the decay which too quickly followed the early promise both of the Franciscans and of the Dominicans. Not only are ample references provided in footnotes, but extensive appendices are supplied which serve not only to establish the conclusions of the text but also furnish valuable guidance to students engaged in research. Naturally the work will not be altogether pleasing either to ecclesiastical enthusiasts or to Romanticists. The aim of the author in this, as in all his works, is to get at, and present, the hard facts, stripping them bare of all sentimental or superstitious glamour. In this task Dr. Coulton is not only thorough in his investigation, but seeks to be scrupulously just to individuals and impartial in his statement of facts. So careful is he that he publishes at the beginning of this second volume a lengthy list of *Errata* and corrections of the first.

The conclusions that are drawn from the mass of evidence that is available are, after all, not surprising. The inspiration of great religious movements exhausts itself in their later history. The organisation that seeks to preserve the inspiration, and to give effects to the movement, stifles the former and stereotypes the latter. The secular characteristics of any age inevitably affect religious life and ecclesiastical institutions. The abbot and the monk conformed in the main to the economic and social standards of their time. If elect souls among the "Religious" rose immeasurably above the ordinary level of their times, as they

* *Five Centuries of Religion.* By G. G. Coulton. Vol. II, "The Friars and the Dead Weight of Tradition." Cambridge University Press. 31s. 6d. net.

undoubtedly did, yet the rank and file, while protected by the cloister from some of the temptations of the world, were only the more exposed to others by the artificial conditions of their life. England and the Continent owed much to the learning of the Benedictines, to the zeal and humanity of the Franciscans, and to the teaching of the Dominicans. Yet, notwithstanding this, the adverse judgment of their contemporaries in the period of decline is borne out by the evidence. Dr. Coulton has put all those who seek historic truth under a great debt of obligation to him, and the results of his laborious research are indispensable to those who study the religious and social conditions of mediæval times.

J.S.L.

* * *

CHRISTIANITY AND THE STATE.*

Dr. Temple, in these extremely interesting lectures, seems anxious to obtain for all of us the benefit of the best of two worlds, the world in which sovereignty exists in the sense that it involves the operation of a universal and unvarying Rule of Law, and the world in which sovereignty is a fact subordinated to groups of voluntary associations which it nominally holds together. The lecture which gives the title to the book lays deserved stress on the great Spinoza's political philosophy, which declared that the State, by the very fact of its existence, strives to preserve that existence and its essential life, and that, therefore, between the State or ruler of the State and the subjects of the State there is an inviolable reciprocity aiming at an ordered liberty which is the goal of government. Spinoza, in fact, anticipated the revelation of the historic evolution of States from their tribal or kinship basis. His doctrine was not an induction from facts, because he did not know the facts. It was rather an induction from the qualities of the individual with which Spinoza (in common with other thinkers) endowed and accurately endowed the State. Dr. Temple regards this as a critical effort, and perhaps that view may be accepted, but whatever the process, Spinoza arrived at the truth.

It is interesting to compare this great intellectual effort with the doctrine of Althusias, who died in 1638, a doctrine revived by Professor Duguit and others at the present time.

> It was Althusius " who first developed a federal theory of sovereignty by conceiving the State as a corporation of corporations—a conception which plainly involves a rather elaborate form of contract. But with this introduction of the subordinate associations or corporations we hear the first intimations of a theory of the State which is coming to its own only in our own day."

* *Christianity and the State.* By William Temple, Bishop of Manchester. *Being the Henry Scott Holland Memorial Lectures delivered in Liverpool in January and February,* 1928. Macmillan. 4s. 6d. net.

This doctrine is as certainly wrong as that of Spinoza is right. It is not only wrong but dangerous, inasmuch as it inevitably leads to the sapping of the Rule of Law upon which the whole of society, as we now understand it and as history has always understood it, depends. The doctrine is not the less wrong because voluntary associations may be admirable things. The Church at its best as a voluntary association is an admirable institution and did much to re-create European society. The Trades-Union at its best is an admirable institution and has endowed organised Labour with its appropriate dignity. The Religious Orders at their best are admirable institutions. But these and analogous voluntary associations were and are capable of terrible abuses, and might be and have been not only international, cutting across the whole conception of State life—which is almost infinitely older than any of them, since it is in direct heredity from tribal and kinship life—but directly antagonistic to State life. The Bishop of Manchester cites many instances of voluntary associations, but he does not mention two that have deep historical lessons for all modern peoples. One is the Order of the Knights Templars. They formed a mediæval international order, and in their day the Templars did good work, but in the thirteenth century they had become an international cancer eating out national life in every country in Europe. The French successive campaigns against the Knights Templars have been condemned as brutal, as indeed they were; but if ever brutality was justified as a great act of self-protective polity, the rooting out of this Order was justified. Another instance is that of Continental Freemasonry, against which the Vatican—another international voluntary association—has waged ceaseless war. Whatever the merits of the contest it is clear that the very fact of the struggle is inimical to State life.

If Bodin was right, as indeed he was historically right, in defining the State as " an aggregation of families and their common possessions, ruled by a sovereign power and by reason," a definition that accords in essence with Spinoza's view, then voluntary associations must be absolutely within the control of the sovereign power of the State or they are a danger to the State. From one point of view that was the onus of the sixteenth-century Reformation—and not only in England. A voluntary association had not only got beyond the power of the State, but was prepared to defy, in any country, the State. A society organised as a State must possess exclusive sovereignty in its own house and must demand, and secure, from even the best and noblest voluntary association, entire obedience to the laws of that society. The laws

may seem—nay, may be—unjust. It is open to a society, especially in modern times, to strive for the repeal of laws that seem, or are, unjust. But the motion for such change must be constitutional. It must not proceed from any association that claims equality of power with the sovereign power of the State.

Now, Dr. Temple seems to attempt to reconcile the freedom of the individual with the existence of an omnicompetent State by a curious compromise. He writes: "By God's appointment we are free spirits; by His appointment also we are 'members one of another.' The whole problem of politics, the whole art of statesmanship, is to do full justice to both those principles without the sacrifice of either in the varying circumstances of successive ages." He goes on to say that "the State does not and cannot control the whole of social life," but he admits that the distinguishing mark of the State is "its self-expression through Law." He considers that "the first result of the emancipation of Politics from a theoretical religious control was the rise of national sovereignty as the one means of securing the liberty and order, which alone make social life possible. Like most reactions, the movement in this direction was exaggerated and went some way towards a return to the rigidity of the primitive community." This is a strange statement. The primitive community was the germ of organised life. All the rest grew out of it. It was not rigid at all in such great tribal communities as those of Italy and Greece. But the Bishop of Manchester, from these mixed and doubtful premises, declares that the theory of the omnicompetence of the State "has so far outlived any correspondence with the actual facts that it is become partly ludicrous and partly perilous." That is a strange saying to-day when it is only the fact—not theory—of omnicompetence and adequate devolution of authority that preserves alive the Rule of Law which the Bishop of Manchester regards as all-important. Bolshevism is rejected by Dr. Temple, and yet Bolshevism, or some other form of class-tyranny, is an inevitable part of a system in which there is no omnicompetence in the State. Voluntary associations, be they religious or social, can flourish most healthily in a State where the Rule of Law is universal in that State and is not liable to dictation from an Industrial Parliament or a Church Assembly or any group of voluntary associations. The State is not, and never can be, a mere measure of groups of voluntary associations. It is a Sovereign Power. It has not merely "a derived existence and a conditional authority." It is something that is above parties. It is the essence of national life and is the fruit of the labour of unnumbered centuries. Beside it all voluntary associations are temporary and evanescent things.

J. E. G. DE M.

A SERVANT OF THE CHURCH.*

It is well that a biography of Herbert Edward Ryle should be published, and that it should be published while the fragrance of his memory is fresh. As the Archbishop of Canterbury says in the Appreciation which introduces the volume, the late Bishop was "one whom we loved and honoured as a ripe scholar, an inspiring teacher, a devout and humble-minded holder of high office, and one of the most genuine and honest of Christian friends." Here the stress is rightly laid rather upon what Herbert Ryle was than upon what he did, upon his personal influence rather than upon his actual achievement. In his case, therefore, delay would have seriously diminished the value of the *Life*, as the colours must needs fade and those who knew and loved him pass away.

His record is that of noble character and high competence as teacher, administrator and adviser, rather than of outstanding achievement. Yet, as his biographer sums up, while "courage and patience, sympathy and affection, modesty and humility, reverence and devotion, a calm judgment and a strong sense of duty, are in themselves no very exceptional traits of character," yet "it is rare to find all these combined in a single individual; more rarely still are they combined in such perfect harmony and proportion."

The Bishop has been fortunate in his biographer, for Mr. Fitzgerald had been brought into close relationship with him as his chaplain in the Diocese of Winchester, and this official association ripened into a close and affectionate friendship. Hence the Memoir is marked throughout by intimate knowledge and true insight, as well as by good taste, literary skill and a sense of proportion.

Herbert Ryle owed much to his father, Dr. J. C. Ryle, the doughty evangelical Bisop of Liverpool, for, though the son moved towards the Right in his ecclesiastical standpoint, and towards the Left in Biblical criticism, yet he was imbued from first to last by the reverent piety and the unquestioning faith which characterised the father. His career was brilliant throughout despite the constitutional delicacy which again and again beset him. Great positions opened to him in rapid succession and without effort on his part as soon as he had taken his degree at Cambridge. The fellowship of King's, the principalship of Lampeter, the Hulsean professorship, the presidency of Queen's College, led up in quick succession to the Bishopric of Exeter, to the translation, after two years, to that of Winchester, and, when his health failed, to the Deanery of Westminster, which gave him a final opportunity of conspicuous service during the closing years of his life.

* *A Memoir of Herbert Edward Ryle, sometime Bishop of Winchester and Dean of Westminster.* By the Rev. Maurice H. Fitzgerald. Macmillan. 15s. net.

Yet, from first to last, high offices sought him rather than he them, for he was distinguished throughout by a total lack of self-seeking, by modesty, and by an eager readiness for every kind of service. Had his qualities been less balanced or marked by originality in any one particular direction, these transitions would have been too rapid for effective work and permanent influence. As it was, however, he was destined and fitted to exercise a pervasive influence rather than to accomplish any outstanding task.

Perhaps his most valuable contributions to the Church of England and to religious life were rendered by the early influence of his teaching in breaking down the stubborn prejudice against the Higher Criticism of the Old Testament, by his work in making Westminster Abbey more than ever a great spiritual centre of national life, and by his wise influence in the higher counsels of the Church.

The memory of Bishop Herbert Ryle will long be treasured for the simplicity and sincerity, the manliness and the purity of his character as well as for the tenderness, sympathy and loyalty which endeared him to a large circle of friends, high and low. His Christian faith shaped his character and conduct from first to last. Indeed, except in so far as the Higher Criticism of the Old Testament was concerned, modern thought with its problems and perplexities seems hardly to have touched his mind, still less to have troubled his spirit. It was as teacher, pastor and sagacious adviser that he chiefly excelled. He realised the ideal of an Anglican bishop in such a simple and unreserved consecration of all-round gifts as lays claim to spiritual greatness. Hence this Memoir is to be welcomed and studied with deep thankfulness for its subject and gratitude to its author.

J.S.L.

* * *

ROSSEL ISLAND: AN ETHNOLOGICAL STUDY.*

The material for this very valuable study was collected in 1921 during a stay of about two months on Rossel island or Yela, the most easterly of the Louisade Group of Papua or New Guinea. Mr. Armstrong, who was formerly assistant anthropologist to the Government of Papua, tells us that the island occupies a position of peculiar isolation, and for this reason the material (from its freedom from contacts) is peculiarly valuable. There is no tradition of voyaging and exchange between the island and the New Guinea

* *Rossel Island: An Ethnological Study.* By W. E. Armstrong. With an Introduction by A. C. Haddon. Cambridge: At the University Press. 18s. net.

area. It is as unaffected as the Andaman Islands were for centuries. "Both language and culture on Rossel differ profoundly" from the general type in the archipelago. The island contains about 100 square miles, with a maximum length of twenty miles, and breadth ten, and it has a population of about 1,500 persons. Comparatively little was known of the island until Mr. Armstrong's visit, and there have been very varying views as to the character of the inhabitants, Sir William Macgregor in 1890 regarding them as harmless, while the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. J. H. P. Murray, in 1908, spoke badly of them. Mr. Bell, in a report of the same year, gives some useful information as to their stage of culture and their organisation.

Dr. A. C. Haddon, in his valuable introduction, regards the non-Melanesian language spoken in the island as belonging to the aboriginal inhabitants, "but, if not, it must almost certainly have been introduced by the earliest of subsequent invaders." Mr. Armstrong has shown that the inhabitants have much in common with the southern group of British New Guinea, with, however, a strong infusion of the taller and paler northern group. There is a distinct pygmy element, and actual pygmies occur, but no distinct pygmy group can be isolated. The mythology seems to indicate the early minglings of peoples, since Wonajö, the supreme deity, a snake by day, who lives on the highest mountains of Rossel, invited the dark snake-god, Mbasi of Sudest Island, to visit Rossel, and the legend declares that the islanders are descended from his marriage with Könjini, a fair-skinned girl of Rossel. The legend declares that the pair instituted exogamic clan-divisions, and Mbasi gave each class its particular totem. It is declared that Wonajö had two each of the three linked totems (that is to say, two plants, two birds, and two fishes). Each mortal had a plant totem with the appropriate fish and bird, and a special association with a particular god from whom the totems were given, thus making a fourth totem. When the totems had been given, matrilinear descent was established.

The reference to the "fair-skinned girl" of Rossel inevitably leads the mind to the Tusuns of Borneo, who have very fair skins, and in some cases the girls of this tribal grouping have even rosy cheeks. It might be that Rossel, like Borneo, contained elements of an early dispersion of pale-faced people. These Borneo people exhibit deep-rooted traces of matriarchy, and their religious ceremonies are performed by priestesses; they show also the elementary beginnings of a totemic cult. They are, like the Rossel Islanders, a snake-people—that is to say, they do not eat snakes. These links may be important as indicating the original lines of dispersal of a pale-faced people from South-East Asia. But there is another

point of importance. The Tusuns of Borneo seem to be the residue of a people that began to disperse before the classificatory system of relationship had begun to secure adoption. The evidence secured (by admirable methods of scientific research by Mr. Armstrong) seems, at any rate to the present writer, to show that the Rossel islanders are in almost the earliest stage of the classificatory system. It is in so early a stage that " marriage on Rossel is inconsistent with a class system, and there is no exogamous or endogamous grouping of clans." Moreover, Mr. Armstrong is inclined to think that " the distinction of elder and younger brother (and sister) is not of importance on Rossel, as regards the determination of relationship," though it is of importance in British New Guinea. Moreover, " avoidance " is in a very different stage to that which we see in Australia. The theory that in Rossel, or, indeed, in such parts of Melanesia as Banks Islands, where a man can marry a mother's brother's widow, we can find the dregs of a former class system, does not find favour with Mr. Armstrong. It is true that he regards the Rossel system as a later stage of the breakdown of a class system than is the case in Banks Island, but he adds that " there is insufficient evidence in the relationship terminology of any particular kind of former class system, and therefore still less is such evidence to be expected in the case of Rossel." Would it not be reasonable to suppose that in the case of Banks Islands and Rossel we see the very beginnings of a class system with its protective methods in holding together the kinship groupings? We know that there must have been a time when a particular group of kinship groupings gradually adopted the classificatory system that distinguishes them from westward-moving races that show no sign of the system. It would be particularly interesting to light upon existing evidence of the earliest forms of the classificatory idea.

We see the inter-marrying groups evolve in New Guinea, on Melville Island and on the Northern coast of Australia. They are not directly associated with the totemic groups, though these also are exogamous. The earliest form of the classificatory system, reinforced by economic totemism, naturally led to kinship groupings that regulated marriage. There seems to have been a stage, indicated by the Australian Kunapippi legend as to the creation of classes, sub-classes and totem groupings, where the whole business reached a more or less fixed stage in Central Australia. In Bathurst and Melville we see a definite stage in the fact that each grouping occupies a well-defined area. It is not an altogether absurd hypothesis to suggest that a pale race dispersing from South-East Asia, where it left traces in Borneo, had not yet begun to adopt for self-protective purposes the classificatory system, but that when it

reached New Guinea and the Melanesian archipelago it had begun to adopt it, that the obvious conveniences of the system became evident to the tribes which struck south across the Torres Straits, and that economic conditions in Central Australia made the system with its economic totemistic accompaniments a necessity. The invaluable evidence provided by Mr. Armstrong does not at any rate invalidate such a working hypothesis.

Only one aspect of this remarkable book has been touched on here. The chapter on the monetary system is of great value, and perhaps adds proof that the human type represented by " the fair-haired girl of Rossel " was as intellectual as the Tusun tribes of Borneo and the Ibi tribes of New Guinea seem to show that stock to be. The chapter on marriage is full of interest, but perhaps it might have been noted that the institution of *ptyilibi* is quite a usual one in tribes of the most corrupted character and has no relationship to marriage, though in some debased tribes it is regarded as a forerunner of marriage. There are obvious explanations of this system. The criticism of Dr. Rivers' doctrine of absolute groups—such as a tribe or a village—is very just. It is confusing, and really ignores the fact that all human society evolved from kinship groupings of which all other groupings, in so far as they are vital and organic, are phases. The tribe as such is not really a fundamental or absolute group, as is well shown by the North-American evidence, where the same kinships permeate the tribes and make tribal confederacies possible.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

SIR THOMAS BROWNE.*

It is pleasant to turn to Sir Thomas Browne once more, and though his " Christian Morals " has been regarded as one of his lesser works and criticised for thinness of thought and turgidity of language, it is probably not justly open to either of these charges, and is, in fact, a wise old man's summary of his philosophy of life and death, lit with flashes of his amazing learning and adorned by passages of transcendent prose. Browne's " Religio Medici " was written about 1635 when the author was thirty years of age. The " Christian Morals " was certainly written in his old age, possibly not long before his death in 1682 at the age of 77, and was first printed in 1716. It contains various passages from the scarcely less famous " Letter to a Friend," which was also published posthumously in 1690. This fact seems to make it certain that it was the swan-song of the prose-poet.

* *Sir Thomas Browne's Christian Morals. The second edition with the life of the Author by Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* Edited with an Introduction and Notes by S. C. Roberts. Cambridge University Press. 6s. net.

That Browne's prose was as much a device of his own as was the prose of Thomas Carlyle is clear, and it is certainly far more pleasing and effective than that of the Victorian prophet. Mr. S. C. Roberts, in this edition of the "Christian Morals," follows the second edition of 1756 with the life of Browne, by Dr. Johnson, and it is helpful to read Johnson's criticism and praise before reading or re-reading the text. Johnson's prose has been compared with that of Browne, but, as Professor Saintsbury has pointed out, characteristic sentences of these authors "could only be compared, as regards rhythm, by one so dull of ear as to be *ab initio* disqualified." Mr. Roberts rightly adds: "Even to the layman it is clear, that while the symmetry of Johnson's prose architecture is the product of disciplined scholarship combined with an ear for linguistic cadence, the rhythmical triumphs of Sir Thomas Browne are the work of genius." Some brief passages from the "Christian Morals" well illustrate these rhythmical triumphs.

> Be not a *Hercules furens* abroad, and a poltroon within thyself. . . . And, therefore, while so many think it the only valour to command and master others, study thou the Dominion of thyself. . . . Fall not into that obsolete affectation of bravery, to throw away thy money, and to reject all honours or honourable stations in this courtly and splendid world. . . . Add one ray unto the common lustre; add not only to the number but the note of thy generation; and prove not a cloud but an asterisk in thy region . . . bright thoughts, clear deeds, constancy, fidelity, bounty, and generous honesty are the gems of noble minds; wherein, to derogate from none, the true heroick English gentleman hath no peer. . . . They do most by books, who could do much without them. . . . 'Tis better to think that there are guardian spirits, than that there are no spirits to guard us; that vicious persons are slaves, than that there is any servitude in virtue; that times past have been better than times present, than that times were always bad. . . . He who must needs have company, must needs have sometimes bad company. Be able to be alone. . . . To thoughtful observators, the whole world is a phylactery; and everything we see an item of the wisdom, power, or goodness of God. Happy are they who verify their amulets, and make their phylacteries speak in their lives and actions. . . . To forgive our enemies is a charming way of revenge, and a short Cæsarian conquest overcoming without a blow; laying our enemies at our feet, under sorrow, shame and repentance; leaving our foes our friends, and sollicitously inclined to graceful retaliations . . . live unto the dignity of thy nature, and leave it not disputable at last whether thou hast been a man.

Dr. Johnson summed up this noble physician of the seventeenth century in a phrase. The evidence of his life and of his opinions apparently concurred to prove that he was "a zealous adherent to the faith of Christ, that he lived in obedience to His laws, and died in confidence of His mercy." This little book of "Christian Morals" illustrates, in a singularly beautiful way, the view that Johnson held of this serene and almost seraphic author.

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ŒDIPUS THE KING.*

Mr. Yeats' striking version of the King Œdipus of Sophocles was written for action and not only for the study. He writes in his Preface:

> This version of Sophocles' play was written for Dublin players, for Dublin liturgical singers, for a small auditorium, for a chorus that must stand stock still where the orchestra are accustomed to put their chairs, for an audience where nobody comes for self-improvement or for anything but emotion. In other words, I put readers and scholars out of my mind and wrote to be sung and spoken. The one thing that I kept in mind was that a word unfitted for living speech, out of its natural order, or unnecessary to our modern technique, would check emotion and tire attention.

The play was produced on December 7th, 1926, at the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, and was an unqualified success. To what extent it can be compared with Greek tragedy produced in the original Greek, as at Bradfield in the open air, it is difficult to say. The Bradfield performances are very effective, and convey the sense of tragedy with the aid of music that seems wholly other than the music of our own time. But an English version, even with an Irish audience intent only on emotion, must have special devices if it is to hold the audience. No doubt there is a greater likeness between an Irish and a Greek audience than between (let us say) a London and a Greek audience. The story once driven home probably catches the melancholy emotionalism of the Irish very rapidly, and *Œdipus the King* is a very great play and can carry itself if once the attention of the audience is captured. For this version, with the limitations of the stage, Mr. Yeats determined that the chorus should serve a dramatic device. He writes:

> "If a chorus stands stock still in half-shadow music and singing should, perhaps, possess a variety of rhythm and pitch incompatible with dramatic intelligible words. The main purpose of the chorus is to preserve the mood while it rests the mind by change of attention.

That was not the main purpose in the mind of Sophocles or any other Greek dramatist. That purpose seems rather to have been

* *Sophocles' King Œdipus: A Version for the Modern Stage.* By W. B. Yeats. Macmillan. 2s. 6d. net.

monitorial and the expression of the opinion of the sovereign people in a tribal community. But however that may be, it is true that the chorus does " preserve the mood while it rests the mind by change of attention." That is its subjective goal, no doubt, and a necessary one in the case of audiences that sat all day in the sunshine watching with critical attention successive plays.

The text of Mr. Yeats' version will delight the study as much as the auditorium. The characters speak in prose, while the chorus as a rule sings in appropriate verse. The speech of the blind Tiresias as he is led from the Assembly is almost sickening, sickeningly ominous :

> The man for whom you look, the man you have been threatening in all the proclamations about the death of Laius, that man is here. He seems, so far as looks go, an alien; yet he shall be found a native Theban and shall no wise be glad of that fortune. A blind man, though now he has his sight; a beggar though now he is most rich; he shall go forth feeling the ground before him with his stick; so you go in and think on that, and if you find I am in fault say that I have no skill in prophecy.

" So you go in and think on that " : this is very Irish, very effective, and, indeed, very Greek. It is a foretaste of the final scene when Creon leads Œdipus into the palace and the chorus closes the dreadful play with the famous words :

> Make way for Œdipus. All people said
> " That is a fortunate man ";
> And now what storms are breaking on his head?
> Call no man fortunate that is not dead.
> The dead are free from pain.

It is indeed a fearful story, this tragedy of the king who wholly unawares killed his father and married his mother, a tragedy more dreadful than those enshrined in *Hamlet* and *King Lear,* where, after all, the purpose of punishment comes clear to our English eyes. In the Greek play it is the inevitableness of law, that law which punishes the innocent, which is the dreadful thing. The Hebrews knew that law and hopefully modified its operation. The Greek logical mind could make no such assumptions. The character-drawing brings out, touch by touch, the reign of law, the law to which we must adjust ourselves. The play in Mr. Yeats' hands brings out the dominance, the passion, the essential qualities of Œdipus, the heart-breaking womanliness of Jocasta, the fearful irony of Tiresias. The hopelessness of it all is perhaps the inward tragedy. Shakespeare felt that things are made even in Heaven, and found in that hope the resolution of all human tragedy. Sophocles had no such hopes. He painted the passions of men and women under the dominance of eternal laws, but he did not realise that there is in the hope of immortality something that can control

temporalities and the iron laws (of which the measure is sin) that rule our earthly lives. There must be equity in the Divine Mind. It is this equity that the Greek missed, and so created a tragedy within a tragedy. Mr. Yeats brings out the tragedy, the outer and the inner tragedy, in a fashion that Sophocles himself would have admired.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

Theodora Bosanquet's *Harriet Martineau** is an admirable study of a remarkable woman, who played an important part in the intellectual life of the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Winning fame in 1832, at the age of thirty, with her *Illustrations of Political Economy,* which popularised the classical economists and were studied by Queen Victoria, Harriet continued to pour forth books on an amazing variety of topics for forty years. Her history of the first half of the nineteenth century is still worth reading, and her skilful two-volume précis of Comte rendered the same service to the French sociologist that Dumont had rendered to Bentham a generation earlier. Her two works on the United States, inspired by a long visit in the thirties, were of considerable value to the anti-slavery cause, and her innumerable articles in the *Daily News* during her later life struck many a useful blow for much-needed social reforms. Of her novels, travels, biographical studies, autobiography and, indeed, of all her writings, important and unimportant, Miss Bosanquet provides concise and critical analysis. To some readers, though not for the present writer, the tone of the book may appear a little too cool, and there is certainly no disposition to overestimate the value of what Carlyle called her " meagre didacticalities." Harriet was always eager to teach what she had learned from others, and her conviction of the infallibility of her opinions was profound. She possessed an unoriginal but powerful and well-stored mind, and commanded a fluent and persuasive pen, which statesmen, reformers and thinkers were always delighted to have on their side. Rationalist though she believed herself to be, she threw herself whole-heartedly into mesmerism, to which her bad health gave a keen personal interest. Her abandonment of her Unitarian faith, and her propaganda for what was denounced as aggressive atheism, led to a sharp attack by her famous brother James, and completed the breach between them. The latter's long letter written for the *Daily News* after her death is printed as an Appendix, and forms a valuable supplement to a book marked by wide knowledge, independent judgment, and an excellent style.

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Canon Woodward has written an exceedingly helpful book on " Christ in the Common Ways of Life "† which ordinary men and women can grasp and apply to their everyday life. The author, by stating as simply as possible Christ's teaching to the multitude of His day, which is the same yesterday, to-day and for ever,

* Etchells & Macdonald, 1a Kensington Place, W.8. 15s.
† Longmans. 2s. 6d. net.

hopes to reach and help those who find difficulty in doing the right thing and (as the Bishop of London says in his Introduction) " are looking for a standard by which to test their actions, for fixed principles to apply to the ever-changing problems of life, for an ideal towards which to train their characters." Believing that Christianity can, and does, influence the lives of those who endeavour to follow the teaching and precepts of the Master, the author of this book strives to show that it must permeate the everyday life if it is to mean anything. He shows how simple Christ's teaching was, and is, so that all who run may read, but how far-reaching. There is no escape from it, and if we would be Christian in more than name, we must learn the alphabet of our faith, which is love to God, the first and great commandment. But then the old question comes, again and yet again, how can we love God Whom we have not seen? The answer flashes back, love your brother whom you have seen, love all God's good gifts, in nature, in human nature, and above all, in His manifestation of Himself in Christ: rise from the Visible to the Invisible, from the Finite to the Infinite, from the Temporal to the Eternal, Whom thus having not seen ye love. The aim of this book is most practical. Canon Woodward deals with the underlying principle in all Christ's teaching, and in a dozen short chapters applies His teaching to all sorts and conditions of life: " The Child-like Spirit," " The Spirit of Service," " Daily Work " and also such subjects as " Amusements," " Money," " Citizenship " and " The Enabling Spirit," ending with " The Vision of The Kingdom " which we daily pray may come. There is nothing narrow in the outlook of this work. At the same time the author points out that to be a Christian in spirit and in truth, is, to take up one's cross daily and follow Christ. " This is," as Canon Woodward says, " where God comes in."

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Mrs. Rosalie Hare's noteworthy journal concerning " The Voyage of The Caroline from England to Van Diemen's Land and Batavia in 1827-28 "* makes the reader realise what a wonderful century has elapsed since Captain and Mrs. Hare set sail in the good ship *Caroline* of Calcutta on June 1st, 1827. The journal, or diary, was originally intended for the benefit of Mrs. Hare's brothers and sisters at home in Ipswich, that they might be able to follow her voyaging and to enjoy the sights she had seen. Well, and naturally, they were noted down daily by the young wife still in her teens: she was only eighteen when she left England. Education over a hundred years ago was evidently not always the poor sort of stuff that we sometimes imagine; there were many good private schools which sent out girls well equipped to be the mothers and first teachers of children who were destined to make a great mark in life. Many autobiographies are evidence of careful home education. " Examinations " (as Mr. Fisher, the late Minister of Education, said lately) " the youth of that day was exempt from." It was not the end-all of school life a hundred years ago. Mrs. Rosalie Hare is a good example of this ordinary education. The facsimile reproductions of her handwriting in the Journal show that caligraphy was an art cultivated a century ago. It is to authors of this type that we are indebted for much of our

* Longmans. 15s. net.

knowledge of the pioneer work which was accomplished in our colonies in the early days of the Empire. Mrs. Hare has earned our gratitude by her vivid description of the countries at which the *Caroline* touched, and the almost unknown route through which her husband, Captain Hare, sailed the *Caroline*. They passed through many dangers, and could say with St. Paul: " In perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils of the heathen, in perils in the wilderness, beside those things which are without "; but they came through in safety, and arrived at Portsmouth, January 9th, 1828. The *Caroline* was a brig of 330 tons, built at Calcutta in 1825. Mr. Chapman owned her, and " after Captain Hare's appointment to command her, she was chartered by the Van Diemen's Land Company to convey passengers, livestock, and stores to Van Diemen's Land as Tasmania was then called." The contract with the Company soon ceased, and the voyage to Batavia was taken in the owner's interest. " Yet it was the voyage to Circular Head that made the name of the *Caroline* memorable and gave her a place among the pioneer ships of our Empire." The illustrations are good, the portraits of natives of Tasmania—the last of their race—are of real value as, indeed, are those of the Javanese. The chapter on Sir Francis Drake's expedition to Java in the *Golden Hind*, in November, 1579, described from his journal, illustrates well Captain Hare's adventures on the coast of Java. The careful editing and the additional chapters by " Ida Lee " (Mrs. Charles Bruce Marriott) enhance the value of this book as a footnote to the earlier history of two most interesting regions in the Pacific.

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Sir John Adams in his valuable work, *Errors in School: Their Causes and Treatment*,* deals in a characteristically competent and delightful manner with a subject that is of the first importance to teachers who " cannot be expected to plunge into the depths of the metaphysical maelstrom involved in the discussion of the ultimate problems of truth and error." We are given a practical idea of the standard of truth. It is the harmony of the interaction between the inner worlds of the personality and the outer world. " So long as the action of the internal world leads to the expected result in the outer world, we are in the path of truth. So soon as unexpected results follow, we are in the domain of error." This assumes the universality of law operating in the relations of the personality and the environment. " The wise educator is continually taking soundings in the inner world of his educands. . . . By a process of interpretation the teacher can acquire a fairly accurate knowledge of the mental-content of his pupils, and plan his work accordingly." Errors are treated on the cognitive plane, even when moral and aesthetic considerations appear. It is true that the teacher himself can err, but " professionally it is imperative that he should be as nearly as possible error-proof. In the subjects that he has to teach in school it is perhaps not too much to expect that he should be all but perfect. On this point nearly everybody agrees." Yet perhaps Sir John would admit that an error on the part of a teacher is occasionally a valuable point of contact between his inner world and the inner worlds of his pupils. Some great teachers introduce an error deliberately in com-

* University of London Press. 6s. net.

plex mathematical work to see how it affects different minds. A real error may be a source of discussion and new contacts. But this leads to the subject of method. Sir John Adams rightly dwells on the need for "a balance between matter and method in the teaching process." But whatever the method the inner worlds of teacher and taught must have bridges between them if teaching, which is eventually interference, has any true significance. That there are reactions on the teacher's inner world is, of course, a fact to be kept in mind. It is the fact of these reactions that make teaching into a profession. The dyer's hands are dyer's hands. All professions are stamped with persistent reactions in a special field. But this is not the business of Sir John Adams's delightful book.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Lord Edward Gleichen's finely-illustrated volume entitled "London's Open-Air Statuary"* fills a blank space in the history of English art. Lord Edward is "anxious to show that, far from the statuary of London being rankly bad and altogether despicable—as nine people out of ten will tell you—there are such a number of good statues and monuments, especially quite modern ones, that as regards those we need no longer be ashamed of comparing our great city, from the statuary point of view, with others in Northern Europe and America." It is to some extent the atmosphere of London that has given the statuary a bad name. Moreover, modern British bronze contains alloys that cannot resist the acid atmosphere. This need not be. Marble cannot be used, but Portland stone not only wears well but improves, with a soft mellow tint. But it cannot be used for statues standing without other support. In 1844 there were only twenty-two statues in London; to-day there are over 350. We have good sculptors, but very little public appreciation of statuary, while the poor sculpture of the nineteenth century destroyed public interest. This book shows, district by district, good work, and will thus tend to improve taste and interest.

* * *

Mr. J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, in his very wordy volume, "Henry Ford the Man, the Worker, the Citizen,"† tells the story of a captain of industry who has kept in mind the needs of the rank and file. Mr. Henry Ford is the son of William Ford—an Irishman by birth but of mixed English, Scottish, and Irish descent—and his wife, Mary Liticot, who was of mixed Dutch and Scandinavian extraction. Mr. William Ford had settled at Dearborn in the State of Michigan as a farmer, and there he married in 1862, and his son Henry was born there on July 30th, 1863. He was in every sense a country child. He was educated in a local school until he was sixteen. He was fond of machinery even in school days, and was fascinated by a road engine when he was thirteen. When he left school he got work in a machine shop in Detroit, and passed on at the age of eighteen to work with an agent of the Westinghouse Company. Later he went back to the home farm and thought out business as well as mechanical possibili-

* Longmans. 21s. net.
† George Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d. net.

ties. Returning to Detroit after his marriage he there in 1887 built a gas-engine. A little later he joined the Detroit Edison Electric Company to learn electrical technique. In 1892 he finished, in his own little workshop, his first car, and in April, 1893, it was running, and then came the great career that is still running.

* * *

Professor T. W. Gregory, in his volume entitled "Human Migration and the Future: a study of the causes, effects, and control of Emigration,"* insists that history shows that migration is good, and states that there is still "ample room in the temperate regions for emigrants from Europe." This volume does not deal with European settlement in the tropics, a theme which this learned author has already dealt with in the volume entitled "The Menace of Colour." The subject of human movement in the temperate regions is dealt with here in great detail, and special problems are discussed, such as Russian and Italian limitations on emigration and American and Australian limitations on immigration. Professor Gregory, pending rehabilitation after the losses of war, considers that "Europe is left for a time dependent on emigration as the only prompt and reliable cure for unemployment due to over-population." Eastern Europe has Siberia at hand, but Western and Central Europe need to send some 300,000 or 500,000 persons overseas annually. Professor Gregory does not despair of international arrangements that will make this possible and so check dangerous methods of birth-control.

* * *

Mr. E. Tyrrell-Green's attractive volume entitled "Baptismal Fonts Classified and Illustrated"† will draw attention to a subject of profound antiquarian interest. In the Western Church, as in the Eastern, the baptistery was in early times a structure separate from the church, and "often continued so until the eighth and ninth century." They abound in Italy. In France we have, among others, the fourth-century baptistery of St. Jean Poitiers, which was converted into a church. There is no remaining example in England, but there was one at Canterbury. There are few English fonts earlier than Norman times. The early Norman fonts were tub-like and are quite common still, but later we get polygonal (mostly octagonal) forms, and indeed the octagonal form is appearing in the Norman period. After the Reformation there was considerable disorder emphasised by the Calvinistic custom of baptising in basins, and many ancient fonts were converted to lay and base uses, as indeed may be seen in some cases to-day. The nineteenth-century "restorations" of churches also did much harm. The Stratford-on-Avon font has now been restored to the church. In later chapters Mr. Tyrrell-Green goes into admirable detail relating to special periods and designs. The inscribed fonts are of special interest, and some of these are of very early date.

* * *

The twenty-eighth edition (the fourteenth for publication) of the attractive little volume entitled "Rules for Compositors and Readers at the University Press, Oxford,"‡ has been issued. The first edition appeared in April, 1893; the twenty-third in January, 1914; the

* Seeley Service. 12s. 6d. net.
† S.P.C.K. 10s. 6d.
‡ Humphrey Milford. 2s. net.

twenty-fourth in June, 1918, and this edition is the fourth since that date. The work was begun in 1864, and Mr. Horace Hart, as Controller of the Oxford Press in 1883, further developed this practical manual, which was issued, however, only in 1893. "In due course Sir J. A. H. Murray and Dr. Henry Bradley, editors of the Oxford Dictionary, were kind enough to revise and approve all the English spellings. Bearing the stamp of their sanction, the booklet had an authority which it could not otherwise have claimed. To subsequent editions the late Professor Robinson Ellis and Mr. H. Stuart Jones contributed two appendixes, containing instructions for the divisions in Latin and Greek; and the section on the German language was revised by Dr. Karl Bruel, Reader in Germanic in the University of Cambridge." Recent editions deal with further troublesome new words. The twenty-seventh edition contains additions and alterations involving a large number of medical words. There are still a number of disputable spellings, but standardisation steadily goes on.

* * *

Mr. E. M. Humphris' volume, "The Life of Matthew Dawson, with which are included some recollections of the famous trainer by the Duke of Portland, K.G., and an Introduction by Arthur Portman,"* worthily tells the life-story of probably the most notable of English trainers of race-horses. Mr. Portman's introduction gives some idea of the masterfulness as well as loveableness of "one of the straightest men that ever lived." Matthew Dawson was born on January 9th, 1820, at Gullane, Haddingtonshire, one of the seventeen children of George Dawson, a trainer of race-horses, who was, as early as 1792, a famous trainer. He died in 1845, and *The Field* in 1880 recalled the old man by referring to "the unsullied honour and scrupulous integrity of George Dawson and his sons." In such an atmosphere Matthew learnt his work, and after his father's death carried on alone. He trained for the Duke of Atholl in 1847, but he came south about that time and eventually settled at Newmarket. His career is traced in technical detail in these pages. It is to be noticed that the "boys" in the stables were provided with an evening school (that was in 1866) by Mrs. Dawson, and on Sundays there was a little service for them, and Matthew preached a very good sermon to them. Fred Archer was among these boys. Matthew Dawson died on August 19th, 1898, at Newmarket.

* * *

Mr. W. Lonsdale has translated the work entitled "Politics and Education,"† by Dr. Leonard Nelson, formerly Professor of Philosophy at the University of Göttingen. Professor W. J. Roberts, of the University of Cardiff, says that in this book Professor Nelson makes it clear that he is dealing with a limited educational theme, the "training the intellect and will of selected persons for the task of political leadership. His more learned readers will be reminded of Plato's 'Republic,' and Nelson himself finds the resemblance between Plato's design and his own worth mentioning. The emphasis on 'leadership' as against democracy may, indeed, be said to be the main theme of the present collection of addresses, as of Nelson's recent work generally." Professor Nelson's attack on democracy is not necessarily adverse to a reconciliation of liberty with authority. The book is worthy of study at the present time.

* H. F. & G. Witherby. 12s. 6d. net.
† George Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d. net.

THE AMERICAN PEACE TREATY.

THE American proposal for a multilateral treaty for the outlawry of war is the most important step in the direction of the pacific organisation of the world which has been taken since the conclusion of the Treaties of Locarno. Indeed, seeing that the Treaties of Locarno are limited to the safeguarding of the peace in Central Europe while Mr. Kellogg's proposal is universal in its scope, the American project may prove to be in its ultimate operation that indispensable measure of supplementary insurance against war which is required to make the influence of the League of Nations fully effective.

In some quarters there is a temptation to disparage the significance of the American offer by reference to circumstances in the actual political life of the United States which appear to be out of harmony with its claim to lead a great missionary enterprise on behalf of world peace. We are reminded of the naval programme before Congress, of the Yellow Press, of the marines in Nicaragua. The critic asks whether Mr. Kellogg's move represents a settled purpose or only a genial flourish in view of the approaching Presidential election. Fortunately, the British Government is not affected by these trivialities. It is prepared to take Mr. Kellogg's proposals as seriously drafted and seriously meant. It realises that a draft of this kind, coming from the most powerful and wealthy Government in the world, must be thoroughly and patiently explored; and if it be true that the occasion of its issue be, as some allege, guided by electoral considerations, what does this prove but that in the opinion of expert electioneers the mind of the American people is so thoroughly pacific that no party is likely to stand well with it at the polls which is not prepared to strike a blow for peace?

"His Majesty's Government," says Sir Austen Chamberlain, "warmly welcome the proposal of the United States Government that a further joint effort should be made to safeguard the peace of the world. They have been giving close and sympathetic attention to the text of the Treaty proposed by Mr. Kellogg with this object and to the observations and suggestions with regard to it, offered by the French Government. His Majesty's Government do not doubt that this Franco-American initiative can be brought to a successful issue, but time is obviously needed for examination of the various issues raised and of the important declarations and explanations offered by the United States Secretary of State as well as for consultation with the Dominions and with the United States and other Governments concerned."

So far the British Foreign Secretary, in answer to a question in

the House of Commons. Later, in the course of a Foreign Office discussion, he dealt more fully with the Washington proposal in the same sense, assuring the House of his warm sympathy and of his determination, as soon as the concurrence of the Dominions had been obtained, to go forward with the negotiation without regard to the attitude of other Powers. These assurances were heartily welcomed on the Opposition benches. The Germans even more effusively welcome the Kellogg proposals. They see no contrariety between the proposed Treaty and the obligations which Germany has undertaken at Locarno and Geneva. They note Mr. Kellogg's declaration that the right of any country to defend itself against attack is not affected by anything in the proposed instrument, and announce their readiness to conclude such a pact as that proposed by the United States.

The eagerness of Germany to welcome Mr. Kellogg's Treaty on its reception, and without preliminary conference with the other Locarno Powers, has aroused adverse comments in some organs of the French Press, for in France the general attitude towards the American draft is inspired by a good many questionings and misgivings which are not shared in Berlin. France is a provident country. Learning from her misfortunes, she looks ahead and asks awkward hypothetical questions. In particular, she is anxious to know whether the Kellogg Treaty will or will not make her safer in Europe. To the American Secretary of State, who avers that his Treaty will not interfere with legitimate self-defence, writers in the French Press respond by asking what is meant by legitimate self-defence. These French gentlemen know what they mean by these terms, but they are not certain that Mr. Kellogg means the same thing. To the Frenchman the Peace of Europe is the Peace of the Treaties, nothing more, nothing less. Any measures of restraint which France may think herself entitled to take for the enforcement of the Treaty of Versailles are, in the French view, measures of self-defence. Will France, should she sign this Treaty, be entitled to take such measures? If, for instance, Hungary were to attack Pressburg, or if the Germans were to invade the Corridor, or to arm themselves in defiance of the Treaty, or to make an Anschluss with Austria, or to intermit without cause their reparation payments, has France no armed redress under Mr. Kellogg's Treaty? Again, how will France stand towards her Allies, the members of the Petite Entente, if she signs this Treaty? Many Frenchmen are inclined to be dubious, and apprehend that Mr. Kellogg will weaken the diplomatic fabric which they have so carefully erected for their protection since the war. "No wonder," writes M. Jacques Bainville, "that the Germans applaud the American proposal which condemns and seeks to dissolve all our

particular and private alliances." "No wonder," writes Pertinax in the *Écho de Paris,* "that Stresemann approves Washington. For long months at a time at Geneva Germany's whole energy has been directed against these private *ententes,* these understandings for the protection of the Peace Treaty *status quo* that bind France with Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Jugo-Slavia."

It is intelligible that misgivings of this kind should be felt in a country so sorely and recently tried. We cannot condemn French publicists for giving expression to thoughts which are undoubtedly in the public mind, or the French Government for the cautious spirit in which it approaches a far-reaching proposal which may be found to be incompatible with engagements already concluded. The truth is that the Kellogg proposal does not at first sight accord with the general French outlook on affairs. The French view of what constitutes Peace is the Europe of the Treaties expressly guaranteed by the combined force of the nations of the League. It is a peace founded on and protected by military sanctions, enforced in specific military agreements. A peace, so protected, so insured, may last. Weaken or withdraw the sanctions and peace is jeopardised.

In a speech to the American Society of International Law Mr. Kellogg specially addressed himself to the relief of these apprehensions. He pointed out that his Treaty could not invalidate the natural rights of self-defence, that there was no necessary inconsistency between the Covenant of the League of Nations and an unqualified renunciation of war, that if all parties to the Locarno Treaties were to become parties to the multilateral anti-war Treaty, there would be a double assurance that the Locarno Treaties would not be violated by a recourse to war, and that a violation of the multilateral pact by one party would naturally relieve the others of their obligations to the Treaty-breaking State.

How far does this carry us? The American draft Treaty is simple and short. It pledges the signatories to renounce war as an instrument of national policy and to settle all their differences by peaceful means. It proposes no sanctions. It provides no armed police. The signatory Power which goes back upon its signature and does go to war in pursuance of its national policy is an outlaw. The other signatory Powers are released from their engagement not to use force so far as the transgressor is concerned. They are not, however, compelled under the Treaty to use force against the transgressor. There is no compulsory application of force of any kind military, naval, or economic under the American draft.

There is another lacuna to the French thinking in this brief document. The phrase "renunciation of war" is interpreted in the American Press to be equivalent to the phrase "outlawry of

war," but outlawry seems to imply the existence of some acknowledged sovereign, by whose judgment it shall be determined whether or no an act of outlawry has been committed. The American proposal provides for no such sovereign, no such arbiter. But can there be real " outlawry " in a masterless world?

A principle is none the less good in politics by reason of the fact that it is never pushed to its logical consequences. If the leading nations of the world were to sign a solemn instrument (as they are now invited to do by the Government of Washington) renouncing war as an instrument of national policy and binding themselves to refer every dispute whatever and without reserve to arbitration, such declarations would undoubtedly have a high moral value, even if there were no agreement as to the tribunal to which disputes were to be brought or as to the general principles which should govern the determination of disputes or as to the sanctions which should be applied in the event of transgressors against the letter and spirit of the Treaty. But it is none the less useful to consider whither the principle in strict logic will lead us. It will lead us very far.

The acceptance of a Treaty renouncing war as an instrument of national policy would be the most revolutionary act in human history. No Power has ever yet consented to found all its public action on such a principle. Arbitration treaties are numerous, but almost invariably accompanied by reserves. Moreover, in the Covenant of the League of Nations there is no such absolute renunciation of war as is implied in the Kellogg Treaty. When all means of conciliation and arbitration prescribed by the governing instrument of the League have been exhausted the contending parties may still draw the sword. The Protocol, indeed, closed up the gap and made peaceful methods compulsory; but in the British Empire the Protocol was widely read as an instrument for securing the territorial *status quo* in Europe by the joint forces of the British Empire and the armed Powers of the Continent. Only on the assumption that the national interests of France and the *Petite Entente* were coincident with wider international interests could it be said that war was renounced as an instrument of national policy under the Protocol.

The Briand-Kellogg Treaty, consented to by the United States Senate on March 6th, 1928, was generally regarded as a notable advance upon the Root Treaty which it supplanted. The reservations of " national power, vital interests and independence " contained in the Root, as in other arbitration, treaties concluded by the United States Government were dropped, an omission which was interpreted to imply that matters of vital importance could henceforth in the judgment of the contracting parties be submitted to arbitration. Nevertheless, the reservations set out in the third

article of the Treaty were extensive. " All matters within the domestic jurisdiction of either of the High Contracting Parties, all matters involving the interests of Third Parties, all matters depending upon or involving the maintenance of the traditional attitude of the United States concerning American questions, commonly described as the Monroe doctrine, or depending upon or involving the obligations of France in accordance with the Covenant of the League of Nations " were excluded from the scope of the Treaty. These qualifications are not only wide in themselves, but they are capable of being stretched, seeing that it is difficult to imagine any important issue between two modern nations which may not colourably be held to affect the interests of third persons. Yet this instrument marks the furthest point to which the principle of arbitration had so far been carried in the dealings between the United States and foreign countries. It is true that an " all-in " treaty of arbitration was signed by Mr. Bryce and Mr. Knox in 1910. In that draft treaty there were no reservations of any kind, no exceptions on the familiar score of " national power, vital interests and independence," no exceptions on the score of the Monroe doctrine or the interests of Third Parties. But the Treaty was thrown out by the Senate of the United States. Even Roosevelt, strong friend of England as he was, felt that " all in " arbitration went too far.

Mr. Kellogg's proposals, then, mark an epoch. It is a great thing in itself that such proposals should be advanced by one of the leading Powers of the world. It will be a still greater thing if they are accepted as the basis of policy by the principal States of Europe. It is doubtful, however, whether opinion in Washington yet realises how far these proposals go. The idea of an International Court, of arbitration, of outlawry, has long possessed an attraction for the American mind, always accessible to conceptions derived from the sphere of jurisprudence and apt to take direction from the lawyers. A large number of people who looked upon the League at Geneva with dread as likely to entangle the United States in the coils of European negotiations were anxious that their country should be represented on the Supreme International Court. The outlawry of war became a popular idea while the reference of disputes to the conciliatory procedure of the Council of the League was anathema. In reality the acceptance of the idea of outlawry involves a far more complete surrender to the international idea than the acceptance of the Covenant. If the idea is to be carried out in practice, and is to be more than a vague analogy, it implies sanctions at once comprehensive and precise. Finally, it implies the idea of an organised society, from which the offender can be outlawed for a cognisable offence recognised and duly punished by his fellows.

deavour to arrive at a common doctrine as to the equality of independent States and as to the conditions under which a large State may be regarded as the mandatory of international authority when it forcibly interferes with the affairs of smaller neighbours enjoying political independence. In a word, the Monroe doctrine requires re-examination in the light of the Kellogg principle, as also does the doctrine of the armed peace of continental Europe. The acceptance of the Treaty without reserves would appear to make such a revision easier and not more difficult of accomplishment.

H. A. L. FISHER.

MR. CHURCHILL'S FOURTH BUDGET.

MR. CHURCHILL'S fourth Financial Statement proved a severe tax upon the endurance of a crowded House and crowded galleries; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer is a master of rhetoric, and there were some gleams of humour to relieve the prolixity of his digressions and the obscurity which marred his presentation of the public accounts.

One reason, I suppose, why a three or four-hour Budget speech is tolerated by a generation which has banned long sermons and three-volume novels, is that the consequences of a Budget may be felt in every household. Most of Mr. Churchill's audience, myself among them, wanted to know how his proposals would affect, not only national prosperity, but their own pockets, and still more perhaps how they would strike the particular constituency in which a particular person was interested.

To me Mr. Churchill's speeches and writings generally convey a vivid sense of unreality, and especially when their topic is finance. One feels that his facts are figments and his figures mere counters in a game. Just as he pays out words instead of pounds into the sinking fund, so all his speeches on money, credit, business, or taxes seem to be in the air; and often the air is very hot. If there is little truth—by which I mean not terminological exactitude but a reasonable correspondence between words and things—still less is there of consistency in his dissertations on these subjects. Only last autumn he assured the country that trade was once more in full swing. British manufactures and commerce under his auspices were marching rapidly back to their pre-war prosperity. On April 24th in the course of his Budget all this nonsense was discarded, and —though things are a little better than they were then—he chose for the purpose he had in hand to paint the landscape black and to represent the patients, who were convalescing so satisfactorily in the autumn, as dying for want of his financial assistance in the spring. But this is to anticipate.

What first struck me, as I listened to his exposition of the national accounts, was that the loud outcries of business men against the burdensome extravagance of our Government, and the criticism of the Public Economy League, which I helped to form soon after the war, have at last induced Mr. Churchill to do something towards performing the pledges of imperative and rigid economy which were so flagrantly ignored and dishonoured in his first three budgets. He claims that last year over ten millions were saved, converting what would have been a deficit into a surplus of over four millions. His critics then were right who predicted that the 1927 Budget on his own estimates of revenue and expenditure

would end in a deficit. The surplus on last year's accounts should have gone to reduce the national debt; but Mr. Churchill, relapsing into his habitual profligacy, has appropriated it along with fourteen millions of currency reserve to furnish out this year's, or rather next year's, Budget! His big deficits have contributed largely to nullify the Sinking Fund. Now that he has a small surplus, which would go by law automatically to cancel debt, he raids it just as he raided the road fund last year! An amazing piece of improvidence, considering that 269 millions of war obligations mature this year.

However, it is comforting to know that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has at last taken up and struck a few blows with the good Gladstonian axe of retrenchment. Beginning last spring, after the estimates had been issued, he conducted "a continuous economy campaign throughout the year instead of a single battle over the annual estimates." By this means "upwards of £10,500,000 has actually been saved by the Departments, or clawed back from them by the Treasury from estimates which had already undergone their annual scrutiny, and from moneys which had actually been voted by Parliament." Only "hard work and ceaseless scraping" produced "the modest but not unwelcome surplus of £4,250,000." The economies thus effected on last year's estimates are satisfactory, and so in a less degree are the somewhat reduced estimates of this year,* which in competent hands might have given substantial relief to taxpayers or ratepayers. Moreover, there may be evidence of a reformed character in the following:

> "Encouraged by that success I propose to repeat the process in the present year, and never to let it be supposed again that, once the Estimates of the year have been settled, it is the end of the business, and there is nothing left to do but to spend the money. On the contrary, I hope the obligation to save money wherever possible in every detail of administration and at every period of the year will be accepted as an abiding and perennial rule in our affairs."

On turning from Mr. Churchill's modest economies—which include, by the way, a scheme for the reduction of our redundant Civil Service—to his provisions for the National Debt, we find no ground for satisfaction. It is true that the substitution of surplus for deficit last year should have made the large Sinking Fund of £65,000,000 effective; but of that Sinking Fund over £30,000,000 were drawn from the so-called "windfalls," that is to say, from capital funds and liquid assets. Then there were embarrassments

* £676,581,000 against the original estimates of £681,033,000 last year, adjusted to the new form of accounts. Mr. Snowden pointed out that the total expenditure, excluding the Post Office and Road Fund, was 730 millions in 1924 and 761 millions last year.

caused by heavy sales of Savings Certificates, and by an underestimate of interest on the floating debt. Mr. Churchill himself had to admit that the results of his exertions are "somewhat disappointing." On April 1st, 1927, the National dead-weight debt amounted to the appalling total of £7,554,000,000. On April 1st, 1928, it had only been reduced to £7,527,000,000.* Nor has the actual burden of interest on the funded debt been alleviated by Mr. Churchill's ill-conceived and ill-starred operations, including a conversion of the 3½ per cent. War Loan into new securities bearing much higher rates of interest. On this important matter Mr. Snowden's scathing comments deserve careful study. The external debt, due mainly to the United States, still figures at the huge total of £1,095,000,000. We are paying this year to our American creditors £32,845,000 in interest and principal, and are the only Allied nation from whom the full legal debt on war loans is being extracted. That is because Mr. Baldwin, on his luckless visit to Washington, failed to get a most-favoured-nation clause inserted in the War Debt Treaty. Thanks, however, to the Dawes Plan, and to the small fractions of the war debt which are now being paid to us by France, Italy, and all the other Allies except Russia, Mr. Churchill expects to receive this year in Miscellaneous Receipts nearly £32,000,000, almost enough to cover our payments to America. On this he observed: "We have every reason to expect, and every reason to insist," that these payments "will be not less enduring than our American obligations."

With respect to the future, Mr. Churchill has adopted a pretentious plan, which he calls a Fixed Debt Charge, modelled on that of Sir Stafford Northcote when he was a Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1875. Northcote's scheme, he says, lasted for thirty-nine years, until it was engulfed in the Great War. But Mr. Churchill forgot to mention that the model, which he has taken for the professed purpose of extinguishing the present national debt in fifty years, only resulted in reducing it from £768,000,000 to £706,000,000, where it stood on the eve of the Great War. He admitted, however, that on five distinct occasions "inroads upon the fixed debt charge, which in the parlance of those primitive times were coarsely described as raids," took place to the detriment of Sir Stafford Northcote's plan. Mr. Churchill's own raid on last year's Sinking Fund shows how little reliance can be placed upon Chancellors of the Exchequer now or in the future. The

* For the illusory character of Mr. Churchill's Sinking Funds and for his failure to improve national credit, see the speeches of Mr. Snowden and Mr. Runciman in Hansard's Parliamentary Debates on April 25th and 26th, 1928. The 3½ per cent. conversion loan rose above 80 in 1924; on Budget day it stood at 77½. And yet in this period the credit of nearly all foreign governments, except China and Chile, improved.

effectiveness over a long period* of his own new fixed debt charge, which he puts at £355,000,000 a year, as against Northcote's modest £28,000,000, depends upon the assumptions that peace is maintained, that Chancellors of the Exchequer will not raid the fixed charge, and that the Budgets of the next fifty years are not undermined by deficits or by new issues of public debt. Mr. Churchill on his own estimates of interest only provides a sinking fund of £51,000,000; but for the present year, by taking a currency reserve of over £13,000,000 which belonged to the Treasury (with a small addition from the Budget) he has made up the Sinking Fund nominally† to £65,000,000; and as his estimates of revenue seem to be conservative, there is some reason to expect a surplus at the end of the year, so that the new Sinking Fund should really go to the extinction of debt and contribute to the much-needed improvement of national credit.

This addition to the reserve brings us to the reform of the currency; for it is due to an important but expected change in the management of our gold standard—namely, the amalgamation of the currency notes hitherto controlled by the Treasury with the note issue of the Bank of England. This will be effected by a Bill, to be introduced shortly, which will hand over the charge of the currency notes of £1 and 10s. from the Treasury to the Bank of England. The profits on the issue, less expenses, will, of course, go to the State, and the present reserves of the Treasury will, as I have just mentioned, be used for cancelling debt. This change will be generally welcome in the City and by nearly all competent economists, as it is not at all desirable that paper money should be under the control of politicians.

We now come to the central feature of the Budget, the actual changes in national taxation and the proposed changes in local taxation. But before doing so, it is to be noticed that Mr. Churchill has presented the accounts of Revenue and Expenditure in a new form, which may be described as net revenue and net expenditure instead of gross revenue and gross expenditure. The main changes consist in excluding the " self-balancing expenditure " of the Post Office and the Road Fund‡ and the Sinking Fund, leaving only the surplus profits of the Post Office and the excess of motor vehicle duties over road fund grants. According to the old system of accounting, corrected by minor changes, last year's estimates would have been £826,000,000 and this year's would be £800,000,000—the reduction of £20,000,000 being due partly to

* Its inadequacy for present purposes is plain, when we recall that last year and the year before the sum allocated to the service of the debt was £378,000,000.

† I say, nominally, because this Reserve is already invested.

‡ This exclusion of the Road Fund is questionable.

economies in the supply services and partly to the reduction of £13,000,000 in the Sinking Fund. On this, his own showing, Mr. Churchill's economies only amount to £6,000,000 as compared with the estimates of last year. In another place he claimed a reduction of £12,000,000 on the audited expenditure of the last Labour Government for the financial year 1923-4; for on the new system of accounting, he says, the audited expenditure of 1924 would be £675,000,000, whereas his own last year was £676,000,000, and his estimated expenditure this year is £663,000,000.* Let us hope that Mr. Churchill's audited expenditure will not exceed his estimates.

Comparing his estimated expenditure for this year with his estimated revenue, Mr. Churchill on the old form of accounts expected £812,000,000 revenue and £806,000,000 expenditure. On the new form of accounts his net expenditure, *including the Sinking Fund* at last year's figure, would be £727,000,000, and his available revenue £733,000,000, leaving a surplus of £6,000,000. A reduction of £13,000,000 in the Sinking Fund provided out of revenue gave him a handsome prospective surplus of £20,000,000, which might have been used for the immediate reduction of taxes or the immediate relief of rates. Such reduction or relief would have given an immediate stimulus to British trade by increasing the purchasing power of the people. But this was far too simple, practical, and humdrum for a statesman of Mr. Churchill's vision; so half his Budget speech was devoted to explaining as well as he could a grandiose and immensely complicated scheme of rating reliefs and railway subsidies, which (if it can be brought into operation) may eighteen months hence relieve agriculture and " productive " industries of a corresponding burden of local rates. His main argument for shifting the burden is that rates are levied not upon profits but upon the actual value of property by the criterion of what a tenant would give from year to year, whereas direct taxation is levied on profits or capital. But the proposed relief to the owners of agricultural and industrial properties requires a much larger sum than the surplus of £20,000,000 which, as we have seen, Mr. Churchill had at his disposal. Accordingly, new taxation is necessary, and it is to be imposed this year instead of next year, so that for the next eighteen months the burden of taxes and rates will be not lighter but considerably heavier, and the pitiful distresses of agriculture and industry, which Mr. Churchill depicted in glowing periods in order to prepare his audience for a favourable reception of his scheme, will be more pitiful during the last year or eighteen months of his term of office than they were before.

* Excluding the Post Office and Road Fund the national expenditure in 1924-5 was £730,000,000, and in 1927-8 £761,000,000.

This brings me to the new taxes. There are several petty ones, such as an increase in the excise duty on British wines, a Customs duty on mechanical lighters in aid of the match tax, and a safeguarding duty of 33⅓ per cent. *ad valorem* on imported buttons, which come chiefly from Japan. These altogether in a full year will barely add £250,000 to the revenue; but Mr. Churchill has introduced a much more serious tax on imported petrol and other light oils—excluding the heavy oils which are known as fuel oils, diesel oil, and gas oil, but including turpentine and kerosine. The tax is a very heavy one of 4d. per gallon, and Mr. Churchill's argument for it, or one of his arguments, is that in the last five years the retail price of motor spirit in London has fallen from 2s. to just over 1s., and that since the beginning of last year it has fallen by 5d. Therefore, the increase of 4d., or rather of 4¼d., which has already taken place,* will, he suggests, not be objected to by British motorists in view of the advantages which are to accrue to the community eighteen months hence. Thus the new taxation in lieu of rates is not after all a proportional tax upon profits, but a tax on consumption, raising the price of fuel, and only justifiable in so far as it is partly paid by the owners of pleasure cars.

This new Customs duty is expected to yield over £10,000,000 in the present year and over £16,000,000 in a full year. It is a protective duty: for there is to be no excise duty on the shale oils of Scotland or on any oils manufactured out of coal in this country. Mr. Churchill, once a bouncing Free Trader, who thundered against Protection on every platform in the country, glories in the fact that this duty of 4d. per gallon on imported oils "gives effectual Protection to a great home industry, and is exactly what we have done in regard to beet sugar and home-grown tobacco." But he did not pretend that it would not raise prices—a claim that is frequently put forward for the so-called Safeguarding Duties—for he knew that prices would rise the very next morning. Consequently he proposed some small mitigations and compensations. One of these is a reduction in the sugar duties, which will (he hopes) reduce the retail price of sugar by a farthing per pound, and so compensate some households for the higher price of the kerosene used in lamps and stoves.† But its real object seems to be to give protection to British sugar refineries, and there is good reason to doubt whether it will reach the consumer, as there has been a great rise in the shares of sugar refineries. There are also some reductions in the licence duties upon public motor vehicles plying for hire, and on those used by traders for transporting goods; but the general result is a considerable increase in the cost of all kinds of motoring, as well as of oil-run machinery.

* As usual, the Customs duty, though protective, costs the home consumer more than the full amount of the duty.

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The scheme of reliefs to agriculture and industry is vague and complicated, and dependent upon legislative measures which are to be introduced later on. For the benefit of agriculture, farm lands and buildings are to be wholly exempted from local rates—an exemption which will add considerably to the selling and letting value of agricultural property, and is therefore received with enthusiasm by owners of agricultural land. In the long run it will not help the tenant farmer. The rate relief for heavy industries consists partly of a subsidy of £4,000,000 a year to the railway companies on the understanding that they will reduce proportionately their freight rates on coal, iron and steel, livestock, fertilisers and feeding stuffs. Another larger annual sum is to be devoted to the reduction of local rates upon premises used for the purpose of production, i.e., factories and workshops, including also harbours and docks. This again will enhance the value of certain classes of property at the expense of the general taxpayer. Offices, shops, and residences will be excluded from relief. For the purposes of this difficult and complicated object a Valuation Ascertainment Bill is to be introduced in order to separate "productive" from unproductive property. When this has been accomplished—in October, 1929—the local rates on "productive" industrial property are to be reduced by three-quarters.

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able; so that the donkey may never taste the carrots that are being dangled in front of its nose.

Altogether Mr. Churchill is likely to have a hard time. While I was writing these impressions the duty on kerosene had to be thrown overboard to save the rest of the cargo, and much more may have to go to prevent an unseaworthy ship from foundering before it can crawl into port. The only item in his Budget which excites general approval is the reduction of income tax on people with large families, to whom he has given substantial relief by provisions which in a full year will cost £4,500,000. A good many of the objections that will present themselves to the mind of any one conversant with the principles of finance and imbued with the Gladstonian tradition have been touched upon, and it will be found by readers of the Budget debate that several powerful lines of criticism were developed in turn by Mr. Philip Snowden, Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Runciman. Let me summarise in a concluding paragraph a case, which I conceive to be overwhelming, against Mr. Churchill's fourth Budget.

In the first place, it offends against the unbroken practice which makes our Budget an annual affair. It is the duty of a Chancellor to provide as nearly as possible by accurate estimates for the expenditure voted by Parliament, which is, again, intended as nearly as possible to represent the supplies needed for the twelve months from April 1st to March 31st. If the Revenue exceeds the estimates, the surplus is applied to extinction of debt; if it falls short of the Chancellor's expectations and a deficit results, that deficit is added to the debt or deducted from the Sinking Fund. It is no business of the Chancellor to tax the people of the country for something which he intends to spend in a future year. Indeed, it is intolerable that he should do so. It is contrary alike to common sense and to principles of parliamentary control. In this case who knows that he or his Government will be in office next year? Who can say that the £18,000,000 which he is proposing to add to a "Suspensory Fund" will be applied; for their application depends upon Bills which have not been presented to Parliament, much less passed into law. Moreover, his argument for the anomaly of a suspense account really goes against it. Mr. Churchill says that some of our great industries are dying, and that the only remedy is to relieve them of local taxation. Then prompt action is obviously required; but instead of relieving them he adds to the burden of general taxation, and tells them to be of good cheer because, if his schemes fructify, he hopes to provide relief eighteen months hence.

Again, the relief which he promises will be partial, unfair, and discriminating. The working classes will get no reduction of rents or rates, however poor they may be. The distinction between pro-

ductive and unproductive industry cannot be drawn successfully by the legislator either in theory or in practice. Who is the producer? Sir Alfred Mond or his workmen, the journalist or the printer, the artist or the engraver? In any case, transport, distribution, salesmanship are just as necessary to production as the farm, the mill, or the mine. You cannot distinguish between the man who milks the cow and the man who distributes the milk on any principle of justice. Why should you relieve one of all rates and the other of none? Then again, if you are out to succour distress, what can be the sense of making the general taxpayer pay three-quarters of the rates of Messrs. Courtauld, of Messrs. Coates, or of the Morris Cowley works, or of other industries that are already safeguarded or subsidised? We may safely say that most of the productive machinery of the country is earning profits. If the rating law (which Mr. Churchill asks Conservatives to condemn because it is as old as Elizabeth) does not sufficiently discriminate between profitable and unprofitable establishments, it can be amended. There is no need to burn down a piggery in order to procure roast pork.

F. W. HIRST.

M. POINCARÉ'S TRIUMPH AND DIFFICULTIES.

NOBODY in the history of the Third Republic has dominated the political life of France so clearly as M. Raymond Poincaré. M. Thiers, after the victory of Prussia, had the same ascendency; but it was comparatively short-lived. Gambetta never, in spite of his popularity, had effective control. Jules Ferry was always bitterly denounced. Boulanger was a bubble. Waldeck-Rousseau may perhaps best be compared with Poincaré. The fanatical Combes had a vivid period of power before he disappeared. Clemenceau has had his great moments. Briand comes and goes regularly. But Poincaré for nearly twenty years has steadily grown in strength, and, except for short intervals, has stayed at the head of affairs. "We see you at times of great national crises," cried an adversary; and M. Poincaré immediately adopted the intended criticism as a certificate of merit. It is deserved. One can hardly imagine a more competent President of the Republic during the war years than was M. Poincaré. Nobody could have carried through the experiment of the Ruhr occupation—which most of us condemned but which nevertheless corresponded to supposed national necessities—but M. Poincaré. Again, when France realised that political controversy was disastrous with the currency falling to zero, there was only one man to whom all parties turned as the saviour of the franc—M. Poincaré. Everybody else had tried and failed. M. Poincaré tried and succeeded.

I write this not because I wish to dwell upon the character and performances, bad or good, of M. Poincaré; but because the election results of April 22nd and April 29th can only be explained in terms of Poincarism. Before we consider whether the Moderates won and the Radicals lost, whether the Socialists manœuvred clumsily and the Communists gained votes but lost seats, we have to record the unquestionable victory of M. Poincaré. This or that party can claim this or that success, but the true success was that of M. Poincaré. A plébiscite was, in fact, though not in form, taken on his name. Before a man was a Left Republican or a Radical Socialist, he was a Poincarist. Just as Sir William Harcourt declared that we are all Socialist nowadays, so the candidates belonging to the bourgeois parties proclaimed themselves Poincarist. They could fight about the colour of their Poincarism, but the different nuances did not affect the general truth that they had dipped themselves in a bath of Poincarism. If the Radicals had swept the country, they would have swept it as Poincarists. If the Moderates had swept the country, they would have swept it as Poincarists. Both sides carried the banner of Poincaré into the

battle. The chief weapon used by the Moderates against their opponents was the assertion that those opponents were not wholeheartedly Poincarist. The retort of the Radicals was that M. Poincaré was a Man of the Left, that he was their leader, not the leader of the Right.

Therefore the broad result was a foregone conclusion. M. Poincaré could not lose. Yet, this having been said, it becomes necessary to analyse his majority. It is made up chiefly of Moderate elements. The parties of the Right have improved their position. The parties of the Left, that is to say, the Radicals, the Socialists, and the Communists, come back diminished in numbers. My own view is that M. Poincaré would have preferred a better balanced Chamber. His Cabinet is composed of Moderates and Radicals. His policy is a policy of National Union. He believes that the completion of French financial restoration requires a prolongation of the political truce. If one side is too strong, it will be tempted to kick over the traces. When the Radicals, with their allies the Socialists, won in 1924, they demanded all the posts available. They even, in their enthusiasm, ignoring the Constitution, drove the President, M. Millerand, from the Elysée. They were voracious, and indeed it was their inordinate appetite which brought about their undoing—and the undoing of France. I, as an impartial onlooker, saw that the Radical majority was not sufficient, in a country where there are many groups and no discipline, to ensure the continuance of the Radicals in power for the whole of the legislature. Publicly and privately I said this from the beginning, and had many heated discussions with my French Radical friends. One of them, a Minister, I remember, told me he was certain that the Herriot Government would last for four years. In reality it lasted ten months. Precisely because of this miscalculation of its strength, the Left was greedy and came to grief. Now the danger is that the Moderates should take their revenge. Already there are voices raised on the Right clamouring for a Ministry of the Right. They would eject from the Poincaré Cabinet such men as Herriot and Painlevé, Sarraut and Perrier. They would replace them by Moderates. They point to the case of M. Louis Marin, the leader of the largest group in the Chamber: is it fair, they ask, that he should remain in the minor office of Minister of Pensions while M. Painlevé is at the Ministry of War? They point to the important post of Presidency of the Chamber, now occupied by a Socialist, M. Fernand Buisson: surely, they cry, M. Poincaré will not insist on his preference for a man who has nothing to recommend him but his ability? The peril is obvious. If the Moderates imitate the Radicals, there will be disruption and a renewal of strife. That is what M. Poincaré wishes above all to avoid.

It would be curious to see history repeating itself. One could compose without difficulty some pleasant epigrams about the last Chamber which began as a Radical Chamber and ended as a Moderate Chamber; and about the possibility of the present Chamber beginning as a Moderate Chamber and ending as a Radical Chamber. One refrains, because these apparent paradoxes are commonplaces of French politics. If a group slips to the Right, Radical calculations are upset. If a group slips to the Left, Moderate calculations are upset. But the aggressiveness of the Moderates might be just as fatal as was the aggressiveness of the Radicals. It is highly desirable that these purely party quarrels should again be postponed to a more fitting season. The first thing that M. Poincaré did—thus displaying rare political acumen—was to decide that the elections had endorsed not only the policy of the Government but the personnel of the Government. It is undoubtedly the custom—though it is not invariably followed—for the Prime Minister to resign after the elections and to reform his Cabinet. Had M. Poincaré thrown his Ministry into the melting-pot, the Moderates would have made excessive demands, and the Radicals would have been placed in virtual opposition. Already pressure was being put upon the Prime Minister. By his clever move he has escaped the immediate danger, but it will be interesting to observe the sequel.

Between M. Poincaré and M. Herriot there is one essential difference. M. Herriot loves to be loved. M. Poincaré is afraid of those who profess to love him. M. Herriot welcomed his friends and did their bidding. M. Poincaré is suspicious of them. M. Herriot rushed into the fray with his exuberant battalions. M. Poincaré endeavours to damp their ardour, and would rather woo the Radicals than yield to the exhortations of the Moderates. He discourages the exigencies of the victorious hordes who assert that they have followed him without demur. He tries to remove the bitterness of the defeated parties which rallied to him at the eleventh hour. These eleventh-hour supporters are more precious to him than the others. So the countenance which he turns to the Moderates is more severe than the countenance which he turns to the Radicals.

Had the Right obtained its way, M. Poincaré would have denounced the Left in his pre-election speeches. Instead, the Prime Minister invited the candidates of the Left to take shelter under his umbrella. He paid them tributes for their help. He sought to bind them to him by interest. Better a doubtful collaboration which is dictated by interest, than an embarrassing friendship which would absorb and direct him! That is why M. Poincaré did not want the Left to lose heavily. The Left will think twice before it disobeys him. It will remember the mess it made of finances, and will not recklessly take risks. M. Poincaré's task

—politically speaking—is to prevent the Moderates from making undue use of their electoral success. With the two sides practically equal in strength he could manage them. With one side outnumbering the other, that side may be tempted to manage him.

Despite these remarks, I think that M. Poincaré will be allowed, though not without perturbations, to proceed with the job he has so well begun. It is true that more than half the Deputies are new men. They may be inclined by inexperience to rush blindly into blunders, as their predecessors did in 1924. But most of the new men accepted the counsels of prudence which have been preached throughout France, and they will hesitate before they venture on innovations. To draw an intelligible picture of the new Chamber is not easy. One could simply give the official figures, but those official figures convey very little to English readers who are accustomed to the clear-cut divisions of two or three great parties. In France there are many groups, and, to make matters worse, the labels which the candidates sport in the country do not correspond, in all cases, to the labels which they will fasten on themselves in the Chamber. Moreover, the labels do not mean the same thing—assuming that they mean anything—in all constituencies. A man who calls himself, for example, a Republican of the Left in the North, might well call himself a Radical Republican in the South, or vice-versa. Local conditions must be taken into consideration. One list of election results divides the candidates into no fewer than twenty parties. Now it is possible to suppose that there are real differences between a Conservative and a Liberal, and between a Liberal and a Labour man; but it is not possible to suppose that there are real differences between two neighbouring groups out of twenty. The label is meaningless very often, and is adopted merely for convenience.

To give an accurate account of the Chamber one should take each individual member, ascertain his personal tendencies, and make a compilation based on the probable behaviour of every man. This is clearly impossible, and so we must content ourselves with approximations. The official statistics drawn up by the Minister of the Interior are no more convincing than the newspaper statistics. The Minister of the Interior has managed to reduce the groups to ten. There are Conservateurs, members of the Union Républicaine Démocratique, Democrates, Républicains de Gauche, Républicains-Radicaux, Radicaux et Radicaux-Socialistes, Républicains-Socialistes, Socialistes, Communistes, and Socialistes-Communistes. What do these designations convey? For my part, in spite of disputes among the groups, I think it better to speak generally of Moderates—ranging from the so-called Conservateurs to the so-called Républicains-Radicaux; Radicals—including the Républic-

ains-Socialistes; the Socialists proper; and the Communists. These are the French parties. Now the first party—that of the Moderates—has a total of about 324 Deputies who may be counted upon to vote solidly, at least for the moment, for what they regard as security in financial and foreign affairs. This bloc looks upon itself as the true Poincarist Bloc. It has gained more than fifty seats, and in addition Nationalist Radicals have also won substantially. There can therefore be no question of the Poincaré majority.

The Radicals, on the other hand, have been reduced in numbers. Some estimates would put their losses at twenty-five, but the official figures give a total of 123, while the Républicains-Socialistes, who are closely allied, are said to hold forty-seven seats. Now these Radicals, who in 1924 were seduced by Socialism, are turning away from Socialism, and may be counted with the Governmental troops. They have yet to thrash out their differences in congress. Most of the Radicals have repented of their cartel with the Socialists, and in an opportunist spirit are attracted towards the Centre. M. Herriot is still their real leader, and M. Herriot has "evolved." Yet at their last congress, where there were many abstentionists, they elected as President M. Daladier, who then showed Socialist tendencies. It is probable that even M. Daladier and his followers will move towards the Centre. If they do not, there will be a split in the party, perhaps of a serious character. In the dying days of the last Chamber, the bulk of the Radicals voted for M. Poincaré, or abstained, and a minority sometimes voted against him. When the Radical candidates faced their constituents, even those who had voted against M. Poincaré lamentably and laughably proclaimed themselves Poincarists.

The Socialists have been misguided by M. Léon Blum, who himself was a victim of his own over-clever tactics. He was opposed to M. Poincaré, but he could never make up his mind whether he should support the Radicals or not. The consequence was that the Socialists lost the advantage of being a genuine Opposition party, and were eaten into by the Communists, who were uncompromising. Certainly the Socialists, who now number 101, have only lost three seats, but as there are twenty-eight additional seats in the new Chamber their relative loss is larger. Had they played their cards properly they should not have lost, but have gained. Some at least of the new seats should have gone to them. They are already displaying the same foolish subtlety in their disappointment as they displayed in their anticipation. They have invented what they call a "policy of attraction." Instead of being content to be the Socialist Party, and to ignore the Radical Party, they are trying to draw a certain number of Radicals into their orbit. This means, of course, that they must take several steps towards the

Radicals before the Radicals will permit themselves to be fascinated. In short, French politics, even as practised by the Socialists, consists in confusing the issues and in breaking down party divisions.

Proportionately, the Communists have most suffered. They have shrunk from twenty-seven to fourteen—and two Socialist-Communists. They were not, however, out to win seats. Parliamentarism for them is an obsolete method. Their object was to strengthen their forces in the country, and in this they appear to have succeeded. If they have lost seats they have won votes. They could have won seats had they made a bargain with the Socialists. They, at any rate, are not opportunists. It is possible that some of the Communist candidates would have been willing to make a bargain with the Socialists; but Litvinoff forbade them to withdraw their candidates in favour of Socialists in those constituencies where the Socialists would have won with Communist assistance, in return for Socialist withdrawals on the second ballot in their favour—Socialist withdrawals which would undoubtedly have swelled the Parliamentary group of the Communists. It must be remembered that the *scrutin d'arrondissement* (single-member constituencies) was substituted for the former *scrutin de liste* (with its form of proportional representation) partly to "dish" the Communists. Under the old system Communists would have done well.

Something like dismay was expressed in Nationalist newspapers at the election of three Autonomists in Alsace-Lorraine. Three Autonomists do not constitute a formidable protest against French rule, and indeed they appear to have been elected owing to a misunderstanding. But small as the group is, great as the misunderstanding may be, the presence of Autonomists in the Chamber gives the French an unpleasant shock. Alsace-Lorraine is the Ireland of the Continent. When Alsatians protested against German rule, the French were delighted. They are hurt that any Alsatian should now revolt against French administration. At the Armistice there was rejoicing in France at the return of these provinces, and there was rejoicing in Alsace-Lorraine. But discontent soon manifested itself. It appeared in three quarters. There were the Catholics, who were fearful lest their privileges should be taken away. There were the Communists, who were opposed to any form of Capitalist government. There were pro-German organisers. The Alsatians are traditionally religious, and they maintain their religious schools, while the French have officially adopted the Lay State. The Alsatians were taught German in the schools and they speak a language which has affinities with German. The French looked askance at this anomaly, and naturally insisted on the teaching and employment of the French tongue. There were, besides, economic difficulties.

Here was ample material for the agitators; and although the French have made no more mistakes than were inevitable in the circumstances, they discovered that it is not easy to change the character of a people who have lived for nearly fifty years under German administration, and to assimilate them speedily and entirely. Hence the demand for Home Rule. It is usual to ask for Home Rule within the framework of the French State; but the suggestion is made that the saving clause, " within the framework of the French State," is merely a cunning oratorical device. Dr. Georges Ricklin has asked for the adoption of Federalism. The Republic of Alsace-Lorraine should, according to him, have its own budget and its own executive.

Ricklin and Rossé are two of the men who are on trial at Colmar on charges of plotting against the safety of the State. On their trial it is not my purpose to comment. But it is significant that Ricklin and Rossé were elected to the French Parliament. Although one may properly discount the Alsatian agitation, yet the support given to it, however small, produces an unfortunate impression. M. Poincaré therefore has made a series of speeches which may be summed up in a few phrases. Never, he says, will France consent to the autonomy or neutrality of Alsace-Lorraine. The movement is utterly condemned. Nevertheless, France is wise enough not to disturb the traditions of Alsace-Lorraine, and will not push to extremes the doctrine of the Republic One and Indivisible. Religion in the schools will be respected. The Concordat with the Vatican still exists. Though French is the official language, facilities for the learning of German will continue to be provided. If all idea of separation is renounced, then Alsace-Lorraine will find it to its advantage to strengthen the economic bonds which attach it to the rest of France. The position is not disquieting, but careful handling, tactful consideration of the sentiments of Alsace-Lorraine, are essential. M. Poincaré is particularly competent to deal with this matter. He is particularly competent to deal with other vital matters which will presently arise—notably the problem of debts and reparations, for which he advocates a comprehensive solution on which will depend the evacuation of Rhineland and the amelioration of Franco-German relations. These and equally important subjects cannot be treated here; but, in a word, it would appear that the new Chamber will be called upon to take far-reaching decisions both in financial and foreign affairs at an early date, and that, on the whole, the influence of M. Poincaré will be both salutary and effective.

SISLEY HUDDLESTON.

THE TROUBLE IN ARABIA.

THE death of a British officer of the Royal Air Force on February 20th in action against Wahhabi raiders at Jirishan, in the Batin valley, will perhaps stir the torpid imagination of the British public to a glimmering perception of the situation on the 'Iraq-Najd frontier more effectively than the fact that the same Royal Air Force has been engaged for many weeks past in dealing out death and disfiguration to guilty and innocent alike—but mainly to the innocent, as is only natural in the circumstances—among the nomad tribes of Najd. The moment is therefore, perhaps, opportune for attempting a survey of the origins and import of the storm-cloud that has arisen so suddenly out of the clear sky of the Arabian horizon. And the material of such a survey is both ample and instructive—it needs but to be set forth in its nakedness to enable the impartial observer to draw his conclusions as to the rights and the wrongs of the matter between Arabia and Great Britain. It is natural in the circumstances of the case that the 'Iraq point of view should hitherto have obtained the ear of the British newspaper-reading public almost to the exclusion of the other side of the matter, which it is here my object to set forth with as much impartiality as is possible to one who is convinced that Ibn Sa'ud, King of the Dual Monarchy of Hijaz and Najd, is blameless in an affair whose consequences cannot but be of the utmost concern to him and his people.

In such circumstances it will not be out of place to begin on the solid foundation of facts which cannot be gainsaid by either party. The natural unrest left in the deserts of Arabia by the Great War had its inevitable manifestation during the early years of the post-war decade now drawing to an end in raids and counter-raids from and into the mandated borderlands of 'Iraq, Trans-Jordan, and Syria. To some extent this was but a survival of normal pre-war conditions, but there can be little doubt that the political arrangements arising out of the ashes of the Great War offered a special incentive to illicit activities, from which in many cases actual cash payment accrued to the perpetrators thereof at the hands of interested parties. Be that as it may, the position was sufficiently unsatisfactory in 1925 to suggest to the British Government the desirability of negotiating with Ibn Sa'ud—then engaged in conquering the Hijaz—to improve it. Sir Gilbert Clayton was entrusted with the negotiations, which resulted in the treaties of Bahra and Hadda, dealing respectively with 'Iraq and Trans-Jordan, and the scene was set for a period of tranquillity if it could be assumed that Ibn Sa'ud had both the will and the power to implement his engagements. That was in November, 1925, and

nearly two years later, in September, 1927, Sir Henry Dobbs, High Commissioner for 'Iraq, dispatched an official letter to the King of the Hijaz and Najd, in which he expressed his appreciation of the fact that, thanks to the unfailing efforts of His Majesty, the peace of the 'Iraq frontier had not been broken by the slightest untoward incident since the day on which Ibn Sa'ud had put his signature to a pledge in that sense. That, at any rate, was a definite and unsolicited testimonial to the will and power for peace of the rulers of the desert. Yet a month or so later there was war on that same frontier rumbling from end to end of it and far into the hinterland with an ominous crescendo.

And this war can be traced quite definitely to its origin. The 'Iraq authorities, presumably with the knowledge and approval of the British Government and the British High Commissioner—who must incidentally have known of their intention when he wrote in such high terms of appreciation to Ibn Sa'ud, and may even be suspected of having written in such terms to gild the bitter pill that was to come—proceeded to the construction of a fort capable of accommodating a garrison of 150 strong at the desert watering of Busaiya, 100 miles out in the blue, where none but Badawin roam with their herds and flocks in search of pasture and water. Busaiya, it is true, lies some fifty miles on the 'Iraq side of the frontier, but admittedly it is a *Maurid* or watering of the Mutair tribe in the suitable season, and therefore freely open to its peaceful use without restriction, in accordance with the terms of the protocol called of 'Uquair, which (1) fixed the line of the frontier; (2) expressly permitted the use of waterings on the 'Iraq side of the frontier to the Najd tribes in consideration of the relinquishment by Ibn Sa'ud, in perfect good faith, of his claim to sovereignty over a considerable area of desert thus included in 'Iraq; and (3) recorded the agreement of both parties to refrain from constructing buildings of any kind, and forts in particular, on the wells and other strategic points on either side of the frontier.

It was not specified in detail what wells or points on either side of the frontier were to be regarded as falling under the ban mentioned in (3) above, but Ibn Sa'ud has always interpreted it on generous lines and refused permission for the construction of buildings by the *Ikhwan* at Lina, Hafar, and other localities at a greater distance than Busaiya from the frontier. The obvious interpretation of the ban should clearly be that it applies to all wells on either side of the frontier habitually used by the tribes of both sides, that being the only possible way of assuring in perpetuity the free use of the water to all comers, and the construction of buildings at such waterings being obviously a potential preliminary to the closing thereof to one side or the other. Be

that as it may, the 'Iraq Government adopted a different interpretation of the obligation to which it had appended its signature at 'Uquair and omitted to take the obvious precaution of ascertaining whether its proposed action might give offence in Najd. And, furthermore, it ignored the protest entered by Ibn Sa'ud immediately he became aware of the project and the warning conveyed by him of its inevitable effect on desert sentiment. Incidentally, it may be suggested that the ulterior motive underlying the fortification of Busaiya is sufficiently evident—it would, as a glance at the map will show, be the first important station of a railway line connecting Basra and Zubair with distant 'Aqab. However that may be, the Badawin of Mutair came down one day to the familiar watering, and lo! they were building a tower upon it, which, if and when completed, would necessitate circumspection in approaching it thereafter. As Badawin habitually do in such circumstances, they fell upon the builders and left but few of them to tell the tale. Then they demolished what there was of the building. *Hinc illae lacrimae.*

No one will deny that it was very wrong of the Mutair to take the law into their own hands in this way. That is common ground. It ought equally to be common ground that it was both foolish and reprehensible on the part of the 'Iraq Government to trail its coat in such fashion. Jafar Pasha and some of his friends may indeed have welcomed the support of such an incident for his grandiose scheme of conscription, imbibed from a military training in the old Germany, and clung to with characteristic passion in spite of the clearest indications that the people of 'Iraq will have none of it. And there is evidence to show that no less a person than the High Commissioner, who seems unable to forget or discount the wholly inapplicable lessons of his experience on the Indian frontier, has been tempted to toy with the absurd project of a chain of forts stretching across the Arabian desert on the Roman *limes* pattern. Nearly two years ago Ibn Sa'ud had occasion to protest against recurrent raids on his territory by the tribes of the mandated borderlands. It took Sir Henry Dobbs nearly a year of wrestling with his soul to answer that protest, and his reply put forward proposals of such naïveté as to invite the criticism that he had not troubled to take stock of the intelligence of the other party to the game. The raids complained of were not of 'Iraqi devising or provenance, but originated in Syria and traversed the narrow strip of 'Iraqi desert between Syria and Najd before Baghdad could be aware of their passage.

An easy solution, however, presented itself if Ibn Sa'ud would agree to relax the embargo on frontier forts enshrined in the protocol of 'Uquair. A chain of forts along the 'Iraq-Najd frontier

would enable Sir Henry Dobbs to guarantee Najd territory against further molestation. He must have been grievously disappointed at the Wahhabi monarch's decided rejection of such a panacea, but in the interval he may perhaps have bethought himself of the obvious reasons for such an attitude. In the first and obvious place a string of forts along the 'Iraq-Syria frontier would serve the end in view better than the chain actually suggested, as raiders evading the forts could be pursued and caught *before* entering Najd territory. And in the second place the 'Amarat tribe, subsidised by the 'Iraq Government, should know better than to allow the Syrian tribes to raid across their territory into Najd, and would very soon know better from bitter experience if they were under the sovereignty of Ibn Sa'ud, who does understand how to make each of his tribes responsible for the policing of its territory. An obvious solution would be to relinquish to Ibn Sa'ud a strip of desert so difficult to police, but with it would go certain dreams of an all-red route for aeroplanes, trains, motor-cars, and oil. And a line of forts along the 'Iraq-Najd frontier would be very convenient from these points of view were it not for the protocol of 'Uquair. Yet Busaiya was a beginning, and the dust it has raised has encouraged another step in the same direction, though at the other end of the dreamed-of line.

For it is reported on reliable authority that active preparations are in hand for the construction of a frontier fortress, greater than Busaiya, and with barbed-wire defences covering a large area, at Mudawwara station, on the Hijaz Railway, in territory whose political status, since the forcible military occupation of the 'Aqaba-Ma'an province by the British Government in July, 1925, has remained in dispute between Great Britain and Ibn Sa'ud, and was referred to in certain correspondence exchanged between Sir Gilbert Clayton and the King of the Hijaz and Najd in connection with the Treaty of Jidda of 1927. In this correspondence the British Government asserted its intention of adhering, without argument on the point, to the *de facto* frontier created by the occupation above referred to, while Ibn Sa'ud, noting the British Government's intention, declared it " impossible, in the present circumstances, to effect a final settlement of this question," and added : " Nevertheless, in view of our true desire to maintain cordial relations based on solid ties of friendship, we desire to express to Your Excellency our willingness to maintain the *status quo* in the 'Aqaba-Ma'an district, and we promise not to interfere in its administration until favourable circumstances will permit a final settlement of this question."

In view of the agreed publication of this correspondence as an annexe to the treaty itself, it is at least strange to find the British

Government taking active steps to prejudice the issue against the development of the " favourable circumstances " referred to. But it would seem that, for the time being at any rate, all considerations are being subordinated to the mad, bad, and dangerous dream of an economically useless railway of extremely doubtful strategic value across the Arabian desert. Such an object presupposes material changes in the treaty frontiers of the desert to the detriment of independent Arabia, and the Busaiya and Mudawwara projects, which foreshadow the aims of present-day British Imperialism, should be read by people desirous of peace and goodwill in the world as warnings of trouble whose ramifications and results may well outstrip the imagination of those now engaged in fomenting it along the desert frontier of 'Iraq. Whether they act thus deliberately, or merely without due forethought, it would be difficult and perhaps invidious to decide. Certain it is that they act in ignorance of the probable results of their actions, and equally certain that much of their actions is in provable contravention of the pledged word of Great Britain. In two cases already treaty provisions have been quoted above in support of this thesis. Yet another can be invoked before we proceed to the consideration of the consequences of Busaiya.

By the Treaty of Muhammara, signed in 1922, it was agreed that the 'Amarat, Dhafir and Muntafik tribes should be regarded as subject to 'Iraq, and the Shammar to Najd, while by the protocol of 'Uquair, by which this treaty was completed, it was stipulated that various tribes hitherto independent, like the Dahamisha under Ibn Mijlad, should be allowed to determine their allegiance to whichever side they preferred without let or hindrance or coercion in any form. It was also stipulated that the officials on either side should refrain from direct communication with the tribes on the other. In spite of these various agreements, considerable numbers of the Shammar, who migrated to 'Iraq after the capture of Haïl by Ibn Sa'ud in 1921, are still allowed an asylum in 'Iraq territory, from which they are encouraged to raid into Najd ; and it has been definitely established that 'Iraq officials, including British officers, have of late developed a growing tendency to make motor-car excursions into Najd territory with a view to fraternising with and carrying on propaganda among the frontier tribes of doubtful allegiance, the rebel or refugee Shammar and others. The desert is full of ominous whisperings about the ultimate object of such excursions, and there is an ugly spirit growing among the Najd Badawin. It is a factor of which the British Government would do well to take account, and however much certain individuals may deplore that the frontier has been fixed at all or fixed where it is, let it be recognised that the frontier *has been*

fixed, and fixed by agreement, and that being so, let it be respected both in the letter and in the spirit by ourselves as it has been respected by Ibn Sa'ud.

To return to Busaiya and its consequences: it has never been suggested, and presumably will not be suggested, that the Mutair in going to this watering were doing anything that they were not perfectly entitled to do. They enjoyed a treaty right to use this well, and it has already been admitted that they did wrong in attacking a party engaged on the unlawful building of a fort at that locality in contravention of treaty obligations. They should have referred the matter to Ibn Sa'ud, who was far away at Mecca, but, being ignorant Badawin nettled by an act of trespass on their liberty, they took the law into their own hands, and committed an atrocity for which they clearly merited punishment, as is expressly provided for in the first article of the Treaty of Bahra. This stipulates that in the event of any offence being committed by the tribes subject to one party against those subject to the other party in the second party's territory, and of the tribes in question retreating after such offence into its own territory, the first party shall take active steps to secure the adequate punishment of the offenders to the satisfaction of the second party. In the case under consideration it clearly devolved on Ibn Sa'ud under the treaty to punish the Mutair on their return within his frontier. As a matter of actual fact, the offending section remained in 'Iraq territory for some ten days after the Busaiya incident, and no attempt was made either by the 'Iraq or the British Governments to punish them, though aeroplanes on several occasions located and circled over them, and could have bombed them had they so chosen. This, for whatever reason, they did not do, and a protest was duly dispatched to Ibn Sa'ud, whose own protest about the middle of September, 1927, against the building of the Busaiya fort, was not replied to till some two months later, when he had already left Mecca for Riyadh.

Meanwhile, the offending Mutair had returned to their own territory, and Ibn Sa'ud, being now at Riyadh, took action as follows: firstly, he denounced Faisal Duwish for having acted on his own initiative, and stopped the payments and supplies he had been accustomed to receive in his capacity as titular head of the Mutair; secondly, he ordered him to return at once to 'Artawiya, which he did; thirdly, he arranged for the issue of a *Fatwa* by the *Ulama* of Riyadh, forbidding the *Ikhwan* to accept any share in the booty secured in the raid on 'Iraq territory; and, fourthly, he ordered a general boycott of all who had taken part in the raid. The social system of Najd, with its foundations deep in a bed-rock of religious fanaticism, has to be understood for a

full appreciation of the effects of such orders. After the Busaiya affair the tribal elements had waited expectantly for some sign of Ibn Sa'ud's approval of the activities of his lieutenant, and such approval was taken for granted. Had it been forthcoming, the tribes would have flocked to Duwish's standard for extensive operations against 'Iraq.

In these circumstances the King's action in disowning and discrediting the Mutair leader came to the tribes as a bolt from the blue. They were galvanised into temporary inaction, and the next step on the King's programme would have been to arrest Duwish and punish him. Before taking this step, however, and warned by two previous examples of a similar kind—in both cases offending tribal chiefs against whom he had ordered punitive action to be taken had fled into 'Iraq and there been welcomed with open arms by its King, who had later encouraged them to turn the tables by raiding into Najd—he wrote to the 'Iraq Government offering to punish Duwish on one condition. And that condition was that the 'Iraq should undertake not to allow him sanctuary in its territory. Ibn Sa'ud's offer was in all conscience a reasonable one, involving his recognition of his treaty obligation to punish persons subject to him who had offended against 'Iraq. His offer was in accordance with the terms of section 1 of the Bahra treaty, and there can be no question of his ability to fulfil his undertaking.

But the acceptance of this offer would have cut the ground from under the feet of the supporters of conscription in 'Iraq, and the 'Iraq Government chose to act on the fiction—a pure and simple fiction of propagandists, as anyone must know who knows Najd—that a rebellion against the authority of Ibn Sa'ud had broken out in the desert. This fiction was given further currency by Mr. Ormsby-Gore in reply to a question in the British Parliament, when he told the House of Commons that Ibn Sa'ud had, in a letter to Baghdad, authorised this interpretation of the activities of the Mutair. It is sufficient merely to state that Ibn Sa'ud's letter to Baghdad contained no suggestion of his having lost control in the desert, and constituted merely a serious warning that the conduct of 'Iraq was calculated to foment tribal unrest for whose ebullitions he could scarcely be held responsible. Perhaps Mr. Ormsby-Gore will produce the letter itself in explanation of his interpretation of it.

In any case, the British and 'Iraq Governments had made up their minds to take matters into their own hands, much as the Mutair themselves had done at Busaiya, and it was grandiloquently announced that the 'Iraq army and the British Air Force were to concert operations for the humbling of Duwish. It was further announced, quite falsely as is now known, that Ibn Sa'ud, approv-

ing of this decision, had undertaken to take his rebel lieutenant in the rear. The only point which it was not considered necessary to emphasise was the fact that section 6 of the Bahra treaty stipulated that, in the event of an offence occurring which merited punishment as provided for in section 1 of the treaty, the armed forces of the one party should not cross the frontier into the territory of the other in pursuit of the offenders. This important treaty provision was ignored, and the Anglo-'Iraqi forces prefaced their infringement of the Najd treaty-frontier by issuing a proclamation in the following terms, which was dropped upon a totally illiterate population at Bashuk and other places in Najd territory: "Whereas Faisal al Duwish and the Mutair tribe attacked 'Iraq tribes, disregarding the orders of H.M. the King of Najd, both the British and the 'Iraq Governments, as a punishment for this crime, hereby order all Najd tribes to withdraw to a distance of four days' journey from the 'Iraq frontier. Those disobeying this order will be subjected to bombardment from the air without any further notice."

In due course the British aeroplanes proceeded to their work, and though they appear not to have visited 'Artawiya itself, as falsely reported in the 'Iraq and London papers, they dropped bombs on Hazil, Hudaiya, and various encampments in the Dibdiba and adjacent desert. And each punitive visit of an aeroplane serves as a pin-prick to irritate a fanaticism which is difficult enough to control under normal conditions, and, as so often happens when policy is shaped by ignorance, exactly the opposite result has been achieved to what was apparently desired or expected. The month of Ramdhan, when religious fervour is designedly put to a special test of sincerity, finds the Arabian frontier ablaze, and the English papers talking about the threatening attitude of Ibn Sa'ud. Such talk is nonsense, and the true significance of the whole business can best be appreciated by the establishment of the identity of the *tertius gaudens,* the party that profits or imagines it profits by the present embroilment of the relations between Great Britain and Independent Arabia. King Faisal and his Government stand far aside from the danger zone, longing to see the armed forces of Great Britain humble one who but a few years ago laid the Sharifian dynasty low in the dust.

Is Britain wise to play the catspaw to 'Iraq? There are doubtless some who regard the real independence of Arabia as an obstacle to the imperial expansion so dear to their hearts, but they are blind to the future. Let them realise that, whatever happens, the Arabs will surrender no jot or tittle of their independence for the furtherance of the aims of British imperialists. And let them realise above all that, if the present policy of pin-pricking of the Wahhabi

elements of the desert is allowed to continue, 'Iraq is doomed to destruction the moment the independent status, for which it clamours, is conferred on it. British policy doubtless regards the practical independence of 'Iraq as an impossibility scarcely likely of realisation until the Greek Kalends, but its attitude towards Persia on the one side and Arabia on the other is scarcely calculated to ensure the peace of its protégé.

To regard Ibn Sa'ud as in any way hostile to Great Britain is a ridiculous proposition, which his whole career from 1900 to this day decisively refutes. To expect or assume his approval of the present operations of British aeroplanes in his territory argues ignorance of his character and policy. And, if the testimony of now numerous British observers has not enabled the British Government to take stock of his character, his policy may at any rate be stated in concrete terms. His foreign policy has from the beginning been based on the simple and solid foundation of the maintenance of the unfettered independence of his territories by resistance to all menace from outside. As a corollary to this policy he has been forced by circumstances to take the offensive against some of his neighbours as the best means of defending his birthright. His campaigns against the Hijaz and Haïl have been forced on him by the ambitions of the rulers of those countries. By absorbing them he has extended the area within which his policy is to assert and maintain his independence in amity with his neighbours, among whom, however, he observes a tendency to challenge his established position. 'Iraq, Trans-Jordan, and Yaman have all given proof of this tendency, and, in doing so, none of them has been without a measure of foreign encouragement, whether official, semi-official, or unofficial.

As for Ibn's interior policy, it is based on three points, clearly stated and steadily pursued, namely: (1) the centralisation of all tribal government through the tribal *shaikhs* under the central administration; (2) the establishment of peace and security throughout his territories; the elimination of raids, and the punishment of individual offenders under the Shar' Law, and of communities offending by the use of his organised forces; and (3) the payment of all due taxation under the Shar' Law by all and sundry without exception.

In the achievement of these aims of his policy Ibn Sa'ud can justly claim the world's recognition of his success, achieved in a country where, until very recently, the camel was the sole means of transport, and whose length and breadth is measured in journeys not of days but of months. Yet the world is still largely ignorant of the amazing achievements of this desert monarch and, thanks to the manner in which newspaper activities are organised, only

hears at intervals of raids by the Wahhabis into the territory of their neighbours. Raids in the reverse direction by the tribes of the Mandated territories, though occurring as frequently if not more frequently than the others, are seldom heard of in the Press, though, since the various treaties of which mention has been made, Ibn Sa'ud has regularly reported them to the British Government, with whom they are duly on record.

Only last year a conference of Trans-Jordan and Najd representatives met at Jericho, under a British president, and ended abortively, owing to the Trans-Jordan representatives answering a Najdi claim, substantiated by reference to contemporary official reports, with a counter-claim of greater value based on alleged incidents of which their claim contained the first mention. Similarly, just before the Duwish incident, Shaikh Hafidh Wahba, adviser to Ibn Sa'ud's Government, had proceeded to Kuwait with a long list of claims for settlement in conference with the 'Iraq Government, but the conference broke up owing to the Busaiya incident. And no student of Arabian affairs will need to be reminded of the abortive conference of Kuwait in 1923-24, whose failure, owing to ridiculous demands by the Sharifian representatives—they asked that Ibn Sa'ud should relinquish Hail, 'Asir, and other localities—precipitated and stereotyped the hostile atmosphere which has ever since dominated the relations of Ibn Sa'ud and the neighbouring Sharifian States.

And now Press reports from Basra, frequently inaccurate, sometimes false, would have the world believe that Duwish is out in rebellion against his sovereign, and that the extermination of Duwish is a worthy object of British policy. Let not the world be deluded into that belief. The inflaming of a desert frontier is no sure road to peace, and the present operations of the Royal Air Force will have effects lasting, incalculable, and disastrous. If peace is the real object of the British Government it can be guaranteed to-morrow on the easiest of conditions, and those conditions are: (1) the cancellation of the present punitive operations; and (2) the submission of the claims and counter-claims of all parties to a conference for settlement.

The only bright spot in a lowering sky is the existence of some prospect of such a conference at an early date. Rumours are about that Sir Gilbert Clayton, the author of the Bahra, Hadda, and Jidda Treaties, and the probable successor of Sir Henry Dobbs as High Commissioner for 'Iraq, is likely to be deputed shortly to undertake a discussion of all outstanding matters with Ibn Sa'ud. No better solution of an unfortunate and unnecessary crisis could be imagined, and there is ground for hope that one, who has already played a prominent part in establishing friendly relations between

Great Britain and Najd on solid foundations, will not fail in conference with the Arabian monarch to find a satisfactory solution of the present imbroglio. Such a conference will have to assess damages and strike a balance in respect of all past raids still unliquidated on both sides. That will settle old scores, but its more important object will be to reaffirm the honourable intention of all parties to abide strictly by their treaty obligations and the frontiers resulting therefrom.

Is it too much to hope that the conference will go still further and arrange for a just settlement of the 'Aqaba-Ma'an and Hijaz Railway controversies? And yet another step further by the rectification of the desert boundaries in such manner as to place under the rule of the desert king all territory and tribes for whose effective administration he alone can cater? Sir Gilbert Clayton and the British Government have a noble opportunity at their disposal of showing that Great Britain's real object is peace in our time and not imperial expansion provocative of war in the to-morrow. Such an opportunity should not be missed by British statesmen, for the friendship of Arabia is a greater asset than a strategic railway across its northern desert.

ST. JOHN PHILBY.

TURKEY IN THE WORLD WAR.

WHEN, after the first brilliant successes of Germany in Belgium and East Prussia and the hard-won victories of the Austro-Hungarian Army in Poland, the chances of war suddenly turned against the Central European Powers, and they were faced by terrible catastrophes, both on the Marne and in Galicia, the two Empires sent out an urgent cry for help. The necessity for silence—the Entente was not to guess their plight—did not make the appeal less urgent. These cries for help were chiefly intended for Turkey, for it was from that country above all that Berlin and Vienna expected support. For Russia, with her age-long desire for the possession of Constantinople and the Dardanelles, was the arch-enemy of the Ottoman Empire, and England, as her protector, had become a dangerous opponent. Counting on these factors and painting in vivid colours the dangers which threatened the Porte, they tried to urge her on to action against the Entente.

The Central Powers, however, were disappointed by the reception of their appeal. Although no one denied the soundness of the arguments, certain things, apparently no longer remembered by Berlin and Vienna, had not been forgotten by the Turks: Germany's and Austria's attitude during the Tripoli war and the two Balkan wars. On both these occasions the Central Powers had left Turkey in the lurch in her hour of need. Austria-Hungary, it must be admitted, was between two fires, a position which partially justified her passive attitude. For however ominous the federation of the Balkan States, and especially the strengthening of Serbia, whose attitude was one of bitterest enmity, might appear to her, it was nevertheless impossible to disregard the dangers which threatened from her own Slavs if she took sides with Turkey against the Slav Balkan States, as all her interests suggested. On the horns of this terrible dilemma she preferred to stand by and watch while Turkey collapsed under the blows of the four Balkan States. Although there was no excuse in her eyes for this passive attitude, it was, nevertheless, comprehensible to the Porte.

For Germany's passive attitude, however, there seemed not the faintest shadow of excuse. The Kaiser, with his usual histrionic *aplomb*, had appointed himself the protector of Islam in general and of Turkey in particular, and had proclaimed this to the whole world in Tangier and Jerusalem with such emphasis that the entire Mohammedan world, and especially the Sublime Porte, was bound to believe these assurances. When, however, Italy attacked Turkey, just like a band of robbers, the Kaiser did not lift a finger to help his *protégé*. Again, one year later, he, like Austria, but

without that country's excuse, stood calmly by while the Balkan States attacked and destroyed Turkey. Nor was this all, for when the Archduke Ferdinand came to Springe in November, 1912, to hunt, he, the protector of the Turks, strongly dissuaded the Archduke from assisting Turkey, and refused in such case to lend any support.

All these things were unforgotten on the Bosphorus, and did not tend to inspire great sympathy for the Central Powers, especially as the omnipotent Young Turk Committee contained men whose sympathies were with the Western Powers, not with Germany. It was, therefore, by no means a matter of course that the Porte, in spite of all these past events, should prefer not to pay the Central Powers back in their own coin, but to enter into an alliance with Germany as early as August 2nd, 1914. Needless to say, it was self-interest that induced Turkey not to leave the Central Powers in the lurch, or at any rate what seemed so to her. This decision was due to two circumstances: first, the high opinion Turkey entertained of German military power, and, secondly, the influence of Enver Pasha, who after three years' residence in Berlin was completely under the spell of Germany's power and invincibility. The decision in favour of the Central Powers had been quick on the Bosphorus, but from the very beginning the relations between the allies were difficult and disagreeable—especially between Germany and Turkey, but also between Germany and Austria. Between the latter country and Turkey, however, no friction existed.

Very little is known of the events enacted behind the scenes of the Oriental theatre of war, and even this is drawn from a source—Liman von Sanders—too closely connected with these secret conflicts to be sufficiently objective. We shall, therefore, welcome all the more warmly a book written by a man who, though able to observe events at very close quarters, had no part in them: the former Austrian Plenipotentiary to the Porte, General, later Lieut.-Field-Marshal, Joseph Pomiankowsky, who has recently published his Memoirs, entitled *Der Lusammenbruch des Ottomanischen Reiches*. As Austria played but a very modest part on the Eastern front, consisting chiefly of the delivery of guns, mechanics, and all sorts of war materials, there could be no question of political or military rivalry with Germany, as was the case in the European war zone. This prevented conflicts between the two Powers, or at any rate restricted them to a purely economic character; and as there was no serious friction of any kind between Turkey and Austria, Pomiankowsky was in a position to judge the events enacted before his eyes "*sine ira et studio.*" The driving power behind Turkey was the Young Turk Committee, led by Enver, Dschemal and Talaat.

> "Intelligent, but quite unversed in their subject and amateurish in their methods of administration, these three men made up for their lack of competence by enormous energy, brutal unscrupulousness and even cruelty. Insufficiently acquainted with Europe and her military strength, they were deeply impressed by Germany's imposing development of power and believed blindly in her ultimate victory. They obeyed, without question, the advice and wishes of the Berlin Government, which were often of an egoistic nature, thus leading Turkey to her destruction." Enver Pasha, in particular, was regarded as Turkey's national hero, and this nimbus made him the most powerful man on the Bosphorus. "Naturally intelligent and capable, brave and without personal fear, Enver Pasha hid under a mask of modesty unbounded ambition; but being quite unversed in his subject and without the necessary experience he was utterly unprepared for the important post he was to fill. His unbounded energy and initiative, and an astonishing inability to realise what was obtainable and within the bounds of possibility, led him into some grave errors and were, in conjunction with his amateurishness and arrogance, the main cause of Turkey's defeats in the World War."

The military and political plans of Enver Pasha and the Young Turks, whose most notable representative he was, were closely related to the chief political tendencies current in Turkey during recent years, of which there were no less than four: Pan-Islamic, Pan-Ottoman, Pan-Turkish, and Pan-Turanian.

The aim and object of the Pan-Islamic idea was the union of all peoples who were adherents of Islam, and had its roots in the old theocratic tradition that the Sultan-Caliph in Constantinople was the head of all Mohammedans. The Young Turks had sprung a leak in this tradition, and had substituted for the religious motive the newer and more revolutionary national motive. Pan-Ottomanism was to succeed Pan-Islamism. All dwellers in the Ottoman Empire were to become conscious Ottomans, no matter what their race. It was the same Utopian idea that the Magyars in Hungary had adopted with fanatical enthusiasm and set up as their ideal, an ideal they strove to attain with all the means in their power, but in vain. They could not turn Croats, Serbians, Rumanians, Ruthenians, Slovakians and Germans into Magyars. Neither would Arabs, Albanians, Kurds, etc., be turned into "Ottomans." So the rather vague conception of Ottomanism had to give place to the more definite, significant idea of Turkism, and Pan-Turkism was set up as the political ideal. The result was necessarily the same. How could the Turkish minority induce the non-Turkish majority to become Nationalist? A difficult enough task to undertake for the minority if they had stood on a higher plane of culture, instead of being actually inferior in this respect to some of the majority! Realising this, the Young Turks conceived the idea of strengthening the numerically weak Turkish element by linking up all those territories which were inhabited by people racially connected with the Turks; that is to say, belonging to the Turanian race. This was Pan-Turanianism.

This and Pan-Islamism, which was still very much alive, retained the upper hand in the political struggles, and together they played a powerful part in the World War. The first object Pan-Islamism had in view was to regain the lost territories inhabited by Mohammedans; above all, Egypt, Tripoli, and Benghazi. Pan-Turanianism, however, had for its immediate object the Persian Provinces Azerbeijan and Ardilen, Turkestan and the former Turan (Bokhara and Khiva), and further, the Crimea, the Caucasus, and the territories inhabited by Tartars on the lower Volga. Extraordinary powers would have been needed to realise such gigantic plans, and only a country possessing vast political, material and economic resources could dare to think of bringing them to a successful end, and even then only if the attempt was made gradually and not simultaneously. Turkey, almost more than any other State, was lacking in nearly everything essential for such an enterprise. A strong and energetic will was not sufficient; it needed, above all, the material and financial means she did not possess. Weakened by centuries of economic mismanagement, her army, numerically reduced through a complete lack of hygiene and devastating wars, without money, with insufficient technical means and hopeless transport, especially in Asia Minor, where railways were practically unknown and the roads in an appalling state, in these conditions Turkey was not in a position even to think of such plans. That, nevertheless, an attempt was made to carry them out, throws a light on the naïve self-esteem and fantastic ideas which reigned in the Young Turk Committee. Nothing could reveal more drastically the incredible misjudgment of the situation than Enver's absurd boast of sending troops to India to strike a blow at Britain's world dominion!

In Berlin these wild plans of the Young Turks were by no means regarded as fantastic Utopian ideas, as one would have supposed, but were inserted in their own military and political programme. Needless to say Germany was not converted to the belief that Turkey was capable of carrying out her stupendous task; but Berlin, or rather German Headquarters, where not only military, but political decisions were made, believed *itself* capable of doing so.

> "According to information," writes Pomiankowsky, "they intended, above all, to form a sufficiently powerful German-Persian army to safeguard the future Bagdad Railway in the East against all attack, and to drive the Russians and English

> out of Persia. Further, German policy in the East included the establishment of a close alliance between Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan. Communication between these States was to be effected by means of Consulates—in reality military stations—in towns and districts on the road to Mesopotamia, viâ Persia and Kabul. . . . The communication thus established was to assist the transport of money, arms and munitions, and its aim was to induce the Emir to attack India."

Pomiankowsky asserts, moreover, that Berlin would not have been too grieved if the Turks had been defeated in their attempt to carry out their far-reaching plans, for in that case they would have been forced to leave it to the Germans to bring them to a successful end. A powerful Turkey could only hinder the plans of the Germans, while a weakened Turkey might prove useful. Whether Pomiankowsky is right in his surmise is a matter of opinion; we prefer to withhold judgment on this point.

Germany's schemes seem to have leaked out on the Bosphorus, for a Turkish Mission was sent to Persia which was to prevent Germany from carrying out her ambitious plans. For the time being the secret rivals were dependent on each other! The Turks needed German leadership, German money and German support. The Germans needed Turkish lives. Only this mutual dependence kept the alliance intact. The internal strife made itself felt increasingly during the war, and what was still more injurious to their cause was the fact that the Germans were not united among themselves. Ambition and personal antipathies led to all kinds of intrigues which hindered their plans. Between the German Embassy and the German Military Mission very strained relations existed. General—in Turkey Marshal—Liman von Sanders, who was at the head of the Mission, and whom Pomiankowsky describes as an extremely capable and highly-educated officer, found that though his was nominally the deciding voice in all military matters, he was hampered at every step. For he had a powerful opponent in the German ambassador, Freiherr von Wangenheim, who, thanks to his influence in Berlin—he enjoyed the special good-will of the Kaiser—knew well how to carry through his own plans, which coincided with those of Enver Pasha, and to frustrate Liman's. Wangenheim, who had been a cavalry officer, had not changed with his career, but had retained his optimistic and enterprising spirit. His sympathies were all with Enver's fantastic schemes, and he looked upon Liman, who would have none of them, as a stumbling-block which was best out of the way.

The German Military Attaché worked with Wangenheim against Liman, sent reports to Berlin behind his back, and did his utmost to thwart him whenever possible. Liman was aware of this, and succeeded in getting the Military Attaché, Major von Laffert,

recalled, but was unable to prevent the post from being filled by another, in spite of his opinion that a Military Attaché was entirely superfluous in Constantinople, since he had taken over military affairs in Turkey. However, Wangenheim managed to obtain the post for an intimate friend of his, Colonel von Leipzig. He was fatally wounded in 1915, and the post went to Colonel von Lossow, who soon rose to Major-General and became very influential. In opposition to Liman he supported Enver, and with him set on foot the most foolhardy plans, which not only harmed Turkey, but Germany as well. Apart from the successful defence of the Dardanelles, where the two Western Powers suffered their severest defeat in the World War, and which was the work of Liman, all operations in Asia Minor undertaken by Enver with Wangenheim and his military advisers failed, often ending in the most terrible catastrophes. Most memorable of these were the operations in December, 1914, in the Caucasus, which were under the personal leadership of Enver. Within a few weeks the Turkish army of 100,000 men was reduced to one-fifth through famine and exposure to the cold. Liman blamed the Chief of the Great General Staff, General Bronsart von Schellendorf, for this frightful catastrophe, and demanded his recall, but was frustrated by Wangenheim. Equally unsuccessful, though the loss of life was not so great, were the two expeditions led by Colonel von Kress, a German, to the Suez Canal. These were undertaken in opposition to Liman and, being badly equipped, were bound to fail.

The battles in Mesopotamia were no less unfortunate for Turkey. General Townsend's capitulation in Kut-el-amara was but a momentary respite, and could not prevent Bagdad from falling into the hands of the British. As neither Constantinople nor Berlin could swallow this loss, an attempt was made to reconquer the town. The task, however, was not entrusted to Liman, but to General von Falkenhayn. Berlin must have held this man in very high esteem, for his activities as Chief of the Great General Staff in the German Army were not likely to suggest that he was the right man to carry through so difficult a task. The terrible and needless slaughter of the Germans at Verdun clung to his name like a blood-stained shadow and made him unwelcome to the Turks. His overbearing and self-assured manner helped to make him unpopular with the Turks, so unpopular, indeed, that Turkish officers refused to serve under him after a time. If he could have removed the mistrust felt for his military ability by some military successes the Turkish Officers' Corps would have overlooked his tactlessness; but these successes were not forthcoming. Operations under his leadership in Mesopotamia and Syria ended in defeat, his position

became untenable, and he returned to Germany without reputation and fame.

"*Germany's famous and deservedly admired talent for organisation broke down completely on Turkish soil.*" With these words Pomiankowsky sums up his opinion of Germany's activities in Turkey, thereby meaning all her actions, and not only those of a military character, for which he has high praise. His warmest appreciation is given to Field-Marshal von der Goltz, the neglect of whom he not only regrets but censures, on the ground that he would have been the right man. For he possessed not only deep knowledge of military matters, but tact—a characteristic conspicuous by its absence in most Germans abroad. Most important of all, he was thoroughly conversant with the Oriental character and Oriental affairs and conditions, advantages which were more or less absent in the other German officers in Turkey.

THEODOR VON SOSNOSKY.

GEORGE JOHN SHAW-LEFEVRE (LORD EVERSLEY).

AN APPRECIATION.

THE writer of these lines came to know Lord Eversley in connection with the Cobden Club a year or two before the Boer War, and had the privilege of helping him in two considerable pieces of work, *Fact versus Fiction* and *The Burden of Armaments*. They were both issued by the Cobden Club, or rather by a Committee of the Cobden Club presided over by George John Shaw-Lefevre. "Fact versus Fiction, the Cobden Club's Reply to Mr. Chamberlain," appeared in the autumn of 1904, after Mr. Chamberlain had presented his policy of Tariff Reform. It had a very wide circulation, and certainly made its mark, not only as an exposure of Mr. Chamberlain's inaccuracies, but as an effective criticism of his arguments for retaliation, colonial preference and protection. It was followed up in 1909, three years after the victory of Free Trade, by another pamphlet entitled *Tariff Makers,* which showed how trade statistics had confounded the economic dynamics of Mr. Balfour's Insular Notes on Free Trade and the gloomy vaticinations of impending ruin which had pervaded Mr. Chamberlain's diagnosis of British trade conditions.

The Burden of Armaments—a plea for retrenchment by the Cobden Club—was issued in 1905, a year after *Fact versus Fiction,* and just before the General Election which made Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman Prime Minister with an overwhelming Liberal majority.* It was a work on which Lord Eversley always prided himself, and towards the end of his life he constantly expressed a wish that it should be brought up to date in order that the lesson and the warning of the Great War (which in one of its aspects was the natural and inevitable result of the piling up of armaments after C.-B.'s death—an explosion of powder magazines) might be impressed on the minds and hearts of his countrymen.

Not only was Lord Eversley during the whole of his life a convinced and whole-hearted Cobdenite; he was the last of English statesmen who knew Cobden personally, and had actually co-operated with the great man in the House of Commons. One day in August, 1925, when I was staying at Abbotsworthy, his delightful home by the Itchen, I asked Lord Eversley about his early Parliamentary career. After being defeated for Winchester in 1859, he was returned for Reading in 1863, when Lord Palmerston was Prime Minister and Mr. Gladstone Chancellor of the Exchequer. He told me with some pride of his first three speeches

* Soon after C.-B.'s accession to power Shaw-Lefevre accepted a peerage, taking the title of Eversley, which had been chosen by his uncle, the Speaker.

in the House of Commons. The first aimed at stopping the *Alabama* before she left port. Shaw-Lefevre had acquired knowledge at first hand about the United States; for he had visited it in 1856 or 1857, and had spent some time in Virginia where he had seen the slave market at Richmond and the demoralisation caused by the degrading institution of slavery. He knew that the North was in the right and that the North would win. But at the time when Shaw-Lefevre put forward his motion English society was almost wholly on the side of the South, not only because the Southerners were a brave minority defending their property and estate rights against the vulgar abolitionists and puritanical republicans of the north, but also because they were free traders and their cotton was the raw material of our greatest textile industry. And, finally, they were the gentlemanly party. So all Shaw-Lefevre's friends discouraged him except Cobden, who urged him to persevere with his motion, which was, of course, unsuccessful, though its wisdom and foresight were to be proved in a very short time.

His second speech in the House of Commons was on March 23rd, 1865, on a Motion put forward by the Cobdenite Liberals against a vote which the Whig Government proposed to spend on the fortification of Quebec, as if to provide against an invasion of Canada by the United States. Cobden came up from Midhurst for the division. He was ill at the time, and died a few weeks later. Only forty Members voted for the Motion, Shaw-Lefevre being one of the tellers. But this time argument told; public opinion supported the minority, and the scheme was dropped. Mr. Gladstone, it will be remembered, made a noble recantation of the Pro-Southern sentiments which he had vowed early in the war, by referring the *Alabama* claims to arbitration and thus setting a grand example to the civilised world and paving the way for a lasting friendship between the two great English-speaking peoples. The honour of moving that the *Alabama* claims should be referred to arbitration fell to Shaw-Lefevre, then a junior member of Mr. Gladstone's first Administration, which he always said was the best that had ever governed England.

Shaw-Lefevre's third speech in the House of Commons was made on behalf of the Commons Preservation Society which he had helped to found in 1866. At its first meeting he was appointed Chairman, and from 1910 to the end of his life was its president. In telling me about his Motion on this occasion, which aimed at establishing public rights over all commons in the country, he remarked that the principle for which he had contended all his life had only just been acknowledged by the legislature in a statute passed in that very year, 1925, and even so, the principle was only

)plied to commons in urban districts. The story of the wonderful ork accomplished largely under his guidance by the Commons reservation Society is told in his own admirable book, *Commons, orests and Footpaths,* which will always remain a standard work a most fascinating subject. Of the Society's foundation Lord versley wrote:

> "I invited a number of those interested in the question, mostly my personal friends, to meet for the purpose. At the meeting, held on July 19th, 1866, it was decided to form a society for the above objects, to be called the Commons Preservation Society."

s first purpose was to organise resistance to the threatened enclore of London Commons. E. N. Buxton, Tom Hughes, Leslie tephen, James Bryce, John Stuart Mill, George Grote, Thomas fterwards Lord) Farrer, and Henry Fawcett were among its early embers. By its aid and exertions Hampstead Heath, Wimbledon ommon, Epping Forest, and many other famous playgrounds ere saved from the inclosing landlord and the encroachments of ie builder. This Society and its work constitute an immortal onument to Shaw-Lefevre's farsighted public spirit.

In spite of increasing deafness and loss of sight, Lord Eversley's terest in public affairs continued to the very end of his life. Until week before his death he had *The Times* and *Hansard* read aloud him daily, and he kept abreast with all questions relating to ommons Preservation, Free Trade, Armaments and Public inance. His letters on these subjects with friends who shared his)inions were always instructive, and his suggestions often fructi-ed. His purse was always ready to back his opinions. He was an er kind and charitable neighbour. "Kingsworthy has lost its ackbone," said one of the villagers to me on the day of his neral. No public post was too humble for him. For several ears he acted as chairman of the Parish Council, and on the ampshire Bench he worked long and patiently, and in the end ccessfully, for the reduction of public-houses.

His conversation abounded in recollections of the past, and many ere the queer stories about men famous and infamous that he used relate. Few men have had so long and intimate experience of blic life and public characters. He had known personally—so once told me—thirteen Prime Ministers, seventeen Lord Chanllors, and seven Archbishops of Canterbury. He had served in ie Board of Trade under John Bright, the noblest of orators, the ziest of administrators, who confessed that he had never untied ie red tape of any bundle of documents in his office. His father, r George Shaw-Lefevre, was Clerk to Parliament, and so as a boy oung Lefevre met many famous men. Once he was taken to eakfast with Macaulay at Holly Lodge on Campden Hill. The

historian, falling into a discourse about prose style, launched upon a panegyric of Fanny Burney. By way of illustrating the charm of her narrative he took down from his shelves a volume of her diaries and read aloud to his guests her account of an adventure which befell her while she was staying in a country house near the coast. Rambling alone along the shore she had been caught by the incoming tide and driven into a cove, whence she was rescued from drowning by a young man named Lefevre. "Are you the man?" asked Macaulay, suddenly turning to his guest. "Yes," replied Sir George, blushing, "but the young lady was not really in any danger."

If all his adventures and strange encounters could be collected Lord Eversley's *Life* would be not merely a fine record of public work, but rich in variety and full of entertainment. Though he lacked the personal magnetism and literary skill of a Morley or a Trevelyan, he had a keen sense of humour and an observant eye for the picturesque, which are not always associated with the plodding administrator, the industrious statistician, and the political utilitarian who combines, as he did, a keen zest for public life with unwearied activity for the public weal.

"COBDENITE."

THE UNFORTUNATE TRAVELLER.

THE unfortunate traveller comes almost at the end of Sterne's list of travellers, possibly because the author was not personally concerned with the seamy side of the business. But in fact, in the strange lottery of travel, there can have been few even in Sterne's day whom an enterprising tourist agency would not have bribed into silence. It may be, as Mr. Seccombe has suggested in the case of Smollett, that the violent passions aroused by the conduct of refractory postillions and extortionate innkeepers did contribute positively to brace up and invigorate the traveller's constitution. Smollett himself says that he was mended by ill-treatment. The cure was not a lasting one, and Nashe was probably nearer the truth when he wrote that travel was good for nothing but to tame and bring men under, and that he who ventured abroad must have the back of an ass to bear all, a tongue like a dog's tail to flatter all, and the mouth of a hog to eat what was set before him. These hard words were penned with special reference to the travelling Englishman, whose folly in leaving a good country for a worse was often commented upon in the days when men were seriously concerned with the mischief of sight-seeing. The dangers were so many, the rewards so few. A youth setting out upon the Grand Tour of Europe might well return with a predisposition to be hanged at Tyburn. That was to be expected; but it was still difficult, even in the seventeenth century, to forget the stories of dog-headed and headless men, of giants and dwarfs who inhabited the wastes of Africa and Asia, or the melancholy fate of the traveller in the Grand Turk's Dominions who straightway lost his wits upon the unexpected sight of a crocodile.

Lest we should spend our sympathy upon the travelling Englishman abroad, let us glance for a moment at his opposite, the travelling foreigner in England. On the whole, at least until the seventeenth century, it may be taken that our visitors cordially disliked us and all or most of our habits. They found us crafty and treacherous, gluttonous, gross and very dull, and so ill-disposed to foreigners that a man might count himself happy to escape from our shores with his life. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius II, was here in the early years of the fifteenth century. As a visitor he was suspect from the first, for he came as an envoy from the Council of Basle to the Scotch King, and was obviously intent on stirring up trouble with England. It is possible to take the view, therefore, that he brought his misfortunes on himself; but the prospect of a future Pope scurrying across the Border disguised as a merchant, and spending a dreadful night

in a stable amidst the barbarians who inhabited the desolate plains of Northumberland, is a disturbing one, and his experiences must have coloured all his recollections of London Bridge, which he beheld with amazement, and of Canterbury and Becket's shrine, where he said his prayers. A still more august visitor, Leo, King of Armenia, who visited us in 1387, was jeered at in the streets of London. Neither he nor the Emperor of the East, who took us in his stride in 1400, can have wished to repeat his experiences, while Sigismund, King of the Romans, afterwards Holy Roman Emperor, who came as a guest in 1416, remained to all intents and purposes a prisoner in England for four months until Henry V had completed his preparations against France, and chose graciously to release him.

And so the tale goes on in England and elsewhere. A traveller arrives on pleasure or business and finds himself at once in difficulties, if not in danger. Jacob Keuse, a merchant from Bruges, tramping with his pack up Gad's Hill in 1410 fell in with one Lewis Robesart and was persuaded to go along with him in great haste to appear before the King for certain causes to be shown. Jacob posted on in all faith for many a long mile, wondering what so great a potentate as Henry IV could want with an obscure Bruges merchant, until he found himself at Coventry (of all places), where he was thrown into a dungeon and held to ransom in the sum of 500 nobles. This story can be matched by another, even more despicable, relating to three Normandy children, a girl and two boys, who were sent from Rouen to Brixham in 1430 to serve a certain merchant named Nicole, because their father was too poor to keep them at home. Two years later, when the father claimed the children, the Nicoles refused to give them up unless the father paid eighteen roubles, and even claimed the right to sell the children. The facts appear from the distracted father's petition to the King's Council and make most uncomfortable reading, especially as we do not know what happened.

These cases are records of private villainy practised upon individuals, but they tend to show the general hostility to foreigners which seems always to have been part of the Englishman's make-up. Some years later, the foreign servants of Richard Pynson, the King's printer, were chased down Fleet Street by certain rogues who had promised and sworn that no Frenchman or Fleming should dwell or abide within St. Clement's parish, and so terrified were they that they dared not leave their homes to go to church to hear divine service, much less to do their master's commands. Nothing untoward seems to have happened to George von Ehingen, a German knight who visited England and Scotland in 1457, but during his earlier travels, at Ceuta, he had been called upon at a

moment's notice to engage in mortal combat with a Moorish giant whom he slew with great courage and dispatch, and one feels, if only from his obvious haste to be gone, that he was expecting every moment to find some British Goliath waiting for him behind the arras.

We are now almost at the age of the tourist whose complaints cry out to us from every page of every travel diary. Bad roads, mud and filth, rascally innkeepers and vermin plagued the traveller by day and turned night into a perpetual watching. Such chances were the lot of every tourist in Europe, a part of the price he had to pay for his education. They do not of themselves constitute misfortune or turn a fortunate traveller into an unfortunate one. But there were other happenings far more unexpected and inexplicable. A middle-aged doctor of laws fleeing for his life from Rome disguised as a common sailor; a peer of the realm captured on his way to Naples by Saracens and held to ransom; the Lord Chamberlain of Great Britain confined in a Venetian prison for no other known reason than that he allowed himself to be seen in a gondola during carnival week with a lady whose society he might, with discretion, have avoided; Sir William Petty subsisting in Paris for fourteen days on two pennyworth of walnuts:—these were happenings beyond the contemplation and almost beyond the endurance of the sufferers.

At times it must be admitted that the travellers were singularly indiscreet. The four Grey Friars who went forth to see the Holy Sepulchre and thought fit to tell the Cadi at Jerusalem that the Koran was lies and the Prophet a glutton and a murderer paid for their hardihood with their lives. One Whitehead set out for Germany somewhere about the year 1600 with intent to learn the magical arts and to receive instruction in conjuration. Nothing apparently happened to him there, but his troubles commenced soon after his return to England and were the natural and probable outcome of his travels, for his claim to turn rushes in a room into spirits and serpents brought him before the Star Chamber, who dealt with him in a manner which earns for Whitehead a first place in the category of ill-starred travellers. He was far more unfortunate than another charlatan, who came post haste from Toledo in the forty-fifth year of Edward III carrying a Saracen's head and visage and a spirit in a bag which replied to questions; for the rogue from Toledo escaped upon payment of the cost of burning the head and bag at Tothill Fields, while Whitehead lost both his ears and was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. The other side of the picture is reflected in the case of certain Florentines, who brought considerable trouble upon themselves while they sojourned in London in the early years

of the fourteenth century by abusing the King, calling him a wretched and captive king and his supporters "Englishhoundes," and raising uproars by day and night to the terror of the City and the disturbance of the peace. Indeed, the ways of strangers in a strange land are often past finding out. Even such a practical person as Marmaduke Rawdon of York, who travelled extensively in the seventeenth century, seemed to think that a French gentleman could be reduced to silence and submission by two or three taps on the pate with the flat of his sword.

Of the three countries in which foreigners most commonly sought their misfortunes or risked their lives, Spain was undoubtedly the most trying. Not even the fact that Spaniards were said to be the chosen people, and that Spanish was the language commonly employed in Paradise, could reconcile travellers to their lot. Diplomatic affairs and curiosity might carry a man there, and numbers of pilgrims were always on the road to Compostella. But the towns were filthy and mean and the general conditions of travel often indescribable. The Bohemian nobleman Rozmital, who travelled at the opening of the fifteenth century, and who was received throughout the rest of Europe with the honours accorded to ambassadors and envoys of the greatest political importance, was refused food and lodging in the towns of Castile, insulted and even spat upon and turned out into the open country where he and his companions, blinded by the sun, choked by the dust, and starved and parched beyond endurance, could only cry aloud for death. In Barcelona there were pirates who sold men into slavery, and everywhere the authorities, ecclesiastical and lay, were ready on the slightest provocation to catch and torture travellers as heretics or spies.

Lithgow's experiences at Malaga take up a considerable portion of his *Rare Adventures*, and indeed they were tragic enough. He was seized while on his way to his inn and carried before the Governor, who examined him as to his acquaintances and business, charged him with spying and then caused him to be brutally tortured, after which he was taken in hand by the Inquisition. At last he contrived to escape and reached England, where he exhibited his tortured anatomy to the Court and the King; but his crushed limbs were incurable, and attempts to obtain redress for his injuries ended in an assault on the Spanish Ambassador in the Presence Chamber for which he was committed to the Marshalsea. His subsequent protest that he would never "meddle any more with the Spaniard" might well have been echoed by a whole host of travellers to the Peninsula.

In Italy, our countrymen throughout the Elizabethan Age were seemingly concerned with moral rather than with physical dangers.

Ascham's remark that he saw in Venice in nine days more liberty to sin that he had ever heard of in London in nine years sums up the wicked aspect of the matter, but there were dangers also of another kind. Rome was not considered a safe place to visit, since the fanatic Richard Atkins had arrived there with the object of converting the Pope, and had ended his days in the grip of the Inquisition. Nor could our countrymen dismiss from their minds the belief that the favourite pastime of the Italians was the poisoning of their guests and friends. George Gascoigne warns a correspondent about to travel in Italy to beware of poisoned food and drink when invited to dine, to look out for poisoned soap, and to see that his tailor did not put poison into his doublet. There is a record of one Englishman whose imagination was so inflamed by what he either saw in Italy or learnt from returned travellers that he tried to kill the Earl of Shrewsbury by means of poisoned gloves, and was sentenced by the Star Chamber to lose his ears, to be slit in the nose, sealed in the forehead, and to spend the rest of his days in prison. Henry Bertie, a brother of Lord Willoughby, was to learn in 1617 something of the dangers of Italian travel, for he was seized by the Inquisition and closely examined and imprisoned for no other reason apparently than that he refused to sell his horse to the Governor of Ancona, who had cast envious eyes upon it.

France had, on the whole, a better reputation than Spain and Italy, although the bandits in the woods and mountains adopted somewhat original methods in dealing with the unfortunate travellers who fell into their clutches. A French gentleman of Paris was surprised in his walks abroad, in or about the year 1651, to encounter some forty strangers who had been forced to part not only with their valuables but even with their clothes, tramping along the high road as naked as when they were born.

In the outburst of exploration which marked the age of Elizabeth fate and the hand of man brought to these shores a company of travellers who, of all others, deserve to be remembered. These were the Eskimos and American Indians from the New World, and the negroes from the West Coast of Africa, who commenced to arrive in England at the commencement of the sixteenth century to exhibit their peculiarities of dress and deportment to a gaping crowd of citizens, and of whom it may be safely alleged that only a favoured few ever saw their homes again. What happened to the two women "sarrasynes," for whose inspection Henry VII paid £10, we shall never know. Three Eskimos brought back by Sebastian Cabot were on view at Bristol and London in 1502. They apparently adopted British clothing and modes of life, and after a few years' residence were indistinguishable from their hosts. But the Brazilian "King" who paid his respects to Henry VIII died

in mid-ocean on his return voyage, and of the rest there is little to report except that they must have been extremely unhappy and that they perished. One American Indian known by the name of Epenow, a man of fine physique and stature, was exhibited for money in London, but eventually contrived, by duping his captors with stories of gold, to come once more within sight of his native land, whereupon he leapt into the sea and was never seen again. It is a melancholy story which has already been told at length by Sir Sidney Lee, for these visitors, having every claim to our hospitality, were hawked up and down the countryside, ill-treated and thrown aside when their usefulness was over. Of course, there were exceptions. Sir Walter Raleigh's two Indian servants who attended their master in the Tower were cared for and apparently happy, but the extent to which the traffic in these helpless creatures went on is clear from the fact that by 1601 the authorities were seriously alarmed at the great numbers of "negars and blackamoors" who had "crept into the realm"—mostly infidels without understanding of Christ and His Gospel—and steps had to be taken to collect and transport them out of the country.

The history of travel, as we have seen, is full of misfortunes which at times deepen into tragedies. We have the stories of the pilgrim travellers, of the missionary friars labouring for the Faith at the world's end, of the Polos struggling to and fro across the deserts of Central Asia, of the discoverers of the New World whose deeds impoverish words. It is terrible to think of children on the roads and in the waste places of Europe and the East, yet they were there in their hundreds in 1211, when companies of child pilgrims set out to recover the Holy Sepulchre, only to be slain by pirates or sold into slavery. This tragic piece of folly should have killed such projects for ever, but somewhere about 1450 the disease broke out again, and hoards of young children, boys at first and later boys and girls, left their homes and parents and took the road through Germany and France to Mont-St.-Michel. Nothing apparently could restrain them. The church discountenanced the movement, writers inveighed against it, but still the numbers grew. That some returned is clear from the fact that they left their banners in various churches along the route, but vast numbers died from hunger and privation. Hans Schiltberger was little more than a lad when he fell into the hands of the Turks, and he was middle aged before he saw his home again. For thirty years he served infidel masters in strange lands, passing from one to the other like a bundle of goods, traversing the wastes of Tartary and penetrating into places where few Europeans had ever been before. His first experience was to witness the wholesale slaughter of his companions whose blood flowed from morning to Vespers.

His countryman, Hans Breisinger, who carries on the story a hundred years later, commenced his servitude in much the same manner by piling up Christian heads in stacks in the Sultan's presence chamber.

What would these unfortunates and others of their age and experiences have said, we wonder, to Robert Burton if he had discussed with them the effects of foreign travel in relation to melancholy? "Peregrination," says our author, "charms our senses with such unspeakable and sweet variety that some count him unhappy that never travelled, a kind of prisoner, and pity his case that from the cradle to his old age beholds the same still; still, still the same, the same." Now Burton himself, as one of his editors has pointed out, though he trod the Wall of China, penetrated into El Dorado, visited the caves of Lapland, and even descended into hell itself, did so in map and card within the security of his study at Christ Church. There is nothing to show that he had braved even the terrors of the Channel crossing. If he had shared a fraction of the experiences of any one of the unfortunate travellers of whom some account is given here (though he would, by exception, have pointed out that Tavernier was radically cured of the gout by being bastinadoed), he might well have shuffled his pages and included travel in the partition devoted to blows on the head, terrors, affrights, scoffs, bitter jests, loss of liberty, poverty and want, as a cause of melancholy rather than its cure.

MALCOLM LETTS.

EVANGELICAL *AND* SACRAMENTAL—A PLEA FOR SYNTHESIS.

IN ecclesiastical circles these terms usually stand as alternatives—evangelical *or* sacramental. If not regarded as mutually exclusive, they have become signs of an emphasis which is essentially divisive—chosen symbols of opposing types of religious thought and churchmanship. Moderate men representing both types are beginning to ask whether these terms represent a permanent or even a fair antithesis. Can they stand apart without grave loss to a unity which must always be fundamental in Christian faith and worship? If an answer is sought in the ultimate issue of historical efforts made to state a constructive and authoritative presentation of the Christian gospel based entirely on one or other of these conceptions, it is in the negative. However persuasively or dogmatically set forth, such efforts have sooner or later broken down. Whilst theoretically the terms may be considered apart, experimentally and historically each type attempting to function alone has in the end proved unsatisfactory to faith and unsatisfying in worship. The fact must be recognised that each of the terms stands for a vital reality in the Christian religion and that they are essentially complementary. By divine appointment the evangel and its supreme symbol go together. Psychologically also each is inadequate alone. For human nature as we find it neither is complete in itself. Failure to discern the necessity for this ultimate synthesis on the part of exponents of both evangelical and sacramental teaching may account for the tendency of each school to depreciate the value of the other by exaggerating the dominant values of its own.

For this over-emphasis of the part which breaks the unity of the whole and sustains an attitude of mutual exclusiveness neither side is free from blame. Until this source of mutual exclusiveness is explored and definite effort made to overcome such apparent antitheses in a wise and workable synthesis, both evangelical and sacramental types will continue to suffer real deprivation in the perfected values of their faith and worship. Happily there are signs that this synthesis is being sincerely attempted. Sacramentalists are beginning to use "evangelical" as a modifying prefix to "Catholic," thus revealing a subconscious awareness that in order to be truly sacramental a Christian man must also be primarily evangelical. Evangelicals on the other hand are showing signs of fuller appreciation of the values of sacramental ordinances. The Free Catholic movement, typically represented in teaching and ceremonial by Dr. Orchard, and the influential movement in Scottish Presbyterianism led by the late Professor Cooper and Dr. Wotherspoon, are only instances of many less articulated evangelical tendencies to seek and find a richer share in the "fellowship of the mystery" in which believing souls reach a sense of a Presence real indeed in sacramental communion. Even the faint beginnings of a habit of mind amongst religious leaders to think these terms in conjunction is of particular significance. For it will be agreed that the "Evangel" and "The Breaking of Bread"—one the central reality of the Christian Religion and the other its central symbolic rite—present an historical conjunction constantly observed in the experience of the Christian redemption and in the teaching and practice of the Christian community. This being so, it is not pressing the coincidence of "evangelical" and "sacramental" too far to assume a correlation in the significance and value of these associated terms which ought to be more closely determined for our present perplexity. Some such determination as this ought surely to be a primary obligation acknowledged by Christian thinkers and teachers of both schools.

It is certainly permissible to assert that a sharp antithesis, assumed or articulate, between these terms is out of harmony with every kind of recognised authority to which appeal is normally made. In the New Testament these two conceptions of the ministries of grace lie side by side. In the faith and worship of the primitive church it is difficult, if not impossible, to divide them. The first believers "continued steadfastly in the apostles' teaching and fellowship, in the breaking of bread and the prayers." And if the certitudes of personal spiritual experience are held to constitute a final court of appeal, it is an indubitable fact of the Christian consciousness that "evangelical" and "sacramental"—the Word and the Sacraments—meet and mingle in the verity and sanctity of assured communion with the Divine.

In order to realise a living and effective balance of values in faith and practice between evangelical and sacramental contributions to personal and corporate religion much might be said of the pressing need for the sacramentalist to sublimate the religious emotion and æsthetic symbolism of worship by an ever-deepening ethical and spiritual experience of evangelical realities, lest enriched ceremonial should pass into the mere formalism of ritual and tend towards superstitious and magical conceptions of sacramental efficacy. The main scope, however, of this article is to call the attention of Evangelicals generally and particularly of the teachers and leaders of the Evangelical Free Churches to the wisdom of examining afresh the implied antithesis, which so often passes unchallenged, between evangelical and sacramental religion. Whilst it may rightly be urged that they stand, both in personal experience and in Christian history, for divergent tendencies of thinking and practice and for actual differences of religious tem-

perament, there appears to be at present both an opportunity and an obligation to reduce this antithesis to its lowest terms. Opportunity and obligation meet in the fact that modern critical scholarship constrains evangelical readers of the sacramental teaching of the Pauline epistles to reconsider at least how far St. Paul's doctrine of the Lord's Supper can still be used to sustain interpretations traditionally associated with the stricter sacramental views of evangelicalism. A competent Nonconformist scholar, the late Professor H. T. Andrews, has stated that "as a result of the trend of modern criticism in the interpretation of the sacramental passages in St. Paul, the Free Churches ought either to revise their traditional doctrine of sacraments or be content to explain the Pauline position as an intrusion of foreign elements from the current thought of the time." As the dominating influence in evangelical doctrine is confessedly Pauline, this presents an arresting judgment which cannot easily be put on one side. It is obviously impossible here to review the grounds on which a powerful group of scholars attribute to St. Paul a view of the Eucharist tending to become magical in character, by affirming that for him participation in the elements produces communion with Christ in some more or less physical manner—"for this cause many among you are weak and sickly, and not a few sleep." It is true that this view is not so simple as it seems, and that another group of scholars find it possible to interpret St. Paul's eucharistic language in a sense which excludes from his teaching any magical potency attaching to the bread and the wine. It must also be said that those who contend for a magical conception in the Pauline Eucharist quite frankly acknowledge that their theory involves St. Paul himself in a hopeless antinomy. For there can be little doubt that his supreme contribution in the interpretation of the Evangel was his exposition of salvation by grace through faith alone—the distinctive evangelical view. At the same time an evangelical believer cannot ignore definite sacramental doctrine in St. Paul. It may be a fair comparison to speak of it as "a sort of erratic boulder" in the swirl of St. Paul's system as a whole. But it is there. And it must be reckoned with by the Evangelical as honestly as the Sacramentalist is urged to give heed to the great apostolic declaration of the ethical and spiritual conditions of redemption enshrined in simple faith in the word of God's grace. When the Sacramentalist declares that the sacramental system is harmonious and congenial with Christianity, part of its genius, in perfect conformity to human nature, and with the earthly environment of men by whom its grace is needed and to whom it is conveyed in redemptive ministries, it is no longer satisfactory for the Evangelical to assert, or even to assume, that the Christianity of

St. Paul is purely spiritual and ethical. It must be frankly conceded that the sacramental principle is a vital element in his teaching, even whilst the contention that St. Paul's religious attitude as revealed in his Epistles generally indicates an arresting detachment from ceremonial of any kind, may still be maintained. An open-minded evangelical student of the Pauline teaching may find himself carried further still. He may hesitate, perhaps, to endorse the dictum of the late Principal Forsyth, the eminent Congregationalist theologian, that "the mere memorial conception of the Lord's Supper is a view more fatal and far less lovely than the extreme view of the mass."* But he may be constrained to subscribe to the less epigrammatic judgment of Dr. Forsyth's colleague, Professor Andrews: "It seems certain that the commemorative interpretation does not exhaust the significance Paul attaches to the Eucharist. In some mysterious way the life of God is conveyed into the life of the worshipper through the medium of material elements which are consumed in the meal. The bread and wine are not merely emblems of sacrifice; they are the vehicle by means of which the virtue of that sacrifice is appropriated by the recipient." The same writer adds, "Taking all the facts together, it is very doubtful whether any theory which falls short of Luther's Consubstantiation will adequately explain Paul's utterances in reference to the Eucharist." He concludes that "so far as exegesis is concerned the sacramentarian interpretation of Paulinism has won a decisive victory and the symbolical school has been driven off the field."† It is significant also that another distinguished Free Church scholar, the late Professor James Hope Moulton, himself intensely opposed to all sacerdotal assumptions, admits "we may have to surrender Paul to the sacramentarians."‡

Even when it is recognised that for St. Paul and his age the line between symbol and vehicle was not so clearly drawn as with us, the situation as here stated presents a difficult and delicate problem for those who would present "evangelical" and "sacramental" as alternatives. They were not such to St. Paul. To say the least "he was ready," as Professor H. A. A. Kennedy says, "to recognise the deep spiritual impulses which were quickened in the solemn surroundings of the simple rites he found in the Church. He knew that for believing and responsive hearts they became real channels of divine grace. But faith here, as elsewhere, was the indispensable postulate. By faith participants were carried beyond symbols to a new and deeper realisation of Divine love at work on their behalf; it was through faith that the symbol became a sacrament,

* *The Church and the Ministry*, p. viii.

† Forsyth, *op. cit.*, pp. 153 ff.

‡ *Cf.* J. H. Moulton, *Religions and Religion*, pp. 42 ff.

a convincing pledge of the mercy of God in Christ." It is evident that to St. Paul the symbol was not a mere symbol without specific relation to the fact of redemptive experience. And when we add to his testimony the value of the significant sacramental teaching deeply embedded in the Fourth Gospel, the pre-eminently spiritual interpretation of the Christian Evangel, which may at least be regarded as a fair summary of the eucharistic doctrine which prevailed in the writer's day, say some half-century after the Corinthian epistles of St. Paul, we have a situation in the light of which the evangelical theologian will wish to examine afresh the finality of certain commonly accepted sacramental positions.

If, passing beyond New Testament exegesis of the place and potency of sacramental observances in Christian life, appeal is made to the Reformation standards of sacramental faith and practice, there can be little doubt that these stood for more in the life of the Reformers than they do in the estimation of many modern and typical evangelical teachers. It was, of course, on the question of sacraments that Reformation religion differed fundamentally from mediæval Catholicism. The abuses which had gathered round the sacramental system of Rome were the main provocation of the Protestant spirit. Starting from the evangelical experience of justification by faith the Protestant Reformers were led to lay stress upon the preaching of the Evangel as a means of grace and salvation, and in general to exalt the ministry of the Word above that of the Sacraments. But this did not imply a neglect of sacramental grace or even a low estimate of its reality and immediacy. Rejecting the celebration of the Eucharist as a magical performance dependent upon the sacerdotal act and intention of the celebrant, which led, they thought, to a reduction of the reality of Christ's Presence with His people to a mechanical operation with a material medium, they set forth an objective Presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper mediated through faith. And this realising faith is quickened and deepened in the individual and in the community by the symbols which as outward and visible signs show forth the Lord's death. Without going into the familiar doctrinal differences between the sacramental statements of Luther and Calvin, it may be sufficient here to re-affirm their agreement in maintaining an Objective Presence of Christ understood in spiritual terms. Christ is spiritually received by the believing communicant. Whilst He is present wherever two or three are gathered together in His name, a special and sure awareness of His Presence attaches to the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Christ Himself presides at the Feast. He blesses and breaks the bread. For this end He ever dwells with His own; He does not depart; He does not come. Neither ritual order nor priestly consecration secures or

guarantees His Presence. He Himself does what is done and gives what is received. He does not delegate His power. There is no need that He should, for He is never absent from His Church. For the Reformers everything moved on this spiritual plane. There was no objective real presence attached to the bread and wine. They rejected any notion of objective change as the effect of consecrating the elements. Hooker's familiar dictum, "The Real Presence of His body is not in the sacrament, but in the worthy receiver," simply re-asserts the fundamental Protestant principle. Indeed, Elizabethan Anglicans and Puritans alike, as Professor Burkitt assures us, were at one in rejecting a magical conception of the Eucharist and in maintaining the mystery and certainty of the participation in the body and blood of Christ by faith and "only after an heavenly and spiritual manner." In short, there can be no doubt historically that in the main the Reformed communities, whilst essentially evangelical, were also deeply sacramental. Word and Sacraments constituted a spiritual unity in their faith and practice.

But perhaps the most illuminating and impressive demonstration of the true compatibility and reciprocal values of "evangelical" and "sacramental" types, in view of the confusions and controversies in English religious life at the moment, is afforded by the remarkable and effective interaction of these in the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century. It would be difficult to discover in the long stretch of Christian history so natural, harmonious, and even joyous a fellowship in the means and ministries of Divine grace, usually distinguished as evangelical and sacramental, as that exhibited in that part of the Revival led by the Wesleys. And as details of this significant synthesis have only become accessible somewhat recently through the deciphering of John Wesley's private shorthand diaries and are not, therefore, generally known, some concrete illustrations may here be given.* These may help to justify the statement previously made that evangelical and sacramental are not alternative but complementary and reciprocal terms.

First, as to John Wesley's personal practice. His diaries show that in 1733 (five years before his evangelical conversion) as a High Anglican of the non-juror type, he communicated once a week and on holy days. In 1740 (two years after his evangelical experience) he communicated 91 times, i.e., once in every four days. During 1782 he communicated every other day. In this, as in all his years of evangelistic toil, he was in constant and arduous travel. In the Christmas season of 1775 he writes: "we had the Lord's Supper daily"; and in the last few weeks of his life he communicated

* The writer is indebted for these details to an article on "The Place of the Lord's Supper in Early Methodism," by Principal T. H. Barratt, in the *Quarterly Review*, July, 1923.

once every three days. On one Sunday morning, when he was ill, he wrote: "Being not suffered to go to Church as yet, I communicated at home." How he estimated the importance of sacramental observance is indicated in a note, probably unique in such literature, which appears at the head of one of his published sermons (No. 101) on "The Duty of Constant Communion." The sermon was written in 1733. In it he strongly protests that "frequent" communion is inadequate; it must be "constant." "No man can have any pretence to Christian piety who does not receive it, not once a month, but as often as he can"; "He that, when he may obey the commandment if he will, does not, will have no place in the kingdom of heaven." This, from the most definitely evangelical leader since the Reformation, is sacramental emphasis indeed. And this was no passing phase in his spiritual history. The sermon was certainly written when he was thirty years of age, five years before his evangelical conversion. But fifty-five years later, years of unimaginable change in the Church, in the world, and most of all in Wesley himself—in his opinions, his practices, his inner experiences—he re-published the sermon with this note: "The following discourse was written above five and fifty years ago for the use of my pupils at Oxford. . . . I thank God I have not yet seen cause to alter my sentiments in any point which is therein delivered." The experience of a "heart strangely warmed" by evangelical assurance of personal salvation, the long years of apostolic labours and fervent evangelism, an ever-growing and essentially liberal mind had "not yet" given him reason to alter his teaching. Such sacramental convictions still ruled his thinking and determined all his practice.

If it should be suggested that this sacramental zeal on Wesley's part was merely a personal idiosyncracy and out of touch with the distinctive genius of evangelical religion, the answer must be that his followers were organised on the basis of a sacramental society. The early Methodists were both evangelical and sacramental in a remarkable degree. At a period in the history of the Anglican Church when Holy Communion was in most parish churches observed only three or four times a year,* when Secker, Bishop of Oxford, could plead, in addressing his clergy in 1741, that "a sacrament might be interposed in the long interval between Whitsuntide and Christmas," the Methodist people were communicating in multitudes every Sunday morning. In preparing a constitution and order of worship for the Methodists in the newly-formed United States of America Wesley wrote in 1784: "I advise the elders to administer the Supper of the Lord on every Lord's day." This also represents his intention, and, so far as was possible,

* Dr. Darwell Stone confirms this situation, *Faith of an English Catholic*, p. 34.

his practice in the earliest Methodist chapels in London and the provinces. In these the Sunday morning service normally consisted of the preaching of the Word and the administration of the Lord's Supper—a complete synthesis of evangelical and sacramental fellowship. The attendance at these Sunday morning communions forms one of the most astonishing features of the Methodist Revival. The number of communicants and the inevitable prolongation of the services caused the Wesleys serious physical exhaustion. Frequently the service lasted for five hours—from ten to three o'clock. In 1743 Wesley writes: "I found it needful for the time to come to divide the communicants into three parts, so that we might not have above 600 at once." At Leeds, Wesley mentions 700 communicants in 1779 and in 1789 fifteen or sixteen hundred. At Oldham St. Chapel, Manchester, in 1781, he writes: "I began reading prayers at ten. At the communion was such a sight as I am persuaded was never seen at Manchester before, eleven or twelve hundred communicants at once, and all of them fearing God." At Birmingham, Newcastle, Sheffield, Plymouth, Bristol, Bath, Dublin, and Cork he quotes figures of communicants at morning service which vary from 300 to 1,000. And these at a period when the Dean of St. Paul's lamented that on Easter Day, 1800, there were only six communicants.

It would not, indeed, be a difficult task to show that much of the revived interest in sacramental worship in the English Church may be traced to the influence of early Methodism. And it should be noted as significant that it was the Evangelicals rather than the Tractarians who were the earliest leaders in the modern sacramental revival in Anglicanism. Any assumed incompatibility, therefore, between "evangelical" and "sacramental" can hardly claim support either from the New Testament or from historical or experimental religion.

Such incompatibility or antagonism between them comes into existence from doctrinal assumptions or implications in regard to sacramental grace rather than from a common and joyous experience of its blessings. It is true that Wesley's sacramental doctrine was essentially changed as a result of his evangelical experience, but his sacramental habit was rather strengthened by that same experience. He ceased to associate sacramental grace with sacerdotal conceptions of the ministry. And of even greater importance, he discerned not only the evangelical values of sacramental communion, but its great and gracious evangelistic uses. He invited sinners seeking personal salvation to the Lord's Table, insisting that there they were most likely to find their Saviour. His mother, Susannah Wesley, had received "assurance" at the Lord's Table in 1739. In reply to those "who affirmed that the Lord's Supper

is not a converting, but a confirming ordinance, and that only believers in the full sense ought to communicate," he writes that " experience shows the gross falsehood of this assertion. . . . It is the means of conveying to men either preventing, justifying or sanctifying grace according to their several necessities." It is clear that Wesley, whose evangelical quality cannot be questioned, did not cease to be sacramental when he became evangelical. Whilst he constantly and consistently asserted that " God is above all means "; " He can convey His grace in or out of the means He has appointed "; " the ordinance in itself, the *opus operatum*, profiteth nothing without personal faith," he considered that the Lord's Supper was an effective means of grace as truly as a declaratory act. It did not merely express outwardly, as sign and seal, a spiritual reality or status already existing. The outward symbol possessed, through obedient faith, an instrumental value by which the reality or status desired comes into existence. The strength of this conviction was founded in no sacramental theories, but in the constantly renewed and renewable verifications of immediate experience of redeeming and sustaining grace of God in Christ by the Holy Ghost. Indeed, the distinction between " declaratory " and " effective " grace, between " evangelical " and " sacramental " is not sustained by the spiritual consciousness. Neither conception in living experience wholly excludes the other. Such an antithesis which is neither spiritually nor psychologically true—perhaps not even logically so—cannot be permanent. An indubitable spiritual experience justifies both " evangelical " and " sacramental " as actual and abiding means of grace and salvation. The Real Presence of Christ is realised as a crowning joy in the faithful observance of both means, though with distinctions of which a sensitive soul is aware in worship and faith. An ideal Christian communion would combine the mutually enriching contribution of each.

Now, in view of the lamentable fact that all proposals for closer fellowship between " evangelical " and " sacramental " types with a hope of ultimate re-union break down on differences, in several specific directions, in the observance of Holy Communion, and that, without some mutually acceptable form of inter-communion at the Lord's Table, hope of re-union is an impossible dream, may it not be an attitude marked by Christian wisdom and charity for Evangelicals to consider afresh their sacramental habits and teaching in the light of their own best traditions and history?

From the point of view of the Evangelical Free Churches it may be, at least, a fraternal gesture towards those who emphasise, even over-emphasise, as we may think, the sacramental in faith and worship to ask whether we can, from our side, offer any contribu-

tion towards establishing a synthesis between evangelical and sacramental claims and usages that have so frequently stood as real or seeming contradictories. For we may not, and do not, expect that every movement in the direction of *rapprochement* should come from the Anglo-Catholic side, where sacramental worship is the supreme act of religion, and where, however we may seek to account for it, the witness to the immediate renewing and sustaining grace of Christ's redemption is so sure, so precious, often so rapturous. Space only permits the presentation of the nature of such possible contributions in the form of a series of interrogations which may, at least, stimulate thought.

Is it necessary, is it wise, and more important still, is it apostolic to make in our presentation of the Evangel the sharp antithesis, which is frequently assumed, between preaching and sacraments, between the prophetic and priestly ministries? As they lie together in the New Testament in almost indissoluble association as forms in which the grace of Christ is presented to appropriating faith and without any attempt to reconcile them, ought we not in teaching and practice to make them much more reciprocal as redemptive gifts than we are accustomed to do?

Are Evangelicals, and particularly those of the Free Churches, making as much use of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper as a means of grace as the unquestioned spiritual blessing it brings to their fellow-Christians of the " Catholic " type would warrant? May we not find much greater spiritual enrichment in sacramental worship without in any degree reducing our estimate of the value of the preaching of the Word? Is the criticism that with Evangelicals the observance of the Lord's Supper is a mere addendum, a " pious extra " succeeding the primary office of preaching, a fair estimate of relative values according to the New Testament and the best evangelical traditions of the past? Are there not signs of an uneasiness and of a certain wistfulness observable amongst the more devout in evangelical circles in presence of unrealised spiritual possibilities of sacramental communion—something of a haunting sense that they are not getting out of this means of grace all that they might receive and that their Anglican friends are actually receiving to " their great and endless comfort "? A Free Church professor has emphasised this subtle misgiving in a recent number of *The Congregational Review*.* He writes :

> " We must recover for ourselves in our celebration of the Lord's Supper that spiritual vision and experience which make it for us a real communion with Christ both in His death for us and in His risen power. If the Eucharist is to mean anything, we must meet Christ there at His table. His presence is there not in

* April, 1927, Professor E. J. Price, " The Eucharist in History and Experience."

the outward and visible elements, but in the receptive, sensitive spirit of the communicant, who rises from his knees with fresh strength and love to face the common day. . . . The essential feature of the Mass is the experiencing of the Divine Presence by the devout soul. Only the undoubted and glorious spiritual reinforcement the devout soul receives in Eucharistic worship can account for the continuance of the Mass through the centuries. That spiritual experience is an eternal miracle. It is shared in, and enjoyed by, the Catholic in the Mass, and by the evangelical Protestant in his Communion Service. We must demonstrate that it is for us—each of us—the selfsame spiritual reality that it is for the Anglo-Catholic before we can realise the profound significance of Eucharistic worship and be in a position to criticise its doctrinal implications. It is no part of the Protestant position to deny the spiritual reality experienced in the Mass, but to show that that experience does not depend upon one form of celebration, but is also experienced without such cultus by simple and direct communion through obedient faith in Christ. Rightly regarded, indeed, our Eucharistic experience should be richer, not poorer, than that of the Anglo-Catholic. It demands a deeper earnestness and more perfect self-devotion that we may not miss the Lord at His table. By setting ourselves to receive all that the Lord's Supper may mean to us individually and as Christian communities we shall present a potent and much-needed witness against sacerdotal assumptions and ecclesiastical superstitions, ancient and modern, and recover the life and power in our own churches for which we have long hoped and prayed."

Other testimonies from convinced and consistent evangelical teachers might be quoted. They are, at least, indications that the antithesis of "evangelical" and "sacramental," coming into responsive contact with the one Reality of all true religion—a realised consciousness of the Divine Presence—passes experimentally into a synthesis devoutly to be desired. Even if, theologically and philosophically, this reconciliation must still be classed as *coincidentia oppositorum*, it is the fundamental dialectic on which hopes of Christian Re-union rest.

FREDERIC PLATT.

COBBETT ON CHOOSING A WIFE.

IN his *Advice to Young Men and incidentally to Young Women*, Cobbett devotes a good third of his pages to giving advice to young men in love, a strong proof of his conviction that it is precisely when they are in love, with their heads all aglow, perhaps, with dreams of married bliss, that they are most in need of guidance. Guidance he, therefore, offers them, for he was kindly as well as shrewd; and he held, as he tells us in the Introduction to his book, that "it is the duty, and it ought to be the pleasure, of age and experience to instruct youth and come to the aid of inexperience."

Cobbett's *Advice* was written nearly a hundred years ago; none the less, a fair part of it is as sound to-day as it was the day it was written. There is quite a latter-day ring, indeed, about many of the observations it contains. Little wonder either; for its writer, although born when George III was King, was emphatically a latter-day man, one more than a hundred years in advance of his times, excepting in his somewhat Ottomanish views as to what beseems women. (If the dead can turn in their graves, he must have turned many times of late.) In his own day he was dubbed a Radical, a term that then betokened someone akin to a Bolshevik. Even in Early Victorian days he would, had he been alive, have been looked upon as a dangerous character. To-day, however, he would probably rank as a Tory Democrat, take his place among Front Bench men and, thanks to his reverence for the past, be gibed at as an antediluvian.

Cobbett's express purpose in writing his book was to be helpful to young men, to save, if saved they could be, even the heedless among them from choosing their wives unwisely. He addresses his *Advice* to young men of the middle-class, the professional class, men who must, as a rule, earn their money before they spend it, and therefore cut their coats to suit their cloth. For if they make a mistake in choosing their wives, life is for them, he was convinced, an even more hopeless business than for men of a higher or lower class. And it is easy to make a mistake, he begins by warning them.

It was only for what he terms real lovers that he wrote, *i.e.*, for young men who, although in love, are not yet bereft of their reason by their love. For to give advice on the choosing of wives to those in whose minds passion overpowers reason would be useless, he held. It is not for such folk as those, nor yet for folk more eager to secure rich wives than good wives, that he framed his *Advice*; but only for real lovers. It was for their sake alone, as he emphatically declares, for the sake of helping them to secure their

fair share of happiness, together with peace and comfort, in their married life, that he drew up that appalling list of good qualities which, according to him, a woman must have if she is ever to be a good wife. And the burden of much of his preaching is that unless a man has a good wife, his chance of ever being happy is small, while his chance of ever doing anything worth doing in the world is nil.

A good wife must be good-looking, at any rate in the eyes of her husband. That is a point on which Cobbett insists strongly. He puts beauty last, it is true, in his list of a good wife's necessary qualifications; still, he frankly admits that it ought to stand first. From observations that he makes later, however, one cannot but suspect that he would have put skill in cooking even before beauty, had he been alive at the end of the Great War, and heard the groans and growls of certain ex-soldiers when eating the dinners their married-in-haste wives put before them. For the old proverbs deriding beauty, he had nothing but scorn. "Beauty is but skin deep," he confesses, "but it is very agreeable for all that," he hastens to add. "Handsome is as handsome does," of course; none the less, for the sake of their wives, as well as themselves, he exhorts men never to marry women whom they do not think handsome. As for the old contention that a beautiful wife costs more than a plain one, that is sheer nonsense, he maintains. As a point of fact she costs much less. For, as she knows that she looks well whatever she wears, she is less inclined to waste money and thought on smart clothes than her unattractive sister. "Please your eyes and plague your heart" is, however, the proverb against which he rails most. One must be blind as well as stupid to believe that, he maintains; for, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, if a woman plagues the heart of her husband by going astray, it is because he neglects her; and a pretty wife has a much better chance of not being neglected than a plain one. For beauty in a wife tends to keep a man in a good temper with himself as well as with her; he takes it as a compliment to himself when she is admired; and compliments make for self-satisfaction. "Besides, let reason and philosophy say what they will, he comes downstairs of a morning better pleased after seeing a pretty wife than an ugly one in her nightcap." And it is always well to begin the day well pleased.

Chastity stands first in Cobbett's list, as it is a *sine qua non* in a wife, he declares, in terms that are surprising considering the manners and customs of the age in which he lived. Cæsar's wife was as nothing, in point of virtue, compared with the young women whom he calls upon young men to find before ever they think of marrying.

> "Chastity, perfect modesty, in word and deed, and even in thought, is so essential that, without it, no female is fit to be a wife. . . . It is not enough that a young woman abstains from everything approaching toward indecorum in her behaviour towards men; it is with me not enough that she casts down her eyes or turns away her head, with a smile, when she hears an indelicate allusion: she ought to appear not to understand and to receive from it no more impression than a post."

He solemnly exhorts any lover to take flight at once should he detect, in the demeanour of her whom he is thinking of marrying, the most trifling sign of levity, or even of frivolity, unless, indeed, she be French. A French girl may have free and easy manners yet make a good wife, he seems to think; but not so an English girl, or an American. They must have sobriety as well as perfect modesty, if they are to be worth anything at all as wives! And sobriety means steadiness, he tells us, carefulness, propriety in conduct.

> "Skipping, capering, romping, rattling girls may be very amusing, but they are not of the sort the wise marry. For if a young woman has not sobriety, she cannot have trustworthiness, the very quality that is the most important in a wife. . . . Happy the husband who can go away, at a moment's notice, leaving his house and his family . . . leaving books and papers lying about at sixes and sevens, as sure of finding all in order on his return, as he is that the sun will go on rising and setting."

But for that to be possible, a man must have a trustworthy wife.

Then to be a good wife, a woman must be good-tempered as well as good-looking and a model of virtue. That too is a point to which Cobbett attaches great importance. And he warns young men to be on their guard, as it is difficult to find out what sort of a temper a woman has, until she is one's wife. "Smiles are so cheap, so easily put on for the occasion." Still it can be found out, it seems, if a careful enough watch is kept.

"By good temper I do not mean an easy temper, a temper which nothing will disturb; for that is a mark of laziness," he informs us. And laziness is in his eyes a terrible vice. So is sulkiness. "A sulky man is bad enough, what then must be a sulky woman, and that woman a wife!" Even a scolding wife is better than one that sulks. To marry a sulky woman, indeed, is little short of madness, according to him. To marry one who is querulous is almost equally dangerous, for no one likes to hear eternal plaintiveness; while everlasting complaining shows a want of patience and, indeed, of sense. "As for a cold, indifferent wife, from that, indeed, God in his mercy preserve me," he prays. From a pertinacious wife he also wishes to be preserved; "for a longing to have the last word must be very troublesome in a wife," he is sure. He is sure, too, that "an ounce of that sort

of thing in a maid will become a pound in a wife." Pertinacious girls are, therefore, to be shunned, he warns young men. So are melancholy girls; for of all bad tempers theirs is the worst. "They carry on misery-making as a regular trade, and are always unhappy about something either past, present, or to come. Thus marriage with one of them spells a life of wailing and sighs."

Even when a young man has convinced himself that the girl he loves is neither melancholy, pertinacious, querulous, nor yet sulky; but is on the contrary sweet-tempered as well as modest and pretty, he is still exhorted to think many times before asking her to marry him. For there are other gifts she must also have, if he is to be quite sure that she will make a good wife. If he belongs to the middle class, she must, for one thing, have a knowledge of domestic affairs.

> "That, indeed, is so necessary that a lover ought to have it continually in his eyes. It is a woman's business to see that food is good, well cooked, drinks properly prepared and kept; that there is always a sufficient supply, good living, in fact, without waste."

And woe betide the young man who marries a wife who does not know her business; who has, in fact, no more notion of cooking or housekeeping than the average latter-day shop girl, girl clerk, school teacher, or young lady who has spent her life acquiring accomplishments. For, as Cobbett remarks: "It is cold comfort to a hungry man to tell him how delightfully his wife sings: lovers may live on aerial diet, but husbands stand in need of solids"—a fact to which he draws the special attention of wives. "Young women may take my word for it," he says, and woe betide them also if they don't, he implies—

> "that well cooked food, a house in order, and a cheerful fire, will do more to preserve a husband's heart, than all the accomplishments. Eating and drinking come three times a day; they must come; and, however little we may, in the days of our health and vigour, care about choice food, about cookery, we very soon get tired of burnt bread and spoilt joints of meat: we bear them for a time; for two, perhaps; but, about the third time, we lament inwardly; about the fifth time, it must be an extraordinary honeymoon that will keep us from complaining: if the like continue for a month or two, we begin to repent . . . we discover, when it is too late, that we have not got a helpmate but a burden."

And the result is, of course, woe and desolation, unless, indeed, the wife set to work with all possible speed to learn what she ought to have known.

With housewifery frugality must go, of course. Frugality, however, as Cobbett is careful to explain, does not mean stinginess, but only the opposite to extravagance. "A frugal wife will turn her husband's money to good account and provide him with excellent food at the least possible cost; whereas one who is extravagant will waste his substance and work havoc all round, beginning with his temper. No matter how wealthy he may be, she will bring him to penury; while for a man of moderate means, an extravagant wife makes ruin as sure as the arrival of old age." Fortunately, however, there are certain outward and visible signs by which a propensity to extravagance may be detected, even by a lover, providing he pays heed to Cobbett's advice.

> "If he finds that a girl, in choosing her clothes, prefers the showy to the useful, the gay and fragile to the less sightly and durable; if she has a taste for rings and bracelets, is full of admiration for the trappings of the wealthy and of the desire to imitate them, he may be pretty sure that she will not spare his purse when once she gets her hand into it."

The sooner he says good-bye to her, therefore, the better; for to marry such a girl is really self-destruction, Cobbett warns him.

> "Earn her a horse to ride, she will want a gig; earn the gig, she will want a chariot; get her that, she will long for a coach and four; and, from stage to stage, she will torment you to the end of her or your days."

Although a girl must be frugal in clothes as in everything else, she must, if she is to be a good wife, always be becomingly dressed, and clean; for the charm of spotless cleanliness never ends but with life itself. That is a point to which Cobbett draws the special attention of young women, as well as young men, and for that young women ought to be grateful, he maintains, as he says only what all men think, and it is a decided advantage to them to know what men do think.

> "Men may be careless as to their own persons; they may be slovenly in their own dress; but they do not relish this in their wives, who must still have charms. Oh! how much do women lose by inattention to such matters! For no man can ever love for long a slovenly wife, or will ever knowingly marry a slovenly woman."

And slovenliness is easily detected, women are warned, at any rate by any man who has eyes in his head and does what he is told to do.

> "Look at the dress of the girl you are thinking of marrying, not at its quality, but at the way it is made, the way it is put on. No matter how mean its quality, it may be neatly made, trimly put on; and, if it is not, take care of yourself; for you will soon find that a sloven in one thing is a sloven in all things. Look at her stockings, too, see if they be clean and tight. Look at the shoes! If they be trodden on one side, or run down at the heel, it is a bad sign; and as to slipshod! . . . Make up your mind to a rope rather than to live with a slipshod wife."

Then a prudent man will make sure that a woman is industrious

before he asks her to marry him. For, according to Cobbett, a lazy wife must always be a curse, let her rank and station be what it may. In a house where she holds rule, everything goes wrong; for, as she is lazy, her servants will be lazy; thus nothing will be done up to time—breakfast will always be late and so will dinner. With such a wife no man could possibly live happily for long. It behoves a lover, therefore, to be on his guard lest he marries a girl who is lazy. And it is very difficult to decide whether a girl is, or is not lazy, until one is actually married to her. That Cobbett admits. Still there are, he declares, certain signs by which anyone, not wholly deprived of his senses, may form a pretty accurate judgment on the subject. And, as proof that it is so, he cites the case of a young man, who was on the point of proposing to a girl who lived with her two sisters; but who rode away without saying a word, when he heard her exclaim: "I wonder where our needle is!" For, having all his wits about him, he realised, there and then, that a woman who was content to share a needle and did not even know where the needle was could not be industrious; and was therefore not the wife for him.

If a man really wishes to discover, before it is too late, whether the woman he loves is industrious, the best thing he can do, Cobbett tells him, is to note carefully how she speaks, how she walks, and the way she eats.

> "If you find the tongue lazy, you may be nearly certain that hands and feet are the same. By laziness of the tongue I do not mean an absence of talk; for that is in most cases very good. I mean a slow soft utterance, a sort of sighing out of words, instead of speaking them."

That is an infallible proof of laziness, it seems; and so is a sauntering step, and jaws that move slowly. An industrious person may, in fact, be recognised at once, as her pronunciation is quick and distinct; her foot comes down with hearty goodwill as she walks, she is quick at meals, and she is an early riser. A late riser is always lazy; and late rising, in a middle-class wife, spells certain ruin. And there was never yet an early rising woman who had been a late rising girl. A man who has any sense at all will, therefore, make a point of obtaining proof that the girl whom he wishes to marry is an early riser, before he marries her.

Even when proof has been obtained that a girl has all the required virtues, a lover is advised to ponder well before proposing to her; as, in spite of her virtues, she may have defects that bar her from being desirable as a wife. She may, for instance, not like children; and "I never knew a woman who disliked children who was good for anything at all," Cobbett declares. Or she may be a gad-about, who carefully conceals the fact; and, according

to him, "a greater curse than a gad-about wife it would be difficult to find." Thus, paragon though she may seem, her wooer will still, if he is wise, keep a careful watch on her, weighing her in the balance, as it were; weighing himself, too, making sure that he is really in love with her, and would gladly face even poverty rather than lose her. Meanwhile he must never forget, he is told,

> "that marriage is a thing that is to last for life and make life happy or miserable; never forget, either, that it brings with it both cares and delights; but, to have the delights as well as the cares, the choice of the partner must be *fortunate*."

Now Fortune, as we all know, pays but scant heed to merit, in dealing out her gifts. Cobbett himself, indeed, tacitly admits that, in the choosing of wives, as in all things else, *un instant de bonheur vaut un siècle de mérite*. Thus a lover may follow minutely the advice given him, do all that he is told to do, consulting his head as well as his heart while doing it, and yet, if luck be against him, he may make a mistake. As time passes he may discover that the girl he is wooing is not quite so perfect as he had thought her to be; or his feeling towards her may change—he may meet someone who appeals to him more than she does. And, if that be the case, the sooner he sets to work to unmake his mistake the better, Cobbett insists; as it would be both foolish and cruel to marry one girl while preferring another. Even when marriage has been promised, and that too in the most solemn manner, it is better for both parties, he argues, to break off than to couple together with the reluctant consent of either, and live together snarling and barking at each other. It is different, of course, if the marriage has already taken place before the man realises his mistake: then the only thing to be done, he is told roundly, is to make the best of a bad business. He is admonished, however, to bear it well in mind that the mistake was his own, not his wife's; and to demean himself accordingly.

The *Advice* is an interesting piece of work if for nothing but the curious light it throws on what was thought of women and their rights a hundred years ago; and what was then held to be their chief work in life. Cobbett was never weary of insisting on the rights of men, especially on what he calls "the great right of all . . . the right of taking part in the making of the laws by which we are governed." In season and out of season, he proclaimed from the very housetops that all men, barring lunatics and criminals, must have votes; yet it seems never even to have occurred to him that what is sauce for the gander may, possibly, be also sauce for the goose. For, to the last day of his life, he would have been infinitely shocked had anyone suggested to him that votes should be given to women. He expressly states, in-

deed, that there can be no question of their having votes, not only because their husbands are held responsible for them and their doings, but because "the very nature of their sex makes the exercise of this right incompatible with the harmony and happiness of society." And he was well in advance of his times, we must not forget, a man of great intelligence too, highly educated, well read!

Then, he had evidently never a doubt in his mind but that a woman's chief business in life is to make her husband comfortable. For, although he attached great importance to women's having deft fingers, sharp eyes, keen wits, too, providing that does not lead them to be talkative, he saw no necessity for their having much in the way of brains, or anything at all in the way of education. He tells young men emphatically that, if they have any sense at all, never will they marry women who cannot cook, clean, sew and do many other useful things; be nicely dressed, too, and look pretty; yet he never gives them even a hint that it would be well for them to marry women who can read and write. Nay more, he seems to have thought that their not being able to read might be an advantage, rather than otherwise. For he remarks incidentally: "With regard to young women, everlasting book-reading is absolutely a vice. When once they get into the habit, they neglect all other matters; and, in some cases, even their own dress." And in his eyes, for a woman to neglect her dress and go slipshod was a crime; while to put before her husband a badly cooked dinner was a sin of the deepest dye.

EDITH SELLERS.

ART *VERSUS* REPERTORY OPERA.

AFTER the wonderful efflorescence of tonal art in the England of the Elizabethan period a shadow seems to have hovered over the musical life of this country until the end of the nineteenth century, when the national spirit asserting itself in politics invaded also a domain which, till then, had been guided by two destructive factors: amateurishness and commercialism of a distinctly foreign and devitalising character.

How little the lack of racial productiveness in music had touched the receptivity of the British public can be proved by the enthusiastic and discriminating appreciation any foreign work or foreign artist met with in these isles, even in the time of the saddest depression, when the absurd statement about "unmusical England" was endorsed, not only by flippant outsiders, but by otherwise intelligent and patriotic Englishmen. And how British musical life in its various departments has awaked within the last thirty years from its hibernation, to take its place amongst those more fortunate competitors who had been enjoying an uninterrupted tradition in the evolution of the different musical forms, is already a matter of general knowledge and admiration amongst all those broadminded enough to welcome brilliant achievements in whatever quarter they may be noticed. I was delighted to appreciate this several months ago in Vienna, when a representation concert of British symphonic music, under the bâton of that gifted South African conductor, Mr. Paul Kerby, attracted the attention of all those interested in international music. The same England which not so very long ago was considered merely as a generous importer of foreign music and musicians, had almost overnight become a self-supporting provider of splendid symphonic music and orchestras, of refined instrumental and vocal recitals, eminent conductors and promising operatic artists, some of whom have become stars of first magnitude. Are we to wonder that national pride, stimulated by the example of Germany, feels inclined to utilise its resources and is dreaming of establishing permanent Repertory Opera as we find it in Berlin or Vienna?

But here might be found, as I hope to prove in this article, the germ of a premature decay of British musical life. Up to now, Opera has existed in England in the sense that the Covent Garden management engaged for a few months a number of foreign artists —with, lately, a fair sprinkling of British singers—to perform operas in German, French, and Italian, producing in many instances exemplary performances. Travelling companies, like the Moody-Manners or the Carl Rosa operatic ventures, supplied during the rest of the year the usual popular fare, and Sir Thomas

Beecham succeeded in raising Opera in English to a yet undreamt-of level of artistic eminence. Most of those stagiones were able to give satisfaction for the simple reason that they were planned on the principle of festival performances, with picked singers allowed to enjoy the necessary rest after the termination of their engagement, and with proper rehearsals, doing justice to the ensemble and the intentions of the various artists—the different operas of the season's programme being sung by experts in the rendition of the works written by composers of their own nationality, and therefore in accordance with their physical and mental constitution.

The moment, however, that we turn to Repertory Opera, with a permanent staff of performers engaged during ten months of the year to sing any part, suitable or not for their artistic personality, the problem becomes acute. Germany can furnish the key to it, and can also prove that permanent Repertory Opera is eventually the means of lowering the standard of performers as well as the critical sensitiveness of the public. Let us drop for one moment all the sentimental considerations of those well-meaning people who put up a claim for the establishment of Repertory Opera in English, and let us view the matter in all its bearings by facing hard facts. What has Repertory Opera done for Germany? Did it raise the standard of musical appreciation? Did it stimulate the art of singing? Has it been beneficial for the taste of the public as far as vocal art is concerned? An answer to those questions will be at the same time a justification of my views regarding a similar evolution of Opera in England.

The Repertory operatic theatres in Germany and Austria—I am thinking of centres like Berlin, Munich, Dresden, Vienna—are one and all business concerns, and, as such, failures throughout. Not one of those costly theatres could exist without considerable subsidies, or compromises severely injuring the artistic ideals it pretends to pursue. Instead of realising the *Festspiel* idea, thoroughly but selfishly proclaimed by Wagner—namely, to produce only operatic works of genuine worth, conscientiously prepared and sung by chosen artists—those theatres have to cater for the vulgar tastes of their musically and intellectually negligible patrons, with here and there a sop thrown to the cultural minority by sandwiching in a festival performance of some great work worthily produced. And as at least five performances of different operas have to be given weekly in order to satisfy the subscribers and the general public, anybody acquainted with the difficulty of producing an operatic work will grant that it is humanly impossible to give under such circumstances any attention to rehearsals —result: slovenly performances equally damaging to the interests of artists and audience. Any musician burdened with a conscience

will be aware of this destructive feature of operatic routine, but not aware enough, perhaps, of the unsatisfactory ensemble effect of Opera within a Repertory Theatre. The quality of singing in any country boasting of such an institution becomes more and more deplorable.

In the first place, Opera consumes a great number of solo voices, exceptional in volume and range, requiring not only a very thorough training as far as their international repertoire is concerned, but a technical foundation in their vocal art which very few voice-trainers are able to impart. The young, raw voice is seldom touched at its roots, or technically fortified against the enormous demands made nowadays upon the German operatic artist who has got to sing three or four times a week, must prepare yearly six to ten new works, and is called upon to fulfil engagements in other countries, implying enormous nervous strain. To what an extent such a feverish existence influences the voice can be easily imagined.

German operatic singers—the few distinguished exceptions only prove the rule—are therefore generally conspicuous through roughness of tone and concomitant lack of sensuously pleasing quality, forcing of the upper register, tremolo and, worst of all, indistinct enunciation—they are veritable "misers of sound and syllable"—all this being not only the result of initially faulty training, but of the constant wear and tear of the voice caused by the ruthless demand of Repertory Opera. On the other hand, *lieder* singing, the incomparably higher art-form, is receding more and more into the background, as most good voices are becoming absorbed by the Moloch Opera, so that only the inferior ones are left for the concert platform. We need, therefore, not wonder at the frequent complaints of British and American critics regarding bad German singing, and can realise the difficulties experienced by the managements of Covent Garden Royal Opera or the Metropolitan Opera House to find for the German season, among the hundreds of singers in the Fatherland, artists who will not too much offend the ears of Anglo-Saxon audiences accustomed to the more polished singing in the French or Italian season.

Is it worth while to waste large sums of money on such results? And, above all, is England, which, since Handel's time, has been fortunate enough to import only the best, and thus to train the sense of appreciation to a far more delicate and refined degree than German audiences—is England to forego this precious, traditional asset by allowing herself to get used to a lower standard of singing, in order to imitate a misguided, commercialised art which ought to act as a warning, not as an example?

British singing, with all the great arrears it still has to over-

take, was up to now characterised in *lied,* oratorio and, frequently, also in opera, by refinement and a praiseworthy tendency to preserve quality of tone, verbal melody and plastic enunciation. To experimentalise, and torture the voice by stretching it out upon the Procrustean bed of Repertory Opera, would be little short of criminal. Let every possible chance be given to really excellent, well-trained British voices within international stagiones, and more good will be done in this way in furthering the reputation of native artists than by establishing permanent English opera with more or less dubious results.

Repertory Opera has reached its saturation point, and, though it might be a counsel of perfection to say that British artists would be starting upon such a venture forewarned and forearmed by the blunders committed by others, I am still of opinion that an embargo of at least ten years ought to be placed on the realisation of such an idea until the whole aspect of Opera with its responsibilities towards Art has been thoroughly revised, and a sufficient number of great operatic singers is available. Till then it will be safe to remember that an established failure is not the more sacred on account of its hoary age!

M. JOUBERT.

PICTURE IN POETRY.

DURING many centuries the musical constituents of verse have been carefully studied, but the pictorial, comparatively speaking, have been neglected; and this in spite of the fact that their share in the greatest of all the arts is perhaps not less than that of the musical. They represent, for instance, the grand characteristic of poetry which we sometimes, and aptly, denote by the word *vision.* As an example, I will quote a few words from Shelley; they are taken from a context in which, after the fashion of a poet, he is painting the portrait of the Countess Emilia Viviani:

> "A cradle of young thoughts of wingless pleasure,
> A violet-shrouded grave of woe . . ."

But this chance illustration from Shelley immediately calls up a very important preliminary consideration: Is this pictorial element, this use of picture rather than mere verbal description, in any sense the exclusive property of poets? May it not be present as beautifully and as abundantly in prose? This question, at the risk of being a little technical, we must examine for a moment.

Poetry is the fine art that expresses emotional thought in the form of language *definitely* musical and *highly* pictorial. Now, it appears from this definition that whereas a strict line of demarcation separates the music of verse from that of prose, there is no such distinction between the pictorial element in the two kinds of writing; it has to be described by some such word as *highly.* But this, as it appears to me, is sufficient to point a contrast, if not to establish a difference; let us look back at my quotation from Shelley; if we are not disposed to regard it as too "poetical" for prose, we have merely to glance at the whole of the poem from which it is taken—the *Epipsychidion*; how impossible to a prose writer would be any such array, such profusion, such brilliance of imagery.*

Impossible, however, on other grounds. Only provisionally, of course, can diction be regarded apart from style, or the pictorial element be dissociated from the musical, whether in poetry or prose; nevertheless, we now arrive at this basic distinction: the presence of metre adds to the pictorial element of verse a vividness and a charm that can never be realised by the indefinite rhythms of prose. This is true even of the long-drawn-out simile, although certainly, in this instance, the rhythms of prose have some slight power to assert themselves. But they have no warrant whatever to claim kinship with the formal art of the magnificent similes

* There is actually in this poem a whole paragraph of fifty-two lines which is one unbroken torrent of simile and metaphor.

in *Paradise Lost,* for example. And yet further; even in rhyming verse, elaborate detail is sometimes suggested or made more effective by the added musical element. This is true, I think, of the remarkable stanzas from Matthew Arnold's *Thyrsis* which are given on a later page, or such a melody as the following:

" Days there were when he who sings
(Dumb so long thro' passion's losses)
Stood where Mooni's water crosses
Shining tracks of green-hair'd mosses
Like a soul with radiant wings:
Then the psalm the wind rehearses—
Then the song the stream disperses—
Lent a beauty to his verses,
Who to-night of Mooni sings."

But my next illustration should make all this much clearer. What pen-picture in prose could expect to secure a moment's attention by the side of the *Ode on a Grecian Urn* by John Keats? Such a masterpiece more than rivals the art of sculptor or painter. Certainly, its creator has much of the modesty of genius, and claims far too little for his superb painting in verse; to him the urn he depicts has a beauty mysterious as eternity, and expresses a flowery tale more sweetly than his poem. We do not think so; once more, he has surpassed the finest art of the sculptor; he has created a yet more excellent " thing of beauty and a joy for ever," and may say of himself literally and with all the truth of Horace: *" Exegi monumentum aere perennius."*

After these preliminary remarks we may notice that as with the musical element in verse, so with the pictorial, it may vary from the simple to the elaborate, or, along with these, from poverty to profusion, from the bold to the brilliant, from the obvious to the recondite; and so forth. Now, we cannot treat poets like schoolboys, and assign marks for their performances in an examination, but under this head of the pictorial in verse they may be arranged in some provisional order of merit, or at least be classified according to some leading quality. Such a class I now propose to suggest, and the basis of classification shall be that which is supplied by the last of the distinctions given above, namely, " from the obvious to the recondite." Whether the quality implied ranks highest or not, I need not stay to determine; it will at least serve my purpose. I shall select those poets whose imagery, chiefly metaphor, is habitually subtle, recondite, intricate, involved; figures that " track suggestion to her inmost cell." Of these I put Francis Thompson first. Here is an example from one of his best-known poems:

" I pleaded, outlaw-wise,
By many a hearted casement, curtained red,
Trellised with intertwining charities . . ."

But now we have to point out a danger in this kind of writing; it may be so clever as to become merely ingenious; it may pass from poetry to an irritating perplexity, and then it ceases to be legitimate art. We may find some sort of pleasure in a Chinese puzzle, but it is not the pleasure we expect to derive from poetry. Here is an example from another poem by Thompson—" A pious phantom of adorings reaved "; even when restored to its context, this line is little better than an unpleasing enigma.

Next to Thompson in this class I place Shakespeare, who is nothing if not metaphorical; perhaps he ought to have come first; and here I must remark, that in judging a poet under any and every aspect of criticism, some credit must be given for the variety and the scope of his achievements, and even for the extent of his vocabulary. As examples from Shakespeare, I will select the two following:

(a) " If the assassination
Could trammel up the consequence, and catch
With his surcease, success . . ."
(b) " That memory, the warder of the brain,
Shall be a fume, and the receipt of reason
A limbeck only."

I may add that no one who knows Shakespeare would wish to have him called to account in regard to this—or indeed any other—department of his art; and, of course, in such examples as those given above, some licence has to be conceded to the writer with reference to the diction and modes of expression that are peculiar to the age in which he wrote.

Third, I shall place George Meredith. Here are two examples from his *Modern Love,* a poem remarkable from the first line of it to the last for vigour of thought and intensity of metaphor:

(a) " As midnight makes
Her giant heart of Memory and Tears
Drink the pale drug of silence, and so beat
Sleep's heavy measure . . ."
(b) " A star with lurid beams, she seemed to crown
The pit of infamy . . ."

But here we may venture to criticise, and again we must not fail to note the impending danger—

" Her eyes were guilty gates, that let him in
By shutting all too zealous for their sin . . ."

In these lines we have obscurity, not subtle imagery.

If I must name a fourth poet under this head, it will be Rossetti:

" Like labour-laden moonclouds faint to flee
From winds that sweep the winter-bitten wold,—

Like multiform circumfluence manifold
Of night's flood-tide,—like terrors that agree
Of hoarse-tongued fire and inarticulate sea . . ."
(*The House of Life*, XLI.)

But again, though in his poems we often recognise the beauty that lies in subtlety of metaphor, we must deplore the occasional lapses into what is obscure and even ludicrous; and I am not sure that the above example is free from these defects.

Perhaps the most important, or at least the most impressive, of all the pictorial elements of literary art—that is, of the verbal kind—is the formal and prolonged simile, which was incidentally referred to above as being more excellent in verse. We find many and notable examples in the epic poems of Milton; but such are to be met with even in drama; indeed, it is from Shakespeare that I shall make my first quotation. The following simile is, of course, excellent, and it is probably the best-known in literature:

" And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,
The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind."—(*The Tempest*, IV i. 151; 159.)

This magnificent passage tempts me to quote one other, which is both a counterpart and a rival:

" And that hour, perhaps,
Is not so far when momentary man
Shall seem no more a something to himself,
But he, his hopes and hates, his homes and fanes,
And even his bones long laid within the grave,
The very sides of the grave itself shall pass,
Vanishing, atom and void, atom and void,
Into the unseen for ever."—(Tennyson, *Lucretius*.)

We are never quite sure of the wording of any passage ascribed to Shakespeare; possibly it was not his intention to repeat his similitude—" like the baseless . . . like this insubstantial. . . ."* But let us compare him for a moment with Tennyson; we shall notice a difference of centuries. Tennyson adjusts Lucretian philosophy to the discoveries of modern science; Shakespeare adds to the hints of the Earl of Sterling the language of a book that was ever present to him—the Bible.†

Of the long simile I can give no further account; but some of my space must be reserved for the shorter variety, which often includes other figures of speech. Again I shall quote from Shakespeare, and again partly on account of the excellence of the examples, and partly because they are perhaps the most famous in literature:

* But see an explanatory note in the Arden Edition of *The Tempest*.
† II Peter, iii, 7-12.

(a) " She sat like patience on a monument
Smiling at grief . . ."—(*Twelfth Night*, II iv. 217-8.)
(b) " The moon of Rome, chaste as the icicle
That's curdied by the frost from purest snow,
And hangs on Dian's temple."—(*Coriolanus*, V iii. 65-7.)

Another very famous and picture-like short simile is by Shelley, in his *Adonais* (see also his *Cloud*, stanza 3.):

" Life, like a dome of many-coloured glass,
Stains the white radiance of eternity
Until Death tramples it to fragments . . ."

After referring to examples that are mostly well known, I will bring forward a piece of decorative work in poetry which, to the best of my knowledge, has been left unnoticed, but which I regard as one of the finest in literature. It is this stanza in George Meredith's *Love in the Valley*:

" When at dawn she sighs, and like an infant* to the window
Turns grave eyes craving light, released from dreams,
Beautiful she looks, like a white water-lily
Bursting out of bud in havens of the streams.
When from bed she rises clothed from neck to ankle
In her long night-gown sweet as boughs of May,
Beautiful she looks, like a tall garden-lily
Pure from the night, and splendid for the day."

Here also—as indeed in all my examples—I must recall the remarks made earlier in this essay, where I pointed out that such vividness, such charm, are impossible to prose; that the metrical music blends with the pictorial to produce one surprising effect of beauty.† And, as it happens, the metrical system of this stanza by Meredith is perhaps without any rival in our English poetry.

Of the pictorial adornments of language known as " Figures of Speech," to all of which verse adds both refinement and beauty, there are yet many others that deserve mention. But these are sufficient for the present occasion, and I pass on to notice the actual pictures or sketches that are sometimes met with in poetry. These must be either of man or nature or both combined. Here is an example of the first:

" With grave
Aspect he rose, and in his rising seemed
A pillar of state; deep on his front engraven
Deliberation sat, and public care,
And princely counsel in his face yet shone,
Majestic, tho' in ruin; sage he stood

* With this cf.: " Her waking infant stare
Grows woman to the burden my hands bear. . . ."
Modern Love.

† " Warp and woof of sound,
Cunningly interwoven, fine as light,
Prismatic to the ear; radiance attuned,
Whether it fledges speech with plumes of fire. . . ."

With Atlantean shoulders fit to bear
The weight of mightiest monarchies; his look
Drew audience and attention still as night
Or summer's noontide air . . ."—(*Paradise Lost.*)

Here again, even in these pen-pictures, we recognise the immense advantage of the metrical system that helps to create the portrait; such vividness, once more, such artistic beauty, such sublimity, are impossible to prose. But further, some of the excellence of this detached sketch is due to its context, to the general grandeur of scheme and scope in the masterpiece which it adorns; as in a cathedral, the grandeur of the whole lends grandeur to every part. Scarcely inferior is the delineation of Satan in the same great work. After these we may study the wonderful gallery of sketches of both men and women in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*; the familiar figures in Goldsmith's *Deserted Village,* the deliberate etchings of men and things in Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis,* the many verse paintings of Rossetti, the poem portraits of women in Tennyson's early volumes, Shelley's portrait of himself in *Adonais,* Byron's of himself in *Childe Harold*;* in Byron also we find that exquisitely painted miniature, *" She Walks in Beauty "*; also the *Venus de Medici,* and the *Dying Gladiator.* Next might come Wordsworth's *Lucy*; but indeed all the great poets have hung life-like portraits in this vast gallery of verse.

As to the poetic drama, let us again realise all that is implied in the word *poetic.* Let us think for a moment of those magnificent tragic figures, Hamlet, Macbeth, Othello, Lear; how naked, gaunt, pitiable they would appear if stripped of their robes of music! What would Rosalind, Viola, Perdita, Miranda, be to us without their poetry? And as to the death of Cleopatra, in this scene the finest blank verse ever heard† is combined with the most consummate of paintings to create the masterpiece of all dramatic literature. Who, again, let me ask, could recall any of these inscrutable figures even to the most attentive frame of mind if the stuff they were made of had been prose? As it is, we can at any moment summon their subtly idealised personalities before our presence, and in all their entirety, or often enough, they come to us unbidden —if I may use a phrase of Keats—" On the viewless wings of poesy."

Sometimes the poetical associations (these again are musical as well as pictorial) of a mere name are equivalent to a picture, and

* Among recent poets, Rupert Brooke has expressly drawn his own portrait in the poem entitled *The Great Lover*; but he has drawn it too expressly—far too expressly. The poem is often quoted as one of his best, but its overstrained attempt to be real ends in a most lamentable grotesqueness. We get a much better likeness of Thompson in his *Hound of Heaven* mentioned above.

† That is, dramatic blank verse; in Epic poetry, the finest, I think, is the Morning Hymn of Adam and Eve in *Paradise Lost.*

deserve our brief notice, especially as we find them employed by the greatest of poets. By way of illustration, we may be well content with Shakespeare and Milton:

" To the Propontic and the Hellespont . . .
The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads
Do grow beneath their shoulders . . ."—(*Othello.*)

" Jousted in Aspramont, or Montalban,
Damasco, or Marocco, or Trebisond . . ."
(*Paradise Lost.*)

" To sport with Amaryllis in the shade,
Or with the tangles of Neaera's hair . . ."*—(*Lycidas.*)

In this department of actual pictures in verse—pictures, I may add, set mostly within some frame—comes Nature, animate and inanimate. Here, as we glance back through the ages of poetry, we seem to discern one aspect of the principle of evolution; for the detailed painting of the natural world, especially if quite apart from any human interest, is comparatively a modern art, due in no small degree to the developments of science. I have often pointed to the necessity of a chronological method in the study of Shakespeare, in whatever department of the subject, æsthetic, material, or moral; I must now call attention to the importance of this principle in regard to the whole evolution of literature. As to Shakespeare, it is surely nothing less than a marvel that, with his imperfect knowledge, he should have created ideals of such perfectness and persistence of both truth and beauty. When I speak of his imperfect knowledge, I mean that he could not realise so fully as we do the principles of the real and the ideal; he could not, for instance, without the theory of evolution; nor could the Greeks. Some such consideration, I think, should be present with us as we proceed with this brief survey of nature-painting in poetry.

As to materials, the first thing to be noticed is the surprising abundance of the flower element; even in the dramas of Shakespeare we should miss the mere flowers far more than we imagine; but the abundance, once more, is most apparent in our later poets, for under this head scientific investigation and a new and special interest in the natural world has widened and perfected the outlook.

In the earlier poets, Spenser and Ben Jonson for example, flowers contribute more material for poetical imagery than perhaps all the other objects of the natural world. Just now, my selection of an image of extraordinary beauty—the stanza by Meredith—had flowers for its suggestion, colour, and inspiration generally. Or to take some floral pictures of greater profusion and detail,

* As another reference to recent poets, I may mention a poem by Rupert Brooke—*Tiare Tahiti*—in which proper names, " Teüra's braided hair," contribute not a little to the musical effect. This poem contains some of his best work.

what for its perfect naturalness yet not less perfect beauty could surpass the following, which occurs in Matthew Arnold's *Thyrsis*:

" So, some tempestuous morn in early June,
When the year's primal burst of bloom is o'er,
Before the roses and the longest day—
When garden-walks and all the grassy floor
With blossoms red and white of fallen May,
And chestnut-flowers are strewn—
So have I heard the cuckoo's parting cry,
From the wet field, thro' the vext garden-trees,
Come with the volleying rain and tossing breeze:
' *The bloom is gone, and with the bloom go I.*'
" Too quick despairer, wherefore wilt thou go?
Soon will the high Midsummer pomps come on,
Soon will the musk carnations break and swell,
Soon shall we have gold-dusted snap-dragon,
Sweet-William with his homely cottage-smell,
And stocks in fragrant blow
Roses that down the alleys shine afar,
And open, jasmine-muffled lattices,
And groups under the dreaming garden-trees,
And the full moon, and the white evening-star.
" He hearkens not! light comer, he is flown!
What matters it? next year he will return,
And we shall have him in the sweet spring-days
With whitening hedges, and uncrumpling fern,
And blue-bells trembling by the forest-ways,
And scent of hay new-mown."

I make no apology whatever for the length of the above passage; it is, I believe, the most important of all the quotations in this essay, and we might well be thankful for such a picture on such a width of canvas.

Other poets, of course, may be mentioned who contribute their painted garlands, or bouquets, or wreaths, or even studies of a single flower, such as Wordsworth's *Celandine*, or Swinburne's *Sundew*, but surely further quotation or illustration is unnecessary; indeed, we may doubt whether there was ever a true poet who did not love flowers, and leave us some imperishable monument of that love.*

Closely associated with flowers as materials for nature-painting in poetry are trees and fields and birds and streams and other well-known objects of pastoral landscape. Then there are the countless other and mostly larger elements, such as lake and hill and mountain, and the vast panorama of the heavens, whether of the day or night. These have been painted with love and truth and beauty by the poets of all the ages; but if I may bring forward one final illustration, it will be the " mother and lover of men, the

* See the article, " Shakespeare and Nature " (*Church Quarterly Review*, July, 1924.)

sea." Now, among sea poets, the author of the words just quoted may be said to rank high, if not highest; first, because of the abundance of his drawings or sketches, and next, because of an intimate association with his subject; and yet again, because of his remarkable faculty of pictorial music:

" The sweet sea, mother of loves and hours,
Shudders and shines as the grey winds gleam,
Turning her smile to a fugitive pain."—(*Swinburne.*)

Here, however, we recall Shelley, who under this head is perhaps more than worthy to rank as the compeer of Swinburne—

" The sea-blooms and the oozy woods which wear
The sapless foliage of the ocean, know
Thy voice, and suddenly grow grey with fear,
And tremble, and despoil themselves . . .";

and, together with these two, there is yet to be mentioned the third sea poet, Byron—

" For I was as it were a child of thee,
And trusted to thy billows far and near,
And laid my hand upon thy mane—as I do here."

There are, of course, poets almost without number who have painted the sea in one or another of its many aspects, and painted it admirably; but I will conclude by bringing forward the following picture of sea and shore combined, which is inspired, moreover, by the most passionate of human emotions:

" I stretch my weary sight across the sea,
I hear the wan waves washing on the strand,
My eyes are weary of the sea and land,
Of the sick shore and the forsaken lea;
Ah, love, return; ah, love, come back to me!—
As well the ebbing waves I might command
To turn and kiss the soft deserted sand;
The joy that was is not and cannot be.
The salt wave furrowed by the foam smells sweet;
Oh blest for me, if it were now my lot
To make this shore my rest, and hear all strife
Die out like yon wave's faint receding beat:—
If he forgot so easily in life,
I may in death forget that he forgot."

MORTON LUCE.

THE THIRD PARTNER IN YUGOSLAVIA.

SLOVENIA is the most western in every sense of the three component parts of Yugoslavia. It covers an area about equal to that of Belgium but does not, however, embrace the entire Slovene people, numbering close on two millions, three-quarters of a million being still subject to Italian and Austrian rule. The Slovenes are industrious and progressive. Their land is a model of co-operative systems economically organised on a mutuality basis. Agricultural methods are up to date, and modern inventions such as electricity and waterways are applied to rural needs. The standard of literacy is perhaps the highest in Europe, for every hamlet has its school, and in most cases a reading-room.

This hardy branch of the Southern Slav tree is a fine example of racial endurance and cultural development. Pressed between German and Latin, it resisted absorption by either, but assimilated certain qualities of both while preserving its own peculiar national traits, instincts, and predilections. The persistence of this Slav oasis among foreign, hostile elements is all the more remarkable that, unlike Croatia or Serbia, it never formed a distinct State, and had no tradition of independence to look back upon since the eighth century. Prior to that period the Slovenes who settled in Europe, like the other Slavs, in the sixth century, were governed by their own chiefs; and even when they became merged in the great Germano-Frankish Empire they managed to secure guarantees for their language and customs. National consciousness, never dormant, was fully awakened by Napoleon at the beginning of the last century. His creation of Illyria brought their language into repute and gave them a national status. But their importance as a barrier to the North German advance towards the Adriatic was not realised until much later.

Maintenance of the native tongue was the chief factor in safeguarding the Slovene people as a separate racial entity. The first literary publications were issued a hundred and thirty years ago. An Almanack was compiled by Valentine Vodnik, at the behest of a Slovene nobleman named Baron Zois. This soon became a bi-annual and had an enormous circulation. Vodnik next started a daily, which did little more than give official news, but was eagerly welcomed by the people in place of the German sheets which were hitherto their only source of information. In the middle of the last century the Society of St. Mohar undertook to publish Slovene books, and a reading-room was established at Celovac with newspapers, pamphlets, and educational works in the Slovene tongue. The authorities now took umbrage and decided to transform the Slovene schools, which they had tolerated, into German schools.

National emblems were forbidden, and the land was flooded with German literature. These measures only served to strengthen the people's determination to resist Teutonic influences, and the loss of the schools was met by the establishment of reading-rooms and libraries all over the country. Slovene literature grew apace, and there were translations also of works by Shakespeare, Byron, and other notable European authors. The Slovene poet Francis Presern became known abroad in Italian, German and Russian translations. Joseph Jurcic, the greatest master of Slovene prose, has been called the Walter Scott of Southern Slav literature.

The most striking figure, however, of modern Slovene history is Janez Krek, writer, economic reformer and political organiser. Father Krek, in propagating Christian Socialism, supplied exactly what could satisfy Slovene ideology: religion in practice. With assiduity at public worship, strict observance of Church rules of fasting, and solemnisation of Holy Days, well suited to the frugal bent and regular methodical life of the God-fearing peasantry, Krek taught mutual help and founded co-operative and benefit societies in every parish. The social benefactor easily became the national leader, and Krek's Popular Party has never since lost hold of the nation. A form of irreligious democracy has indeed appeared in Slovenia, and even secured some mandates in industrial districts; but the masses remain true to the Populars led by Father Koroshets, successor of the late Dr. Krek. The two had worked together for the moral and material good of the people before the great war, and Dr. Krek had selected his young colleague to be the exponent of Slovene claims in the Vienna Parliament. This was an important step in the movement for freedom and reunion of the Southern Slavs. Dr. Sustercic, another notable figure in Slovene national life, was thus relegated to a second place, because he did not conceive the realisation of Slovene autonomy outside the limits of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

During the war Father Koroshets gathered the Serb, Croat, and Slovene members of the Reichsrat into the Yugoslav Club, which already foresaw the creation of the present Yugoslav Kingdom. On May 30th, 1917, this Club issued the famous declaration of South Slav solidarity, which found an echo wherever the race dwelt. Slovenes remember with pride that the first signatory was Mgr. Bonaventura Jeglitch, Bishop of Liubliana, who thus sanctioned and endorsed the aspirations of his flock. The venerable prelate had consistently led the way in development, by constitutional methods, of Slovene national consciousness. He established and supported at his own expense a boys' college where all subjects were taught in the native tongue.

The May declaration caused an increase of Austrian repressive

measures. Until the moment of his death, in October, 1917, Dr. Krek was exposed, as well as Dr. Koroshets and their followers, to police supervision. There were arrests and perquisitions, but nothing prevailed against the people's determination. The women of Slovenia played a magnificent part in the patriotic struggle. In March, 1918, they handed to Dr. Koroshets a scroll containing 200,000 signatures of adherents to his programme. Some months later Slovenia became an integral part of the new independent Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Dr. Koroshets, as first Vice-President of the first Yugoslav Cabinet, contributed substantially to the initial task of coalescing long-separated racial groups.

There followed a necessarily difficult period of experimental constructive effort, sponsored by fortuitous political alliances. The Slovene Popular Party, oftenest in opposition, combated what it called "the Belgrade tendency" to centralism. A claim for Slovene autonomy within the Kingdom caused the Populars to be unfairly branded as separatists. A basis for reconciliation between Serb and Slovene was provided, however, in a scheme of generous local administration elaborated by the young Serbian Democrat leader, Dr. V. Marinkovitch. Serbo-Slovene co-operation was further facilitated by the elimination of the Croat firebrand, Radic, from serious governmental combinations. A definite pact has now been formed between the biggest Serbian Party, that of the Radicals founded by the late M. Pashitch, and the biggest Slovene Party, which is that of Dr. Koroshets. This combination assures to the latter an important rôle in the new Cabinet.*

There is nothing new or startling in the programme of the Populars. It contemplates the realisation of projects set forth in the Constitution that have been neglected owing to party strife and local complications. An economic council formed of experts drawn from all regions of the Kingdom should relieve Parliament of all the weightiest industrial and agricultural problems. Trade interests, if Dr. Koroshets gets his way, should no longer be affected by politics. The economic council, as he plans it, will not be either an upper house or a senate, but an assembly to deal directly with business, to intensify production and to facilitate commerce. Without any sensible alteration of the Vidovdan Constitution there will be introduced, no doubt, wider measures of local autonomy, and finance control for all parts of the State as well as for Slovenia, the chief claimant. The programme of Dr. Koroshets includes, moreover, reduction of the number of Ministries by fusion of certain departments, and systematic distribution to the unemployed of sums collected for their relief.

Yugoslavia has every reason to look forward with confidence to

* Dr. Koroshets has since become Home Minister in Yugoslavia—a sensational innovation for the Balkans, as he is a priest.

Slovene participation in the Government. During their late brief tenure of office—only ten weeks—the Slovene Ministers accomplished feats of construction and retrenchment that make a record in the Balkans. Three railway lines were inaugurated, and the Save, Drave, and Mur Rivers were partially regulated. A considerable sum was allotted to the upkeep of roads. Workmen's taxes were reduced, and generous provision made for the crippled and incapacitated. Income-tax was lessened by 30 per cent. and the living wage fixed at its maximum. Import duties on ploughs and artificial fats were abolished.

The Slovenes have, obviously, their work cut out for them as social reformers and administrative organisers. With regard to foreign affairs, although Slovenia's frontiers touch on three important States—Italy, Austria, and Hungary—and its population is therefore deeply concerned with the trend of foreign policy, it is unlikely that for some time to come Slovenes will be called upon to direct it. In the past this gifted race got no chance to gain experience in the State service of the Dual Empire. No diplomatic post, as no high army command, was entrusted to a Slovene. Only in the very last Cabinet, the "Cabinet of liquidation," was an exception made for Dr. Zolgar, in the forlorn hope that Slovenia might yet be saved to the Hapsburgs instead of gravitating towards Serbia. But it was too late to stem the current for union seething among Southern Slavs, and the Slovene Minister served this cause without fear or hesitation. Later he played a prominent part in the Paris Peace Conference.

The elder generation of Slovenes, notwithstanding their stubborn patriotism, were culturally under German influence; but the younger, with a new national university at Liubliana, and the advantage of closer contact with English and French civilisation, are acquiring a truly international outlook. Enthusiastic adherents of the League of Nations, they have recently established a Union which is doing excellent propaganda work; and its promoters, Professor Pitamic and Dr. Breznik, are now intent on federating with the older Unions of Belgrade and Zagreb. It is to the credit of Slovene journalism that the best daily in the country is the *Slovenec,* edited by the distinguished Slavist, Dr. Terseglav.

Religious unity is as earnestly sought in Yugoslavia as farther west, and it is from Slovenia that there comes the greatest impetus for its realisation. Professor Grivec of Liubliana University, President of the Apostleship of SS. Cyril and Methodius, has laid down principles of tolerance and mutual understanding that have already borne fruit in better relations between Catholics and Orthodox. Religious differences will never again be used in Yugoslavia for political ends.

A. CHRISTITCH.

"OLD DREADNOUGHT": A SEA-STUDY.

IT is more than a little astonishing that, whereas there are in existence elaborate and well-documented biographies of Lord Anson and Lord Hawke, there has as yet been no book dealing exclusively with the equally glorious sea-exploits of their illustrious contemporary, completing the trio of George II's great Admirals, the Hon. Edward Boscawen. His fame has been noted and acclaimed in works such as Lodge's *Portraits* and Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals* and by Admiral Sir E. Fremantle in *From Howard to Nelson*; but in the following paper I hope to show that adequate honour should be accorded to one who, while maintaining the credit of his country in the narrow seas, also played a principal rôle in the foundation of her Empire in the West.

As a scion of the house of Boscawen-Rose in Cornwall, Edward Boscawen belonged to that maritime county which also gave us Drake, Blake, Hawkins, Frobisher, and Hawke. His family was of such antiquity that the Boscawens of Tregothnan could claim to have held their lands in fee-simple since the reign of King John; and there exists a quaint old record showing that one Hugh Boscawen suffered a fine of five marks as penalty for failing to attend "ye coronation of ye Queen Mary." An Edward of that ilk figured as a Member of the Restoration Parliament, and in 1720 the family was ennobled by the title of "Barons of Boscawen-Rose and Viscounts Falmouth."

Second son of the first Viscount and of a niece of the great Duke of Marlborough, Edward Boscawen was born on August 19th, 1711. Of his brothers, two of them entered the sister service and attained the rank of General, another entered the Church and became Dean of St. Buryan, whilst one of his sisters married Admiral Leveson-Gower. Joining the Navy as a lad, Edward made such rapid progress as to receive command of the 20-gun frigate *Shoreham* while a very young man. But, pining for active service, the youthful commander sought and gained permission to serve as a volunteer with Admiral Sir Edward Vernon's expedition to the Spanish Main in 1739. Porto Bello was speedily reduced, and Boscawen assisted in the destruction of its artillery and fortifications, as reward for which task he was able to disburse 10,000 (Spanish) dollars among his crews. But meanwhile his own frigate had been refitted and was included in Vernon's fleet. "The *Shoreham* proved the most successful ship of the squadron. In her Boscawen reconnoitred Havana and near that port destroyed two sloops and took another; while about September 15th he landed at Porto Maria and burnt a large quantity of timber and other stores. He was there attacked by two small galleys and a sloop, but they kept in such shoal water

that the *Shoreham*, though hulled more than once, could not get close enough to harm them. Meanwhile, a small fort between Matanzas and Havana was destroyed."*

The year 1740 was spent in useless delays and in interminable wrangles between Sir E. Vernon and his military coadjutor, General Wentworth. At long last, our forces assaulted the formidable defences of Cartagena in March, 1741. On the night of the 19th a splendid feat of arms was performed by Captain Boscawen and others in command of a landing-party 500 strong. Their objective was a battery armed with 15-pounder guns, but they had not reckoned on a concealed battery of five guns which enfiladed them in flank. It was, however, carried with a rush after heavy casualties among the stormers, who "spiked the guns and set the carriages, fascines, platforms, magazines, and guard-houses on fire."

The general attack on Cartagena came off a few days later. Several of Vernon's ships were badly knocked about and, Lord Aubrey Beauclerk in the *Prince Frederick* receiving a mortal wound, Boscawen was promoted to command that vessel. The principal bastion having been breached, a general assault on Cartagena from the land side was wholly successful: yet such were the dissensions between Wentworth and Vernon, and so bad the health of the troops, that the enterprise was actually abandoned on April 16th, 1741! Boscawen, who was naturally very much chagrined, also took part in an unsuccessful attempt to take Cuba.

His next active service was as captain of the *Dreadnought*, of 50 guns, a unit of the squadron led by Sir Charles Hardy. It was a memorable cruise for Boscawen. For on April 27th, 1744, while cruising off the Portuguese coast in company with the little *Grampus*, of 14 guns (which, however, was not engaged in the action), the *Dreadnought* fell in with the French *Médée*, a fine 28-gun frigate. After a hotly-contested yard-arm to yard-arm duel, in which both adversaries suffered heavily, the Frenchman struck to the *Dreadnought* with 300 prisoners. This event was a peculiarly happy one, as in that year the British Navy lost to France and Spain the *Northumberland, Solebay, Seaford,* and *Grampus,* and had the *Victory, Colchester, St. Albans, Oxford,* and *Greenwich* wrecked.

What delighted Boscawen most of all was that this spirited affair gained for him, from his adoring bluejackets, the soubriquet of "Old Dreadnought," "one of the most flattering and expressive nicknames ever applied by sailors to a commander."

Although he was not immediately promoted to flag-rank, he was by this time hailed as one of King George's finest fighting seamen.

* Carr Laughton.

In 1746 France, alarmed by England's capture of Cape Breton in the West and rapid progress in the East, fitted out two squadrons, one designated for Canada and the other for India. These two fleets, numbering fourteen sail-of-the-line with a numerous convoy, and commanded by Admiral the Marquis de la Jonquière, sailed in company from l'Ile d'Aix on April 29th, 1747. To oppose them Admiral Anson, accompanied by Boscawen in the *Namur* (74), had sixteen sail and a fireship. He fell in with La Jonquière off Finisterre on May 3rd, and in the course of a running fight we took the *Vigilant, Modeste, Dartmouth,* and several of the convoy: "night saved the rest." Captain Grenville of the *Defiance* was killed, Boscawen wounded in the shoulder, and he had 500 killed and wounded. Anson was rewarded with a peerage, and Admiral Mahan has said:

> "Two* encounters between English and French squadrons happened in 1747, completing the destruction of the French fighting navy. In both cases the signal was made for a general chase and the action that resulted was a *melée*. There was no opportunity for anything else; the one thing necessary was to overtake the running enemy, and that could only certainly be done by letting the fastest or best-situated ships get ahead, sure that the speed of the fastest pursuers is better than that of the slowest of the pursued, and that therefore either the latter must be abandoned or the whole force brought to bay."†

Under Rear-Admiral Griffin, things had not been going well with the British Navy in East Indian waters. Rear-Admiral the Hon. Edward Boscawen was therefore sent out to supersede him, and incidentally to thwart the plans of the celebrated Duplieux for a vast French empire in Asia. To this end "Old Dreadnought" was given a fine fleet—in round numbers fifteen sail and 666 guns, supported by 5,000 infantry and 2,000 (native Indian) cavalry. His flag still in the *Namur,* he arrived off Cuddalore on July 29th, 1748.

The great French fortress of Pondicherry was his direct objective. In order to prosecute its siege in person Boscawen went ashore, leaving Captain Lisle of the *Vigilant* to direct the blockade operations. He was able to dispose of some 7,000 European and native troops, but his engineers proved grossly incompetent, and on August 12th an assault on the works was repulsed with heavy loss. The next step was a bombardment by the fleet, in which Captain Adams of the *Preston* lost his life. No progress was made, the rainy season was approaching, the mortality from sickness was great, and casualties exceeded a thousand. In these circumstances, in October Boscawen issued orders for retirement to St. David and re-embarked his seamen and marines—only to

* The other was Hawke's victory off Ushant.
† *Influence of Sea-power.*

discover that the operation need not have been undertaken at all, the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle having been signed six months ago. It is worthy of mention that the name of Robert Clive is first heard of during this abortive leaguer of Pondicherry. Boscawen was not destined to quit the East without further disaster. Having been requested by the East India Company to lend two cruisers to assist in "punishing" the Rajah of Tanjore, he sent the *Namur* and the *Pembroke*. Judge of his horror and remorse on learning that both of those noble vessels had been totally lost in a cyclone, together with Captain Fincher and nearly a thousand souls!

"Old Dreadnought" was promoted Vice-Admiral, and no blame was imputed to him either by the Admiralty or the Government of the day. On the contrary, Chatham paid him the compliment of remarking, "When I ask other officers to do a thing they raise difficulties—Boscawen suggests remedies."

He did not rest long on shore. Though nominally at peace, it was known to George II's Government that France was dispatching a powerful expedition to North American waters, and a notification as to Boscawen's instructions was given the French Ambassador, "who replied that the King, his master, would consider the first gun fired at sea to be a declaration." Nevertheless, our Admiral bore away from Plymouth in April, 1755, his flag in the *Torbay* (74), at the head of eleven sail-of-the-line, two frigates, and a sloop. The French had meanwhile divided their forces. In the first instance Admiral de Macnamara led a fine fleet of twenty-five sail, but with nine of these he remained in European waters, sending the other sixteen to Canada, together with a convoy of 3,000 troops, under Admiral de la Motte. Off Newfoundland, however, Boscawen found himself reinforced by Admiral Holburne's small squadron; and in June he fought a brilliantly successful action with four of de la Motte's ships that were separated, in a fog, off the mouth of the St. Lawrence, from his main body.

In the upshot Boscawen captured two of these, the *Alcide* and the *Lys,* both 64's, together with 1,500 prisoners including several hundred soldiers, and specie valued at £800,000. The ships most distinguished on the British side were the *Dunkirk,* Captain Howe, and the *Defiance,* Captain Andrews, and the action lasted five hours. It was, unfortunately, followed by so bad an outbreak of putrid fever in Boscawen's fleet that no less than 2,000 poor fellows lost their lives. Chastened by this calamity he made sail for Spithead, arriving there on November 4th, 1755, after a six months' cruise.

Before that year was out, Britain had taken from France no fewer than three hundred merchantmen on the high seas. From May to December, 1756, on the threat of a French invasion, "Old Dread-

nought" cruised off Brest in command of a fine fleet of eighteen battleships, six fifty-gun ships, and two frigates. But he utterly failed to induce the foe to "come out" of port.

The great adventure of Boscawen's sea-career was now about to open. To carry on the war the British Government voted 45,000 seamen, 15,000 marines, and 54,000 troops, and to our strength of 320 warships of all dimensions France could oppose 77 sail-of-the-line and 39 frigates and her Spanish ally 52 sail and 56 frigates. Boscawen's orders were to bear away for Cape Breton, there to reduce the great French fortress of Louisbourg, held by a formidable garrison under the Chevalier Drucour. For this purpose the Admiral was allotted a really splendid force of 41 warships and 18 frigates, in charge of a huge fleet of transports carrying 14,000 soldiers under General Amherst's command. Boscawen's flag now flew in the 90-gun *Namur,* his second ship of that name. "Among the celebrated men who sailed with this expedition were George Brydges Rodney, Edward Hughes, and James Wolfe the hero of Quebec."

Quitting St. Helen's on February 19th, 1758, the fleet and army did not rendezvous at Gabarus Bay until June 2nd. No time was then lost. On the 9th the gallant Wolfe led the first storming-party in the landing on Cape Breton's rocky shore, when in a boiling surf and under a terrible fusillade we lost seventy boats and many men by swamping. But the attack was pushed home and the defenders abandoned their first line, with their artillery and "furnace for red-hot balls." By seizing Lighthouse Point Wolfe commanded the fortress from two sides instead of one, and two sorties were beaten back with heavy losses to the besiegers, though on July 9th we mourned Captain the Earl of Dundonald, slain at the head of Forbes' Highlanders. By the 20th our batteries dominated the whole defence and, setting fire to the *Célèbre* (74), *l'Entreprenant* (64), and *Capriciéux* (64) in the harbour, burned them to the water's edge. On the 25th, Boscawen writes to Amherst:

> "Sir,—We shall this evening, soon after it is dark, make an attempt on the ships in the harbour, either to take them from the enemy or destroy them. I concerted this morning with Sir Charles Hardy, and sent the Captains that are to execute it to the Lighthouse to take a view of the Harbour. As the Captains Laforey and Balfour are the senior masters and commanders, they are to have this command, and if you will please to order a constant fire from the guns and mortars all the forepart of the night, it will much contribute to the success of this enterprise."

That operation eventuated in the capture of the *Bienfaisant* (64) and the burning of the *Prudent* (74), and on July 11th the Admiral again writes to Amherst:

> "I have armed all the sick at Kennington Cove that can pull a trigger, and sent arms to our brewery established there. Forgive me, but I can't help owning I am not only impatient to hear your guns against the town, but to know if engineers have staked out the Battery. For God [*sic*] sake, your own and our country's, make the engineers begin the batteries; it will convince your army they mean to make one!"

The Chevalier now treated for terms, but in a joint reply Boscawen and Amherst stated: "We give your Excellency one hour after receiving this to determine either to capitulate as prisoners of war or take upon you all the consequences." Next day, July 27th, 1758, Drucour surrendered the fortress and its remaining garrison of 3,600, with 216 guns* of all calibres. He had already lost 2,000 killed and wounded, as against a British loss of 462; the captured battle-flags may be seen in St. Paul's to-day. "The surrender put an end for ever to the French possession of Canada." It included not only Louisbourg, but the islands of Cape Breton and St. John's, the latter being re-christened Prince Edward Island. Our two commanders received the thanks of Parliament, and Amherst was elevated to the peerage.

Boscawen's last sea-fight turned out to be his best. It was gained in 1759, that "ultimate" year of the Seven Years' War which also witnessed Minden, Quiberon, and Wolfe's glorious storming of Quebec. On April 27th Boscawen took over the command off Gibraltar with fourteen line-of-battleships and several frigates and fire-ships. He rigidly blockaded, in Toulon, Admiral de la Clue's fleet of ten sail-of-the-line, two 50-gun ships, and three frigates. "Take the *Conqueror, Culloden,* and *Jersey,*" said our Admiral to Captain Callis, "and destroy me those two frigates from under the French guns." This attempt failed, our vessels being badly knocked about by the shore batteries; but it exactly suited Boscawen's purpose, as, on his going into "Gib" to refit, de la Clue slipped out of port. This was on August 17th, and though "the flagship, the *Namur,* had not a single sail bent" when de la Clue appeared in the offing, the indomitable Boscawen was on his track that same night.

A running fight ensued off the Bay of Lagos. The French Admiral had only seven sail with him, the residue having made for Cadiz "without orders." Having the wind in his favour, Boscawen was able to lay his flagship alongside the enemy flagship, *l'Océan* (80 guns). A spirited duel followed in which the *Namur* lost her mizzenmast, whereupon Boscawen transferred his flag to the *Newark.* The *Centaure,* the only hostile ship that put up a good fight, resisted five of our vessels for five hours, her commander, de Sabran, receiving eleven wounds. She was taken, together with the *Téméraire* and *Modeste,* whilst the *Océan* was run ashore in Portuguese territory and burned, Admiral de la Clue

* The lamp-posts outside Lord Falmouth's town house are wrought from these guns.

being mortally wounded. In her, too, was taken Admiral Suffren, who, for a second time, became our prisoner. The British total loss was the ridiculously small one of 56 killed and 196 wounded, and Boscawen's own comment was: "It is well, but it might have been a lot better." He sent Captain Buckle home with the despatches, and King George presented that officer with £500 "to buy him a sword." In the award of distinctions, Boscawen was made a Privy Councillor and "General of Marines"—the first of that rank ever created—and Captains Bentley and Stanhope were knighted. The three captured ships were incorporated in the Royal Navy. Mahan has pointed out that after this disaster "the French flag did not appear at all. The British naval forces, without any rivals, passed unmolested over the seas. In one year they are said to have taken from French commerce £7,000,000 sterling."*

I had omitted to mention that to "Old Dreadnought" fell the melancholy task of presiding over the court-martial that tried the unfortunate Admiral Byng for his failure to relieve Minorca; and that the former signed the death-warrant with his own hand.

In 1760 he was sent out to succeed Hawke in command of the fleet which that hero had led to victory off Quiberon, when the only "incident" of an otherwise eventless cruise was the wreck of the *Ramillies* in a storm. Admiral Boscawen then returned home to die, at his house near Guildford, on January 10th, 1761, only in the fiftieth year of his age. He had married in 1742 the daughter of a Kentish gentleman named Glanville, who survived her intrepid husband until 1805. Of their three children, the only son became Viscount Falmouth, the Admiral's elder brother having died without issue.

I would characterise Edward Boscawen as the Peterborough of the ocean. For in full measure he possessed that fine quality of dash, and ignorance of professional fear, which characterised the great Peterborough and which marched hand in hand with calm judgment. Boscawen was essentially a *fighting* Admiral. The only possible rivals of his epoch were Hawke and Anson, and if he did not encompass the maritime world as Anson did, or destroy an enemy flotilla in quite the complete fashion that Hawke did, it was only opportunity that he lacked. As it was, his uniformly brilliant career upon the blue water depended not so much upon one or two fine feats of arms for its lustre as upon many, and the elder Pitt registered his appreciation of Boscawen's quite invaluable services to his country by appointing him successively to high commands which had previously been held by his two great rivals. Better than all, "Old Dreadnought" enjoyed the honour and glory of being first in the senior service to lay the foundations of our Empire in Canada.

PERCY CROSS STANDING.

* *Sea-power.*

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE EVOLUTION OF NAHAS PASHA.

NAHAS PASHA has passed through another phase, and has provided the main substance of another White Paper (Egypt No. 2, 1928, Cmd. 3097). The phase now to be recorded is somewhat colourless; lacking in symptoms of what his evolution is leading him to.

The end of the preceding phase was reached when the British Note of April 4th was delivered in Cairo, its effect being to inform the Egyptian Government that as the Sarwat-Chamberlain draft treaty had been rejected, the *status quo ante* resumed its sway. Only a short interval elapsed before the new cloud began to form on the horizon. On April 7th Lord Lloyd transmitted to Sir Austen Chamberlain the text of the "Bill regarding Public Meetings and Demonstrations" which had been submitted to the Egyptian Parliament in December last as a result of the decision taken by the Chamber of Deputies on November 22nd, and which formed the occasion of the British warning conveyed to Cairo on March 4th that "H.M.G. cannot permit the discharge of any of their responsibilities under the declaration of February 28th, 1922, to be endangered, whether by Egyptian legislation of the nature indicated above or by administrative action. . . ." The Bill, as passed by the Chamber, was approved without substantial modification by the Senate, but it was later discovered that by a clerical oversight the text of the Bill, as approved by the Senate, lacked a sentence which had appeared in the original Bill passed by the Chamber. It therefore had to be referred to the Senate a second time. Hence it was that it was still in the hands of the Senate Commission when the crisis arose out of the rejection of the Sarwat-Chamberlain treaty. It was still suspended when Lord Lloyd wrote his dispatch of April 7th, for on March 27th the Senate had again postponed its examination of the Bill, this time for a fortnight.

The British Government was thereby given a timely chance to intervene before the Bill was passed into law. The proposed legislation embodied some weird ideas. Technically the Bill was designed to replace Law No. 14 of 1923 "Regulating Public Meetings and Manifestations on the Public Highway," and Law No. 10 of 1914 "Regarding Illegal Assemblies." In passing, it seems worth remembering that Zaglul Pasha defended the earlier law before the Egyptian Parliament in 1924, and in November of that year wrote to Lord Allenby that he would, if necessary, seek further legislative powers to deal with demonstrations. By a refinement of perversity, however, Nahas Pasha went counter to

the Zaglulist principle of strengthening the central government. Blinded no doubt by his desire to weaken British executive power, he seemed not to appreciate or even to recognise the corollary that he was weakening his own. His immediate and exclusive object appeared to be to spite Great Britain and the 1922 Declaration by encouraging political agitation and public meetings as a subsidiary emotional weapon to be used against the British Government. Certain of his followers in the Egyptian Parliament even pushed frankness to the extreme of declaring that they intended to frame the law in such a way as to make it impossible for the police again to interfere with the meetings of their followers in the country.

That motive appears to explain some of the more striking provisions of the new Bill. It had, for instance, been provided in Article 4 of the existing law (No. 14 of 1923) that " The Governor, the mudir or the police authority of the markaz may prohibit the meeting if they consider that it is likely to disturb public order or tranquillity, whether by reason of its object or by reason of the conditions of the time or place of the meeting or for other serious motives." By the Bill now proposed in substitution for the 1923 Law, an elaborate provision was outlined to make it virtually impossible for the police to take any preventive measures whatever against disorder. Article 5 of the new Bill read thus :

" Article 5. A delegate of the Administration or a police officer may always be present at the meeting on condition that he does not sit on the speaker's platform. He may not dissolve the meeting except in the following cases :

" (1) If a written demand to do so is made to him by the committee contemplated in Article 4 [see quotation below], or, in default of it, by the signatories of the notice.

" (2) In cases of serious disorder. If calm is restored the meeting may continue or may be resumed."

The provision referred to in the course of the foregoing article ran thus : " Article 4. Each meeting must have a committee composed of a chairman and two members at least. The committee is charged with maintaining order, preventing any infraction of the laws, preserving at the meeting the character given to it in the notice, forbidding any speech contrary to public order or good morals, or containing provocation to a misdemeanour. In default of election by the Assembly, the committee will be composed of the members designated in the notice."

The effect of Article 5 was to deprive the police of all right to disperse a meeting which was likely to lead to public disorder, a right which had been expressly ordained in Article 7 of Law No. 14 of 1923. The police would now be empowered to act only at the request in writing of the organisers of a meeting (that is, of the

ringleaders themselves) or when preventive action was no longer possible. It is true, as was argued by some Egyptian apologists, that Article 20 of the Egyptian Constitution gives to the Government the general competence to prohibit meetings " for the protection of the social order " ; but no practical person could argue that that general provision could have any value if the present Bill were passed, especially as the Bill would prescribe stringent financial penalties for any policeman who violated Article 5, which expressly forbids the police to disperse meetings until " serious disorder " has actually broken out, and, still more oddly, provides that any such meeting may be resumed " if calm is restored." One can imagine a class of private schoolboys, more than normally full of beans, thoroughly approving of such a provision if it were to be applied as a rule of conduct for themselves, to the confusion of their masters. For a country's government, one which aspires to convince the world that it is capable of responsible government, thus to trifle with its laws, is something that stretches one's capacity for the fantastic.

As if, however, to leave one with no alternative but to believe it, the proposed Bill of Nahas Pasha prescribed a detailed system of police fines to ensure that Article 5 would be carried out. By an incidental refinement of the same principle, the penalties (Article 8) laid down for breakers of the peace would be lighter than the penalties for policemen who attempted to prevent the breaking of the peace. Article 9 of the new Bill ran thus :

" Article 9. The following will be liable to a term of imprisonment not exceeding one month or a fine varying from 200 piastres (£2) to 3,000 piastres (£30) :

" (a) Any official who makes use of his authority to dissolve or attempt to dissolve a private or public meeting, except in the two cases foreseen in Article 5.

" (b) Whoever by force or threats prevents or disperses a private or public meeting, or attempts to commit one of these acts, as well as any official who renders himself guilty of one of these offences apart from the two cases foreseen in Article 5.

" All this without prejudice to the penalties decreed for any other offence."

The Gilbertian penalties provided by contrast for the law-breakers are enumerated thus :

" Article 8. The promoters or organisers of public meetings and political demonstrations of which notice has not been given, as well as the members of the committee of the aforesaid meetings, will be liable to imprisonment not exceeding one week and a fine not exceeding 100 piastres (£1), or to one of these penalties only.

" All persons who, in the cases foreseen in articles 5 and 7 refuse

to disperse in accordance with the instructions of the police, will be liable to these penalties.

" Members of the committee of the meeting who contravene the provisions of Article 4 (quoted above) will be liable to a fine not exceeding 100 piastres.

" The provisions of the first three paragraphs of the present article are without prejudice to the application of any other more serious penalty laid down for the same acts in the Penal Code."

The last sentence of Article 8 is neatly balanced by the last sentence of Article 9. Neither of them would have any practical meaning in view of the provisions which precede them. We are therefore presented with this situation: Nahas Pasha proposed a measure which on the one hand prescribed a month's imprisonment or a fine varying from £2 to £30 for policemen who disperse meetings which threaten disorder, and on the other hand prescribed a week's imprisonment or a fine not exceeding £1 for persons who are guilty of public disorder.

It is easy to imagine what would happen. Tempers in Egypt are not equable. Emotion boils over quickly. The standard of what should happen when emotions boil over is not, for instance, an English standard. Any unruly mob could hold a meeting by forming a committee " composed of a chairman and two members at least " (Article 4 of the Bill). They could talk loudly and decide to go out hunting for foreigners as they did at Alexandria in 1921 and a few weeks ago at Tantah. The police who heard the inflammatory speeches would be unable, in view of the penalty of a month's imprisonment or a fine varying from £2 to £30, to prevent the meeting from pursuing its purpose, and could intervene with impunity to themselves only when the " serious disorder " had been committed. On the other hand, one of the ringleaders of the mob which committed the serious disorder would be liable to imprisonment " not exceeding one week " or a fine " not exceeding £1 "—unless indeed he exposed himself to other penalties of the Penal Code, a Code which, however, experience encourages him not to take at its face value.

When Lord Lloyd on April 7th transmitted the text of that Bill to London he commented that one of its objects was " to discourage officials from doing their duty in preventing the occurrence of disorder." The comment seems to be fully supported by the facts. There was clearly something for Whitehall to be disturbed about. The Bill was due to come before the Senate at an early date. If passed, there would be needed only King Fuad's signature to translate it into law. King Fuad would therefore be placed in the unfair dilemma of having either to precipitate a diplomatic issue with London or to raise a constitutional issue with his own Government.

Whitehall, it appears, decided to prolong its patience far enough to give Nahas Pasha the maximum chance of changing his mind, but not long enough to present to King Fuad the embarrassing alternatives just alluded to. Sir Austen Chamberlain on April 16th wrote to Lord Lloyd to inform him that the provisions of the Bill appeared to be " most ill-advised from a purely Egyptian standpoint " but " however this may be, there is unfortunately no room whatever for doubt that they present a very real threat to foreign lives and property in Egypt when interpreted in the light of the general conditions obtaining there. His Majesty's Government in Great Britain, therefore, find their responsibility under the Declaration of February, 1922, engaged."

It has been a feature of Egyptian history during the last few years that the nationalist extremists have deliberately encouraged political passion, especially on the part of Egyptian students, who are easily roused, as grist for their propagandist mill. A still worse tendency, of more recent development, was exemplified in the triple legislation conceived by Nahas Pasha. He had three Bills under way, presenting three aspects of a single policy. The Assemblies Bill would give free rein to political passion in the Nationalist cause. The Arms Bill would make it impossible for the police to prevent the carrying of arms or deadly weapons by any ill-intentioned person. The Omdahs Bill would rob the central executive of police control and would make the local mayors solely responsible for " law and order." The tendency was to weaken authority in order to encourage licence, and to use the results of that licence for party purposes and for diplomatic propaganda. Even Zaglul Pasha had shown a more mature sense of the responsibility of government. In 1924, when an attempt to abrogate Law No. 14 of 1923 had passed the Chamber of Deputies and reached the Senate, Zaglul took his stand against it. In the course of the debate he said: " Penalties must have a preventive effect, otherwise they are useless. Should a demonstration take place, which the police judge necessary to prohibit as prejudicial to public order, and should the demonstrators show persistence in spite of a warning from the police, the penalty of a week's imprisonment or of a fine of P.T.100 would be absolutely insufficient, and would expose the executive authority to contempt. Assemblies must either be free and not subjected to sanctions, or they must be prohibited, and, in this latter case, adequate penalties must be inflicted on transgressors."

Nahas Pasha conceived the opposite principle of encouraging public disorder. In his letter of April 16th to Lord Lloyd Sir Austen Chamberlain observed that " long experience has shown that outbreaks of mob violence, such as the coming into force of the new Bill would be precisely calculated to encourage, tend almost

invariably to inflict damage upon foreigners. The riots at Alexandria, it will be remembered, resulted in the death of seventeen non-British foreigners, and the wounding of sixty-four others. Only a few weeks ago the mob, without a shadow of justification, attacked foreign property in Tantah." He therefore concluded that the enactment of the Bill would " amount to a definite menace to the security of foreign interests," and in view of the British responsibility incurred under the Declaration of 1922 he informed Lord Lloyd that the British Government " have no alternative but to intervene to prevent the Bill from becoming Law."

In pronouncing that decision Sir Austen wisely added in the same letter that the intervention contemplated was strictly limited to those points which were reserved in 1922, and did not affect the scope either of the 1922 Declaration or of the Egyptian constitution. That specific qualification proved later to have been a useful act of foresight, for on May 10th, nearly a month later, Sir Austen was able to quote it in the House of Commons in answer to Egyptian propaganda designed to suggest that H.M.G. was interfering with domestic legislation in Egypt.

During the last two months of April the crisis was in a state of suspense, Nahas Pasha knowing that London was ready to jump, Sir Austen waiting and hoping that it would not be necessary to jump. On April 30th Nahas Pasha tried, as it were, to feel Sir Austen's pulse. He caused his Chargé d'Affaires in London, Sesostris Bey, to visit the Foreign Office. Being received by Sir William Tyrrell, Sesostris Bey communicated certain extracts from a speech that had been made by Nahas Pasha at a tea-party held in his honour by the Egyptian Bar. The object of Nahas Pasha was to propound a legal interpretation of his projected Assemblies Bill such as might assuage the anxieties of London opinion. He signally failed in that object, even though Sesostris Bey intimated, in accordance with his instructions from Cairo, that a declaration in the sense of Nahas Pasha's interpretation would be made in the Senate if the Bill came up for discussion, and although he further submitted that that declaration would be accepted by the courts as the correct interpretation of the new law. That submission did not impress either Sir Austen Chamberlain on diplomatic grounds or his legal advisers on technical grounds. The view was formed in London that such a declaration as that made by Nahas could be accepted by the courts only if it did not (a) conflict with the law itself or (b) conflict with previous declarations in Parliament. To satisfy these two conditions it would be necessary to emend the Bill itself, a deduction which had no apparent prospect of being recognised in Cairo. Moreover, even if Nahas Pasha's declarations could be invested with legal force, they could have no permanent

force of any kind, because they could be suspended or reversed by the simple expedient of alternative declarations made by future governments.

Nahas Pasha's speech therefore did not allay, but intensified, the anxiety felt in London. If Nahas Pasha really wanted to reassure London opinion, why did he not take the obvious course of modifying the text of the Bill instead of attempting to explain away provisions which were allowed to stand? To take a case. In the speech now communicated to London Nahas Pasha made the point, which has been referred to above, about Article 20 of the Constitution. " The Constitution," he said, " explicitly lays down (Article 20) that the police have full powers to take the measures necessary for the protection of social order. To this end, they are, without reserve or condition, enabled to forbid all Communist demonstrations or meetings." Now it was the contention of Nahas that such a statement would be accepted by the courts as binding. Yet when his own Minister of the Interior drew attention in Parliament to the fact that the Bill would make the police powerless in face of, for instance, a Communist meeting, and to remedy that defect suggested the insertion in Article 1 of the Bill of a reference to Article 20 of the Constitution and the relevant article of the Penal Code, his proposal was rejected. As it stood, the clear purport of the Bill would be to deprive the police of all power to prevent meetings or demonstrations of any kind that might be likely to cause disorder.

Another of Nahas Pasha's arguments, as made in the speech to the Egyptian Bar, ran thus: " With regard to public meetings the draft law lays down that a representative of the Administration or a police officer shall be present at such meetings. He has a right to dissolve a meeting if he is required to do so by the committee charged with the maintenance of order; to prevent any infringement of the law; to see that the meeting maintains the character assigned to it by the notice under which it is authorised; to forbid any speech contrary to public order or decency, or which incites to an unlawful act. He has, further, the right to dissolve the meeting in the event of a grave disorder. If calm is restored, the meeting can be carried on, or begun again. In all these circumstances, the police are to be the judges, and they have the right to dissolve the meeting." To be presented with such an argument was a test of London's diplomatic patience. Fortunately British diplomacy is as patient and long-suffering as most other British institutions. Would it be likely that the organisers of meetings designed to inflame public passions would request the police in writing to stop their meeting before it achieved its purpose? Would any policeman dare diagnose " serious disorder " in no matter what an extremity,

when the whole body of ruffians constituting the meeting would solidly give evidence against his diagnosis, and when an error of judgment on his part, as proved by such testimony, might cost him either a month's imprisonment or a fine varying from £2 to £30? Imagine a superman of a policeman sitting in the body of a meeting of Egyptian students lashing themselves into a white heat of excitement and delivering a crescendo of inflammatory speeches—not a fantastic supposition about Egyptian students. Suppose that superman of a policeman, forbidden by the Act from sitting on the platform, were to stand up in the body of the hall and, if he could make himself heard, roundly to declare that he thereby dissolved the meeting. He would be laughed at. Suppose he went for police reinforcements to dissolve the meeting by force. All that the students need do would be to dry up on his return and the police would be powerless, for by Article 5 of the Bill, "If calm is restored the meeting may continue or may be resumed," and any policeman who tried to stop it would, again automatically, invite his month's imprisonment or his £30 fine. Any police measures could be thwarted by a moment's "calm," and new leases for disorder indefinitely obtained by the same simple process.

It seemed clear that Nahas Pasha could no more be respected for the matter of his interpretive declaration than for the matter of the Bill itself. In that declaration he defended the distinctive severity of the penalty projected for policemen by the weird argument that "if illegal attacks upon the liberty of meeting were to be tolerated, it might encourage secret reunions calculated to threaten public order"! Still more weirdly he defended the comparative lightness of the penalties for law-breakers by the argument that those penalties were "merely for disobeying the orders of the police," and that "if they attack the police officer by word or gesture, or resist by force or violence, or if this resistance is accompanied by blows or wounds, they are liable, besides the penalty for the *contravention*, to those laid down for these *délits* by Articles 117, 118 and 119 of the Penal Code." An original conception of law and order in which a conflict between the police and a disorderly mob might result in the imprisonment or the fining of the police instead of the mob, with the proviso that the disorderly rowdies could not be imprisoned for more than a week, the police for not less than a month, and that in case of a fine the policeman would be liable to thirty times more than any ruffian in the mob he was trying to disperse! Nahas Pasha's purpose would probably have been accomplished (had not the British Government intervened) by the simple and unanimous resignation, in self-defence, of the entire police force of Egypt. Is it necessary to probe further into the workings of Nahas Pasha's mind? He argued that foreigners anyhow need not

worry, because they would not be likely to take part in public meetings. By that argument the seventeen foreigners who were killed by the rioters in Alexandria ought to be posthumously content because they did not participate in the meetings which started the riots. "Let foreigners, in any case," said Nahas in his declaration, "reassure themselves as to their peace and security." The phrase "in any case" has a grim irony for its background.

It was on April 30th that Sesostris Bey presented the words of Nahas Pasha to Sir William Tyrrell. The instructions which had been sent from Cairo in that sense crossed with somewhat important instructions that had been sent to Lord Lloyd from London. On the evening of April 29th a British ultimatum was delivered in Cairo. On the following day Sir Austen Chamberlain, in answer to a question from Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, shortly recapitulated the friendly attempts that had been made to dissuade Nahas Pasha from proceeding with the Assemblies Bill, and continued: "But it unfortunately now seems evident that the Egyptian Government have resolved to proceed with it, and, upon the instructions of His Majesty's Government, Lord Lloyd at 7 p.m. last night [i.e., April 29th] delivered the following final warning to Nahas Pasha, the Egyptian Prime Minister:

"'Your Excellency,

"'I have the honour to inform you that since the presentation to your Excellency of my note of the 4th April His Britannic Majesty's Government in Great Britain have watched with increasing concern the growing evidence of the intention of the Egyptian Government to proceed with certain legislation affecting public security. This legislation, as your Excellency must be fully aware, not merely from the verbal communication which I had the honour to make to you on the 19th instant, but from previous similar communications made both to your Excellency's predecessor and to yourself before and after the date of the *aide-mémoire* which I had the honour to present to his Excellency Sarwat Pasha on the 4th March last, is covered by the reservation reaffirmed in my note of the 4th April.

"'2. I am now instructed by His Britannic Majesty's Government to request your Excellency, as head of the Egyptian Government, immediately to take the necessary steps to prevent the Bill regulating public meetings and demonstrations from becoming law.

"'3. I am instructed to request your Excellency to give me a categorical assurance in writing that the above-mentioned measure will not be proceeded with. Should this assurance not reach me before 7 p.m. on the 2nd May, His Britannic Majesty's Government will consider themselves free to take such action as the situation may seem to them to require.'"

The result of that ultimatum—for in design and in effect, if not in form, it was an ultimatum—was a letter from Nahas Pasha delivered to Lord Lloyd at 10 p.m. on May 1st—twenty-one hours within the time limit. In it Nahas first declared at some length that Egypt could not recognise Great Britain's right to intervene in Egyptian legislation, next expressed regret "that His Britannic Majesty's Government should not have taken into account their [the Egyptian Government's] very earnest desire to consolidate the good relations of the two countries," and as the final paragraph of a long dispatch then stated: "Accordingly, in conformity with their ardent desire to reach an understanding and the conciliatory sentiments which have never ceased to animate them, the Egyptian Government, within the limits of their constitutional right, yesterday requested the Senate, who agreed, to postpone its examination of the Bill in question until next session. They hope that this step will be appreciated by His Majesty's Government, and that, in the light of the mutual confidence governing the relations of the two countries, the present difficulties will shortly be dispelled, to give place to an era of understanding, justice and friendship."

Sir Austen had asked for the abandonment of the Bill. He had been offered a "postponement." Logic is not a British instrument, nor was there any other desire in London than to prevent the passing of the Bill into law. On May 2nd, therefore, Sir Austen Chamberlain telegraphed to Lord Lloyd the text of a British note which made three points. The first was that H.M.G. "have learned with satisfaction that in compliance with the request of H.M.G. . . . the Senate decided not to proceed with the Assemblies Bill during the present session." The second observed that "the intentions of the Egyptian Government respecting the future of this Bill" were not "explicitly stated," and if "the measure in question were to be revived, or if other measures were introduced which in their view presented similarly dangerous features, His Majesty's Government would again be obliged to intervene, as in the present instance, to prevent their enactment." In the third part the Note refused to enter into any discussion about the Declaration of February, 1922. "This Declaration embodies the conditions subject to which independence was accorded to Egypt; and His Majesty's Government will not permit it to be either modified or disregarded."

A few days later Nahas Pasha in a communication to Sir Austen Chamberlain referred to the "happy solution" of the difficulty. "Happy" would be right if this proves to be the end of this particular type of difficulty.

Mr. Kellogg's Peace Proposal.

A month has passed since Mr. Kellogg proposed that the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and any other nation so disposed should sign a simple treaty to "condemn war as an instrument of national policy and renounce it in favour of the pacific settlement of international disputes." That proposal ignored all the reservations that had been made by M. Briand on March 31st in his separate negotiations with Mr. Kellogg. As the immediately following international discussions on this subject were concerned mainly with a comparative study of Mr. Kellogg's simple thesis at the one extreme and of M. Briand's complicated qualifications at the other, it is well to have clearly in mind what M. Briand's reservations of March 31st exactly were. They were (1) that the proposed pact should not become operative until "all countries" had signed it, unless agreement were reached to exempt particular countries; (2) that each signatory should retain the right to make war in "legitimate self-defence"; (3) that if any one signatory violated its pledge not to engage in war, all the other signatories should be automatically released from their pledge; (4) that the proposed pact should not interfere in any way with the existing obligations of France under the Covenant of the League of Nations or the treaty of Locarno or her neutrality treaties.

France, in short, became the protagonist in that school of international thought which in its fear of war is prepared to subscribe to any elaborate machinery for organising war in self-defence, but cannot bring itself to subscribe to any machinery for unqualified peace. In other words, in the ostensible interests of peace, it is prepared to pledge itself in advance of unknown contingencies to make war, but will not pledge itself in advance to keep the peace! It sounds mad. Fear is always mad. No sooner had the Kellogg proposal been made than the French Government requested the other governments approached not to answer Mr. Kellogg before they had heard France's views on the subject. The Quai d'Orsay prepared a draft of its own, not, as the French commentators were careful to point out, as a counter-proposal, but as a complementary proposal, to Mr. Kellogg's.

The French draft was duly transmitted to the various capitals, and was published on April 21st. It followed the line it had been expected to follow. It did not propose the outlawry of war at all. It merely elaborated a system of sanctions for the punishment of all who might threaten the "security" of the Allies of the late war as established by the Treaty of Versailles. The preamble to the draft carefully reserved the right of any signatory to ignore the pact "when they consider the violation of certain clauses of these treaties as a hostile act." The pivotal article (Article 2) of the draft, it is true, would commit the signatory to a "pacific procedure" in the settlement of disputes, but Article 4 prescribed that

the pact should not " in any way affect the rights and obligations resulting from any former international Acts in which they were concerned." Article 5, which in its turn closely followed the reservation of March 31st, made the condition that the pact should not become operative " until it has been signed by all the Powers (i.e., all the Powers in the world) . . . unless those Powers which shall accept it agree that it should be put into force in spite of certain abstentions." The condition amounted to this, that the pact should never be put into practice until it should have been accepted by the whole world, including, for instance, China, and the only admissible exception to that condition would remain at the mercy of a French veto.

London lapsed into silence on the convenient pretext that the Dominions had to be consulted in so important a matter. The Dominions are an important diplomatic asset to His Majesty's Government in Great Britain. Mr. Kellogg, however, boldly pursued his course. On April 29th he spoke before a meeting of the American International Law Association, M. Claudel, the French Ambassador, being present. He readily conceded, as a self-evident fact, that the proposed peace pact could not conflict with legitimate self-defence nor with the freedom of action on the part of the other signatories in case one signatory broke the pledge—freedom of action that is vis-à-vis the defaulting signatory. As, however, the proposed pact contained no provision which could conflict with those rights, there seemed no reason, said Mr. Kellogg, why the text of the pact should specifically mention them. On the same occasion he dealt with M. Briand's reservation relating to the Covenant of the League of Nations. He contended that there could be nothing contradictory between the two instruments. " The Covenant," he said, " can, it is true, be construed as authorising war in certain circumstances, but its authorisation is not a positive requirement."

One need not at this stage review the chronic discussion about the scope of Articles 10 and 16 of the Covenant or the conflict between the British mentality (likewise the American mentality) which approves the vagueness of those commitments and the " Protocol " mentality which would tighten up and minutely specify them. According to the view adopted by the present British Government it is one thing to specify the main commitment in a particular application of the sanction, as was done in the Locarno treaties, and a wholly different matter to specify it generically for all unknown dangers anywhere. Obviously the discussion of those divergencies of opinion may go on for ever without benefit to anyone. What, however, the plain man finds it difficult to understand is this. Even granting the force of any argument that could be made by the Quai d'Orsay about the expediency of organising sanctions against unprovoked aggression, what conceivable objection could there be to a mutual undertaking by any two States never to go to war against each other? Suppose France, for instance, and the United States were to sign the pact in the Kellogg sense. The text is so worded that it merely commits any signatory to keep the peace with any other signatory. What danger could France incur by signing such a mutual pledge with the United States, without any reference whatever to the Covenant of the League or to other treaties? If the pledge were to be kept, then the object would be achieved. If not, then the position would be no worse than it would be had there been no pledge. The nations of the world have peace to gain and nothing to lose by the Kellogg treaty. The theory that the commitment incurred by the members of the League might conceivably entail war with the United States (if, for instance, a boycott were decreed against an aggressor State which wanted to trade with the United States) hardly merits serious attention. A League of Nations which in its ambition to secure universal peace precipitated a war with the United States would contrive so grotesque a travesty of its own purpose that anyhow it would not merit the loyalty of its members. Logically the thing is possible; but logic in diplomacy is neither here nor there. In practice no such danger would ever be courted at Geneva.

Mr. Kellogg on the same occasion referred to the Briand reservation that the pacific commitment should be world-wide before it became operative. " From a practical standpoint," he answered, " it is clearly preferable, however, not to postpone the coming into force of the anti-war treaty until all the nations of the world can agree on the text of such a treaty and cause it to be ratified. For one reason or another States so situated as to be no menace to the peace of the world might obstruct an agreement or delay ratification in such a manner as to render abortive the efforts of all the other Powers. It is highly improbable, moreover, that the form of the treaty acceptable to the British, French, German, Italian and Japanese Governments, as well as to that of the United States, would not equally be acceptable to most, if not all, of the other Powers of the world. Even if this were not the case, however, the coming into force among the above-named six Powers of an effective anti-war treaty and the observance thereof would be a practical guarantee against a second world-war. This in itself would be a tremendous service to humanity, and the United States is unwilling to jeopardise the practical success of the proposal which it has made by conditioning the coming into force of the treaty upon prior universal acceptance or almost universal acceptance."

In a Note dated April 27th Herr Stresemann conveyed Germany's acceptance of the Kellogg proposal, and her agreement with the

American view of the French reservations. His Note tactfully referred to the part played by M. Briand in the preparation of the peace proposal.

Sir Austen Chamberlain had not yet spoken of the British attitude. Unfortunately he attended a dinner of the Birmingham Anglo-French Society on April 26th and made a speech which was widely quoted in the United States, in France, and in Germany. It was a harmless speech, the sort of speech one would expect him to make before an Anglo-French society. He referred sympathetically to the Kellogg proposal. He also emphasised his friendship for France and the diplomatic value of Anglo-French friendship. He ended his speech in French with the simple, appropriate words: "Je suis un ami de la France; j'aime les Français; vive la France." It was perhaps unfortunate, because the echo of Sir Austen's student days in Paris have before had the effect, unjustified as it may be, of suggesting to German minds a certain unduly pronounced French bias in his diplomacy. In this case there was abundant evidence that not only German but American opinion as well misread Sir Austen's Birmingham speech as an indication that London was disposed to attach more weight to the Briand difficulty about the Kellogg proposal than to the proposal itself. The conclusion was unsound in fact, and the unnecessary damage was repaired when on May 10th Sir Austen made his considered statement in the House of Commons. "Not only," he said, "have we warmly welcomed it (the Kellogg proposal), but we are hopeful that it will be successfully concluded, and that it will make a real contribution to the peace of the world." He went on to argue that the policy of Great Britain, which "never has treated war as an instrument of policy," was essentially harmonious with Mr. Kellogg's principle, and promised that the British answer to the United States would soon be dispatched. It was already formulated and was on its way to the Dominions for approval. In that statement he did not directly mention France, a restraint which was probably a form of penance for his French exercise at Birmingham.

A Possible Climax in China.

Renewed attention has been drawn to China by two events, both of an unusual kind. One was the Tsinanfu complication between Japan and South China, which differed from other foreign complications in China because it involved a clash outside the treaty areas. The other was a sudden visit to London of a member of the South Chinese Government whose mission, as he himself explained it, was to prepare the way for the help of British industrialists in the reconstruction of China after the capture of Peking. The Southern Chinese politicians make a point of referring to their Government,

not as the Nanking, nor as the Southern Chinese, Government, but as "the Nationalist Government of China." The reason is transparent. If one may judge by the frame of mind of Dr. Wang Chung-hui, Minister of Justice in the Nanking Government, the Nationalists are confident of the early fall of Peking, and are already making their plans for the political, financial and industrial rebuilding.

The conflict with Japan over the Tsinanfu incidents has clearly been regretted by the Nanking authorities. As one branch of the Southern forces were approaching Tsinanfu, the capital of Shantung, in the first week of May, the Japanese authorities in the city took the precautions that are normally taken by the foreign authorities in such circumstances, but on May 4th, diagnosing that the Nationalist troops were well-behaved, they relaxed their precaution. The deplorable result was a massacre of Japanese civilians and the looting of shops within the town, followed later by outrages upon Japanese subjects outside the town. A new sort of problem was thereby created. Hitherto the foreign Powers represented at Peking had succeeded in avoiding issues with Chinese forces outside the protected areas. In the present case the Japanese Government at once decided that a challenge had been thrown down which it must accept, and a virtual state of war automatically resulted. The Japanese commander at Tsinanfu issued an ultimatum to the Chinese authorities demanding the evacuation by all Chinese troops of a zone extending on both sides of the Tsingtao-Tsinanfu railway. When the Japanese Government further requested the authorisation of the Powers for the establishment of a seven-mile Japanese zone round Tientsin—a request promptly objected to by the United States—international complication loomed on the horizon. Tokio however took the wise step of proclaiming that her concern was merely to protect Japanese nationals. That object appeared to have been achieved when on May 11th the Japanese forces seized control of Tsinanfu. The Nanking Government, which had appealed to the League of Nations to settle the issue between itself and the Japanese Government, made it known that it had counter-charges on the score of atrocities to make against Japan, and made the point that before the Tsinanfu complication developed the Nanking Foreign Minister had warned Tokio that the sending of Japanese troops to Shantung would produce unpleasantness. Such dialectics have a familiar complexion, but there seems no doubt that the Japanese complication was the last thing that was wanted by the Nanking Government.

Dr. Wang Chung-hui, for instance, who arrived in London on May 10th, explained in an *Observer* interview that he had made up his mind to come to England before that Tsinanfu affair broke out,

" My chief object," he said, " is to engage in an informal exchange of views with some of the leading men here about Chino-British relations and to explain, if necessary, the real objects of the Nationalist movement in China, which has been somewhat misunderstood abroad. I also want to find out to what extent the British people are prepared to co-operate in the reconstructive work which is to begin when the civil war is over, that is, after the capture of Peking." He appeared to take it for granted that Peking would soon fall before the triple advance of the Nationalist armies.

He explained the Nationalist purpose in the following way: " This civil war," he said, " differs from all other Chinese civil wars since the Republic because it has a definite object. The Nationalist Government has an object, political and economic. Politically it is our object when we have captured Peking to call a National Convention to decide the details of the Republican system of government we propose to adopt. Economically we want to develop rapid means of communication through the construction of railways, motor roads, and the improvement of our present canal system. We shall be able to start the minor work from the proceeds of taxation and the saving on army expenditure. The bigger work will be dependent on foreign loans, but that is not yet. We also want to develop agriculture and our mineral resources and to improve international trade. Our programme is Dr. Sun's programme which was definitely adopted by the Nationalist Government. We want a parliamentary system, but the National Assembly will decide. Of course, the aspiration of the Chinese people is towards a general treaty revision on a basis of equality and reciprocity. We hope that after taking Peking we shall not disappoint the world. Our troops know the cause they are fighting for, because it is one of our innovations to explain through a publicity corps attached to every army corps the purpose and progress of our campaign." There is something refreshing in a statement of Chinese policy which is not wholly pointless or destructive.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

May 15th, 1928.

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LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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LORD GREY AND THE WORLD WAR.*

Lord Grey has told his own story in *Twenty-five Years*, which, like similar apologias, places the blame for the great catastrophe on other shoulders. In *Lord Grey and the World War** Hermann Lutz discusses his policy in the light of the whole available evidence, and reaches a conclusion equidistant from the flawless statesman of his friends and the Machiavellian intriguer of his foes. Though the author inevitably writes from the German standpoint he is a good European, earnestly attempting to apply the same standards to his own and other lands, and never fearing to condemn the errors of his own side, such as the annexation of Bosnia in 1908, or Germany's blank cheque to her ally in July, 1914. Though his vision ranges over the tangled field of European history during the last two decades of peace, his main business is to analyse the character and policy of the British Foreign Minister. On the evidence of his own apologia, Herr Lutz declares that Sir Edward entered the Foreign Office in 1905 with " strong predilection for France and Russia and appalling prejudice against Germany." This habit of looking at the different Powers through different

* *Lord Grey and the World War.* By Hermann Lutz. Allen and Unwin. 16s.

spectacles persisted during his eleven years of office, and deeply coloured the narrative which he compiled after his retirement. Our author fully realises that Sir Edward " did not want the war and honestly wished to avoid it " ; but he attributes to him a considerable shafe in producing the catastrophe, not only by his policy during the years of peace, but at the moment when the crisis arrived.

A long and important chapter entitled " Sir Edward Grey's Free Hand " examines in great detail and rejects the contention that he had kept our hands free (except in a purely legal sense) to decide our own destinies in the event of a European war. Our author agrees with the contention of Lord Loreburn and other critics that we were bound to France and Russia by ties which, once formed, could not have been unloosed except at the cost of destroying the balance of power and leaving us isolated and despised; and that instead of us leading them, they involved us in their quarrels and ambitions and finally swept us into the whirlpool. For, though himself convinced that we must fight if the existence of France was at stake, Lord Grey had not won the Cabinet, Parliament, or the country to his view, and was therefore unable to make the clear and timely declaration of solidarity with France which might have held the Central Powers in check. This remarkable book, admirably written and admirably translated, will not please everybody; but it deserves the careful study of all who occupy themselves with war origins and the old diplomacy.

* * *

THE BOOK OF ENGLISH LAW.*

The legal maxim *Ignorantia juris, quod quisque tenetur scire, neminem excusat* is an obvious necessity in any restricted society, and it is, therefore, not surprising to find it in operation in Roman law, springing as that law did from a tribal basis. The Romans were a logical people, and they carried the maxim into effect by teaching their school children the elements of law. With many other maxims this special maxim, that every one is presumed to know the law, was carried over into the English Common Law, probably by the Italian jurists in the thirteenth century, but the English are not a logical people and they have never regarded it as necessary to teach school children or the laity any of the principles of law, despite the fact that the maxim in the region of criminal law is to-day fully operative. Ignorance as to matters of fact may excuse a putative wrongdoer, but ignorance as to the legal effect of a fact will excuse no one.

Professor Edward Jenks, out of his great knowledge as a lawyer

* *The Book of English Law.* By Edward Jenks. John Murray. 12s. net.

and a teacher of law, has now provided a Book of English Law that should go far to redeem the laity from a form of ignorance that has a special danger to-day. The danger is that many economists and politicians, many members of voluntary societies of great influence, such as Churches and Trade Unions, have boldly intruded into the region of the theory of law, and especially constitutional law, and are preaching doctrines which in some ways are subversive of the Rule of Law as hitherto understood by English people. The Rule of Law is that the rights and duties of individuals are measured by a rule of civic conduct prescribed or confirmed by the supreme or sovereign power in the State, and that the violation of any of those rights or neglect of any of those duties may constitute a wrong to an individual or even to the whole of the society that the sovereign power controls. The Rule of Law is supreme and operative without exception. It is universal, and no man and no class, and no voluntary society, is above or below the law, but is subject to the ordinary law of the land and to the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts and tribunals which declare and enforce the public and private duties and rights of individuals. The powers in certain cases vested by Parliament in Government Departments to issue orders and make rules having the force of law is no exception to the Rule of Law, since the ordinary Law Courts will restrict the exercise of those powers to the exact limits declared by the ordinary law of the land.

It is, therefore, specially desirable at this time to provide the laity with some authoritative statement of the Rule of English Law which can be understood by all, and especially by those who feel a difficulty, created by much controversial matter published at the present time, as to the rights and duties of the English subjects of the omnicompetent State which is compendiously called the British Empire. That Rule of Law is set forth by Professor Jenks in the authoritative fashion that his wide legal learning justifies, and his Book of English Law is given an *imprimatur* by the preface of an eminent and greatly experienced English judge, Lord Atkin. In times past various English legal and philosophic thinkers, such as John Locke and William Blackstone, have urged the necessity of including in the education of the young some effort to communicate the principles of English law. It is indeed an old story. In the early Roman Empire the teaching of the law was free, and though no doubt the lectures on law at Rome and Beirout, at Constantinople, Alexandria and Caesarea were chiefly attended by students who proposed to take up law as a profession in this or that Province, yet in fact they were open to all. Justinian's code was accompanied by his Institutes, a treatise for the use of students drawn up by Theophilus and Dorotheus, professors

in Constantinople and Beirout respectively, as Professor Jenks is in London. Moreover, Theophilus prepared a Greek paraphrase with special historical material for the use of students, and similar student books followed, such as the *Procheiron,* in the reign of the Emperor Basil, and the *Tipucitus,* which still lies unpublished in the Vatican library. Even in the West the educational work of the ninth century, *Summa Perusina,* the institutional *quaestiones ac monita* on the Laws of the Lombards, and the later *Brachylogus,* a revision of the Institutes, witness. The revival of Roman Law under Irnerius, a teacher of humane letters at Bologna at the beginning of the twelfth century, gave the study of law a specifically educational outlook throughout Europe, and in England even we find the *Liber Pauperum*—the Book of Roman Law for poor students—of Vacarius playing an indirect part in the procedural consolidation of English customary law, and in fact the English Common Law. Nor indeed from the earliest times to the present time have the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge excluded ancient law from their humane curriculum, and to-day the University of London has in a somewhat disjointed fashion given an opportunity to the student of Arts to make himself or herself familiar with some features of the Common Law, while the public elementary schools throughout England to-day try to convey to the pupils some knowledge of the duties of citizenship.

It is useful to keep in mind these time-marks, and to place Professor Jenks in his right place as the modern Theophilus. Theophilus it may be remembered used his Greek paraphrase of the Institutes in his prelections at Constantinople in the middle of the sixth century of our era. Professor Jenks has followed a more generous course, and has built up largely from his prelections at the London School of Economics the Book of English Law for Laymen. He points out in his preface that it is now getting on for two centuries since Blackstone's picture of English Law as a whole, a "masterpiece" as Professor Jenks rightly calls it, was cast into immortal library form. It is true in some senses that it "has long ceased to be a true picture of the English Law of to-day, for English Law is a living and changing thing," but in fact the principles laid down by Blackstone still dominate English Law. In the moving picture of English Law the foreground has to some extent shifted, and there are innumerable changes and additions in detail. But the background is eternal, and to that background every English lawyer who has any respect for historical evolution and national continuity will constantly refer. But a new literary effort was due to meet the needs of the laity of the New Age, and Professor Jenks with his charm of English style and his notable powers of exposition—we may doubt whether the Greek of

Theophilus was up to this standard—was the man to perform the task. The intelligent layman, and more especially the intelligent school master and school mistress who realise that the secondary schools should have some true knowledge of English Law, should not be afraid of this book, either on the ground of dullness or inherent difficulty. The outward form of English Law, as befits the legal habiliments of a great people, is in the intellectual sense a beautiful thing reflecting the logical minds and stern common sense of Englishmen through many centuries. Thus when Professor Jenks discusses the law as built up by the judges, by the Legislature, the machinery of the law as administered in the Courts by the joint efforts of the judges and the legal profession, the relationship of the sovereign State to those who are within the purview of the Rule of Law, and not least the Criminal Law; when he shadows forth the principles that underlie the Common Law and its counterparts in the region of equity and commerce, when he discusses family life, the relationship of property to the individual, the methods of dealing with property, the civic relations of individuals in the region of contracts and personal wrongs, it is possible to realise something of the stateliness, the universality, and the iron force of the Law of England. To have written such a book is an achievement that is not likely to be forgotten.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

THE CAROLLERS.*

We are beginning to awaken as a nation to the importance of song and music in our life. In a sense, we are becoming a nation of carollers again, while English *vagantes* are beginning once more to wander through Europe, singing perhaps as they go. The decadence of the nation in the way of spontaneous singing was perhaps at its depth at about the turn of the century, when even the *bona fide* spontaneous Christmas carollers were few, while the human song-birds of spring uttered their Easter and their Whitsun notes and danced their traditional steps in only a few remote and forgotten parts of England. Even to-day to the bulk of the community the carol is essentially a matter for Christmas and is largely sung only in Church or by itinerant trained choirs with sophisticated and not always admirable tunes.

Now this excellent book carries the lover of popular music back to better days and points to a real renaissance. The carol proper is regarded as a creation of the fifteenth century, and we are told that it is probably impossible to find any example of the authentic

* *The Oxford Book of Carols.* By Percy Dearmer, R. Vaughan Williams and Martin Shaw. Oxford University Press. 4s. 6d. net.

carol earlier than 1400. The carol in these circumstances seems to have been the last phase of the musical movement associated with wandering scholars on the one hand and the half-feudal troubadours on the other. These authors define carols as

> " Songs with a religious impulse that are simple, hilarious, popular and modern. They are generally spontaneous and direct in expression, and their simplicity of form causes them sometimes to ramble like a ballad. Carol literature and music are rich in folk-poetry and remain fresh and buoyant even when the subject is a grave one. . . . Hilarity also has been sometimes forgotten, or obscured in the texts. The word ' Carol ' has a dancing origin, and once meant to dance in a ring . . . the carol, in fact, by forsaking the timeless, contemplative melodies of the Church, began the era of modern music, which has throughout been based upon the dance. . . . Because the carol was based upon dance music, it did not appear until the close of the long puritan era which lasted through the Dark Ages and far into the Mediæval period."

All this is a little difficult to understand because long before even the thirteenth century there was an outburst of singing through Europe among all classes, and though the Church protested against the rioting of wandering mimes, yet there was much customary singing and dancing in every vil, and it is difficult to believe that even in the twelfth century it was wholly discouraged by the Church. That wonderful play, *Le Mystère d'Adam,* was almost certainly written by an ecclesiastic. The evidence that the carol was a fifteenth-century product is based upon the texts that have survived, but it seems not unlikely that these were modifications of far earlier texts and that there were earlier customary carols that have not survived. In this connection it must be remembered that the then popular Lollard movement in England in the late fourteenth century would have tended to suppress and indeed destroy through disuse all the earlier texts. In the nature of things the texts that we have would be fifteenth-century texts. The earlier history of popular songs, though specially associated with university and wandering students, and so for the most part in Latin, would seem to indicate the likelihood of the carol being something far earlier. But the authors will have none of this argument, and are persuaded by the fact, vouched by Professor Saintsbury, that " the oldest of our carols dates from the fifteenth century." Possibly it is all a matter of terminology, and as the ballad was of fifteenth-century origin, and was indeed very often incorporated in the carol, we are tied to a definition that does not exhaust the possibility of earlier religious dance-songs. Since the *vagantes* were often the authors and singers, it would be singular if they only began to make them at the very period when these wandering foreign scholars ceased to appear in England.

The history of the carol in England since the fifteenth century is carefully discussed in the preface of the book. Most of the carols that survive were written between the death of Chaucer in 1400 and the Puritan climax in 1647, and from that time the old carols " travelled underground and were preserved in folk-song," the people's memory of the texts being kept alive by humble broadsheets of indifferent exactitude which appeared annually in various parts of the country." The people were still singing them a hundred years ago as purely traditional Christmas songs, and the broadsheets were still persistent in their efforts to keep alive folk-memory half a century ago. A scholarly revival was already in progress at that time, and it was necessary, since the folk-carol nearly died and only the efforts of Cecil Sharp and the Folk Song Society at the end of the nineteenth century saved the position. So scholarship is giving back to the people the tunes and rhymes that Puritanism and the Industrial Revolution had almost destroyed.

The collection here printed (which can also be had as a music edition—a precious possession) is a delightful one, and is the result of much gleaning in all parts of England, Wales and Ireland in search of traditional carols and their proper tunes. To these 72 carols are added foreign carols, Dutch, French, German, Spanish, with further traditional carols and carols by old writers set to traditional tunes, while, thirdly, there are a considerable number of modern carols written for or adapted to traditional tunes, some of which are translations from early foreign carols. *Good King Wenceslas,* which " owes its popularity to the delightful tune, which is that of a Spring carol, *Tempus adest floridum,*" is frankly condemned, but it is very popular. The fourth section of traditional carols, set to tunes by modern composers, has a special charm, and few will miss Mr. Martin Shaw's *Make We Merry,* or Mr. Vaughan Williams's *Golden Carol.* This book of carols deserves the widest circulation, and will find it in the awakened love of music and song.

* * *

ADMINISTRATIVE JUSTICE.*

The chief value of Mr. William Robson's laborious and interesting though somewhat involved book is the collection of evidence as to the present very extensive and necessary devolution of work involving the exercise of administrative justice to Government Departments and other non-judicial or quasi-judicial bodies in English public life, and his plea that all such inquiries and the consequent decisions should be undertaken by persons qualified and trained to act judicially. Mr. Robson criticises acutely what he

* *Justice and Administrative Law: A Study of the British Constitution.* By William A. Robson. Macmillan. 12s. 6d.

calls "Trial by Whitehall." He admits that what he styles Administrative Tribunals—the word Tribunal is a misnomer—have advantages. These are:

> The cheapness and speed with which they usually work; the technical knowledge and experience which they make available for the discharge of judicial functions in special fields; the assistance which they lend to the efficient conduct of public administration; and the ability they possess to lay down new standards and to promote a policy of social reform.

But Mr. Robson attacks the lack of publicity, "the poor quality of the investigation into questions of fact which often takes place," the difficulty of maintaining "genuine impartiality" (political interference is rightly dismissed as non-existent), and declares that "in all cases a definite, appointed and known tribunal should be created to discharge whatever judicial functions a department may have to perform."

The use of the words "judicial functions" renders it difficult to understand what Mr. Robson really desires. Many, and perhaps most, of the decisions that a Government Department has to arrive at, though they demand absolute impartiality and honesty—qualities that few people deny to the eminent officials concerned—have their chief value in that they are arrived at *ad hoc,* and are not the result of a judicial process at all. Take, for instance, the painful duty of a Home Secretary in reviewing a death sentence. The whole value of the process is that it is *not* judicial; that it takes into account circumstances and factors that no Court of Justice could consider, and that the exercise of the prerogative of mercy is essentially *ad hoc,* and is not concerned with precedents and legal forms. This is an extreme case, but the same principle applies in a great number of other cases where substantial justice would not be done if the Department were bound by a Rule of Law in the ordinary meaning of that term.

The extraordinary social development of the present age in the way of insurance and poor law and economic questions of all kinds make it necessary that persons with expert knowledge should decide in an impartial but rough and ready way many small questions of administration, which may involve construction of statutes and orders, that cannot by reason of their numbers and urgency be referred to a formal Court of Justice. In all these cases the Department, represented by one or more highly competent officials, are not acting judicially, and it is highly desirable that they should not so act. Intelligence, honesty, and impartiality—the qualities that every man should bring to the innumerable problems of his business, and, indeed, of private life—are all that is needed. Mr. Robson, in his anxiety to establish the existence of a system of

Administrative Law, seems to overlook this side of administrative justice. The essence of law is a conflict *inter partes,* and though there are occasions when the Courts of Law are obliged to act in an administrative capacity (for the most part in the region of the administration of trusts), yet we must not be misled by this fact to misinterpret the real nature of a legal system. Administration is one thing, judicial declaration of the principles of law as they are to be applied to a conflict between parties is an entirely other thing. There are regions of administration which involve the declaration of the rights of parties as between themselves, and there has always been a tendency for Courts of Law, in the strict sense of the term, to arise and meet such cases. The history of the Court of Exchequer and the Court of Chancery illustrates this tendency, and no doubt to-day there will arise new courts in the legal sense to deal with some aspects of industrial disputes which are now departmental matters.

The less valuable side of Mr. Robson's book is the theoretical side. He writes of "the legendary separation of powers" into the powers of the Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary, as if serious people only require this ironic phrase to secure the abandonment of a division which goes to the very root of human institutions and for which Mr. Robson is not prepared even to suggest an alternative. We are told that the doctrine of the Separation of Powers is merely a vehicle "for the conveyance of fallacious ideas." That is not a very gracious method of expression considering the many eminent and earnest thinkers who hold firmly to the doctrine and regard it as the mainstay against a theory of the State which would place the citizen at the mercy of this or that tyrannical voluntary association. Mr. Robson apparently considers that "the day of the omnicompetent sovereign state is at an end," and unwisely links up this strange doctrine with his plea for the judicialising of administrative justice. This view of the State, which has a momentary vogue among certain economists and theologians, who are more interested in the strengthening of voluntary associations than in the Rule of Law, and who hide their eyes from the tyranny that great voluntary associations have throughout history exercised, is not necessary to Mr. Robson's argument. All his facts are explicable on a thorough consideration of the respective nature of the powers of the Executive and of the Judiciary. In any great and living society there is growth and development everywhere, and not least in the region of law, and thus the action of the Executive to-day may, as convenience dictates, be transferred to the Judiciary to-morrow. But that is no reason for confusing the persons of the triune system that governs the evolution of society.

J. E. G. DE M.

SOME LESSER POETS.*

Mr. J. C. Squire set himself a labour of love in compiling this Cambridge book of lesser poets and bringing to light many poems which for a variety of reasons have been excluded from *The Oxford Book of English Verse* and *The Golden Treasury*. The result has justified the compilation. Anthologies to serious students of literature are anathema, but they are a necessary evil, if it is necessary to have a smattering of the great things of past and present literature. They resemble a patchwork quilt—perhaps jazz is a better definition. Even the best palls upon the reader, who loses the sense of poetry if he is unwise enough to travel through the centuries and not be content to travel slowly and by stages. The sonnet is the most amenable form, as it is self-contained, and can therefore be more easily detached from the main body of the poet's work. But brief extracts as a rule mean loss of atmosphere. The greatness of Sappho can scarcely be measured, because of the paucity of the extracts that survive.

Mr. Squire has done good service in rescuing from oblivion many poems that might otherwise have been neglected or lost, and the reader will be grateful for the inclusion in the present volume of familiar poems with which he has been conversant from his youth up, but which did not reach the high-water mark of the greater poets. Blanco White's perfect and familiar sonnet, "Night and Death," comes as a pearl of great price, and is worthy to take rank amongst the highest—though he did little else. The difficulties attending this compilation must have been great. The author began, he tells us in his preface, "by omitting one hundred poets: Chaucer, Gower and Skelton, all the great Elizabethans, Carolines, Georgians and Victorians, all the established Americans from Emerson and Lowell to Moody and Tabb. . . . I excluded all living poets; all 'war poets'; all who died after I began the book, including such writers as Mrs. Meynell, Flecker, Wilfred Blunt, and Herbert Trench, whose mere magnitude must have kept them out anyhow." Then came the revision and cutting down of the inclusions, which already exceeded the space limit that the author had imposed upon himself, namely, a book of equivalent size to those devoted to the greater writers. After the excisions, which lack of space demanded, the author sought with the remainder to illustrate the vast riches of English poetry and the luxuriance of the "English Undergrowth."

Mr. Squire opens his book with the poem "Love is Life," by Richard Rolle of Hampole (a forerunner of Thomas à Kempis) who died in 1349; then follow many anonymous poems, unattributed and undated, but presumably fourteenth and fifteenth century, which include "The Nut-brown Maid," a well-known fifteenth-century anonymous poem. The girl of to-day may be interested in one of the stanzas:

> "I shall, as now do more for you
> Than longeth to womanhede;
> To short my hair, a bow to bear
> To shoot in time of need."

With a few fine exceptions, the general impression left on the mind is gratitude for the broader faith of to-day, with all its faults and failings. The early religious poems here quoted are mostly discussions on Death and the dreaded hereafter, without the aspiration of the Psalmist, whose perpetual doxology is praise to the Lord from whom cometh his help. The burden of most of these poems is, "All must, like chimney sweepers, come to dust." The lighter poems are mostly love ditties, either in praise of the beauty and loveliness of the inspirer, or mournful monuments of despair. The anonymous are the best, if we omit Sir William Davenant, and a few others. It seems almost cruel to have included Frederick W. H. Myers' "I am tired of all the years can give," when one remembers his early abounding faith, which Spiritualism unspiritualised; and to place it in conjunction with Edward Dowden's beautiful sonnet "Communion." Myers can hardly be called a "lesser poet." His "Saint Paul" is likely to outlive much of the work of the greater poets of our time.

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MR. KIPLING'S SPEECHES.*

The twenty-one years that separate the earliest of these speeches (the Royal Academy speech of 1906) from the latest (the notable address at La Bassée on "Our Indian Troops in France," of October, 1927) show throughout the distinction and virility of style that is Mr. Kipling's own. There is no loss of power, as indeed there should not be, since he, as men go nowadays, still is comparatively young. Some people speak of Mr. Kipling as a Victorian, because of his triumphs in the days of the great Queen, but he is Edwardian and neo-Georgian too. When he was speaking of Literature at the Royal Academy in 1906 he told us secrets, but not all the secrets.

> The magic of literature lies in the words, and not in any man. Witness, a thousand excellent, strenuous words can leave us quite

* *The Cambridge Book of Lesser Poets.* Compiled by J. C. Squire. University Press, Cambridge.

* *A Book of Words: Selections from Speeches and Addresses delivered between 1906 and 1927.* By Rudyard Kipling. Macmillan. 7s. 6d. net.

> cold or put us to sleep, whereas a bare half-hundred words breathed upon some man in his agony, or in his exaltation, or in his idleness, ten generations ago, can still lead whole nations into and out of captivity, can open to us the doors of the three worlds, or stir so intolerably that we can scarcely abide to look at our own souls. It is a miracle—one that happens very seldom. But, secretly, each one of the masterless men with the words has hope, or has had hope, that the miracle may be wrought again through him.

The magic of the word! How is it that two lines of Homer or Virgil or Dante or Chaucer or Shakespeare or Browning have just the something, in the combination of the commonplace words, that is magical, is immortal? The secret that Mr. Kipling knows and cannot or will not tell us is how the writer projects his personality into the words, that secret personality which the world knows as little as the other side of the moon. Mr. Kipling attributes the Magic Word to a Magic Age, not to a Magic Person; and yet the age of Dante was for Dante an age when the headmen ran about "hunting jackals" as well as Dante Alighieri.

"The Spirit of the Navy," a speech of 1908, was prophetic of 1914: "Isn't the morale of a Service a thousandfold more important than its material? Can't we scratch up a fleet of *Impossibles* and *Undockables* in a few years for a few millions; but hasn't it taken thirty generations to develop the spirit of the Navy? And is anything except that spirit going to save the nation in the dark days ahead of us?" The words need repeating to-day. There has been too much Navy talk of late. "Evidence is what we want." In the War itself, in 1915, he addressed the Winchester school boys in these words: "Your manhood has been thrust on you early—at the sword's point. Fit yourself for it then, not according to the measure of your years, but to the measure of our world's great need." Brave words were what was needed then and perhaps now. The Magic Square—a lecture at Bushey, of 1917—should be read by all cadets. It is wonderful: "Faith, Wisdom, Strength, Love make the Altar of Sacrifice for the Man set apart to save his Tribe."

The post-war addresses will all be read with profit and delight, and not least the winged words on the Indian troops who fell in France.

> These men have done their duty and passed on. There remains behind them the memorial to their dead, concerning which you, Maréchal, so eloquently spoke this morning. That witness to their honour and fidelity we confide to France—to the age-old Power with whom, for a thousand years, we have been associated in the development and charge of the world's civilisation—which, together, we now guard.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

*The Future of Christianity** is a very valuable collection of essays by prominent Anglican and Free Church scholars, brought together under the skilful editorship of Sir James Marchant and prefaced by an illuminating survey contributed by the Bishop of Gloucester. The subjects dealt with include practically the entire range of Christian doctrines, treated in relation both to other religions and to the present state of thought—philosophical, psychological, and scientific. Considering the wide range of subjects discussed and the number of writers engaged, the work shows greater unity and a more uniform level of treatment than is usual with composite volumes. It goes without saying that a volume that contains articles by such Anglicans as Dr. D'Arcy, the Archbishop of Armagh, Dr. W. R. Matthews, Canon Raven and Canon Storr, and by such Free Churchmen as Dr. Garvie, Dr. Peake, Principal Wheeler Robinson and Dr. Lofthouse, to mention only a few of the writers, demands and will repay serious study both by theologians and by the wider public of serious and thoughtful people. The title of the volume is perhaps somewhat misleading, for save in the first article on "Christianity in Relation to other Religions" by Principal Cave, and in the last, on "The Evangelisation of the World" by Dr. Garfield Williams, there is but little attempt to forecast the future. What the writers contribute is such a restatement of the Christian Faith as, in the judgment of the writers, is essential if Christianity is to face the future with the prospect of success. From this point of view the general agreement of the essayists is remarkable, as is also their success in preserving and exhibiting the vital content of the Faith in terms of the adventurous, yet cautious, thought of the present time.

J.S.L.

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Miss Caroline Playne has followed up her striking study of the "neuroses" of Germany and France before the War by a no less penetrating analysis of *The Pre-War Mind in Britain*.† Readers of her previous work will not be surprised to find that she employs the same weights and measures for her own country as for other lands. She stands above the battle, probing the wounds, recording the errors, and registering the hallucinations which led to the catastrophe. Her volumes are not a history of war origins nor a pronouncement on war guilt, but "a study of the direction taken by men's minds before the great upheaval of life in 1914." Social psychology is one of the youngest of the sciences, and her new work is a welcome addition to the small number of valuable treatises on a complex and controversial theme. If in the present case social psychology takes the form rather of social pathology, that is due to the character of the problem which she sets out to elucidate. Her task is to reconstruct the neurotic atmosphere of the last ten years of peace, in which a phenomenal advance in material prosperity contrasted sharply with an outworn system of international relationships. Her pages are thickly strewn with revealing illustrations of the life and thought

* *The Future of Christianity*. Edited by Sir James Marchant, with an Introduction by the Right Revd. Arthur Headlam, Bishop of Gloucester. John Murray. 7s. 6d. net.

† Allen and Unwin. 16s.

of the opening years of the century; but her indictment is less against erring individuals than against the community as a whole. What harm, for instance, could the *Daily Mail* have done but for the millions who were waiting for it? The Press emerges as the supreme mischief-maker in England, as elsewhere, but our diplomacy is also sharply criticised. Miss Playne holds that our plunge into Continental quarrels was needless and dangerous, since the German peril, which is commonly adduced as its justification, was in her opinion greatly exaggerated. She follows Mr. Lowes Dickinson's lead in his weighty volume *The International Anarchy*, and shows us Europe drifting into war, not from a desire to fight but from the neurotic fears and suspicions which sprouted like noxious weeds in the soil of Nationalism and Imperialism. Miss Playne has written a thought-provoking book, which is equally valuable as a record and a warning.

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Dr. William Miller's *Greece*,* the latest addition to *The Modern World Series*, is a mine of information about a country which is too far off to be visited by many British travellers, and which is usually studied rather for its glorious past than for the struggles and achievements of to-day. No British scholar approaches the author in the breadth and depth of his knowledge of mediæval and modern Greece—its history, topography, language, culture, institutions, problems and personalities; and the latest of his many works on the subject contains a mass of material which it would be difficult and, indeed, almost impossible to find elsewhere. His three opening chapters on Greek history from 1821 to 1927 become more and more valuable as they advance, for he has known the country since 1894 and resided in Athens since 1924. He writes with discriminating sympathy of the people, justly praising their energy and resilience, yet not afraid to censure such crimes as the judicial murder of " the Six " and the *coup d'état* of the unspeakable Pangalos. He believes that the country is at last becoming less feverishly interested in the political game, and more inclined to business and economic development, though there are still more Intellectuals turned out by the University of Athens than work for them to do. The chapter on the capital presents a prosperous and up-to-date city which, with the Piræus, numbers almost a million inhabitants. The chapter on the Greek Church notes the decline of monasticism. That on the Refugees relates the story of a tragedy which is being transformed by brains and hard work into a national blessing Asia Minor is lost, but Cyprus, in Dr. Miller's opinion, will one day be part of the Greek Republic. Chapters on the neighbours of Greece, her politics, her leading men, the Press, education, communications, National Defence, economic conditions, and the new Constitution of 1927, complete a singularly comprehensive and well-balanced account of a community full of live individualities, inspired by ardent patriotism, frugal, hard-working, and intelligent. " What Greece especially wants is a long period of peace, internal and external." If she is destined to enjoy that blessing, there is no limit to the advance which she has it in her power to make.

* Ernest Benn. 15s.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Dr. Fridtjof Nansen's volume entitled " Armenia and the Near East "* (which was first published in Norwegian) deals with the work of the Commission, headed by the author, sent by the Council of the League of Nations, in connection with the scheme to transfer 50,000 Armenian refugees to the " so-called Sardarabad desert, in the Republic of Armenia, which was to be irrigated and cultivated." The Commission could not go as representatives of the League of Nations, since the Soviet Government did not recognise that body, and they had to work in conjunction with a committee appointed by the Armenian Government. The party was hospitably received by the Government of Erivan, and this book gives an account of the journey, the work, the impressions of the country and its people, and supplies proposals to irrigate the Kirr districts and for draining and irrigating the Kara-Su region and Zangabasar. The Armenian Government agreed to the views expressed and promised co-operation in the work of settling in new homes Armenian refugees.

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In " African Jungle Life "† Major A. Radclyffe Dugmore tells, with vivid illustrations by himself, the life-stories of Simba the black-maned lion, Tembo the elephant, Mbogo the buffalo, Kifara the rhinoceros, Turgar the giraffe. Major Dugmore draws excellent prose pictures. In describing the giraffe in Kenya Colony he says: " Nearly all the other animals found in the great continent have their cousins, which they resemble more or less closely, in other parts of the world. The elephant, the rhino, the buffalo, the lion, and many more, are but variations of the species found elsewhere. Not so the giraffe; he stands alone in his strange beauty and is purely African, in some ways the most handsome of all creatures, and certainly one of the most unusual in form and colour, a survivor of the ages that have passed." The waterhole where the giraffes drank is brilliantly described and gives a picture of a natural zoo. The description of the life in the jungle of Tembo, of Simba, of the hunting that they did and the hunting that men did against them and against Mbogo, is fully told. Major Dugmore's book should be popular indeed.

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Dr. W. E. Soothill, the Professor of Chinese in the University of Oxford, in his volume " China and England,"‡ develops the opinion that the welfare of China and Great Britain cannot be separated. " Few will question that the two countries could work for each other's welfare better as friends than in any other relationship. Such is the spirit of Britain. It offers the right hand of ungrudging friendship to China and seeks nothing but the hand of friendship in return." This book traces the political history of England in China, the story of extra-territoriality (a subject upon which there is not much in print in historical form even to-day), trade, tariffs, cultural importations and the subject of " Nationalism in China." The appeal is to Great Britain and America. They introduced " new and explosive

* George Allen and Unwin. 15s. net.
† Macmillan. 15s. net.
‡ Oxford University Press. 14s. net.

ideas into China" and cannot shirk the consequences. "America and England, with their long political experience, their practical wisdom and their absolute freedom from any aggressive or exploiting aims, ought to be able to harmonise their policies sufficiently well to defend China, if only in the interest of its vast mass of patient, toiling, good-natured, long-suffering people." That is wise advice.

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Professor Holdsworth in his volume "The Historians of Anglo-American Law"* gives some account of the earlier English legal historians, devotes a special chapter to the historians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such as William Lambard (1563-1601), Somner, Prynne, Dugale, Madox, Rymer, Selden, Hale, Blackstone and John Reeves. The next chapter deals with the work of the four Oxford jurists, Maine, Vinogradoff, Dicey and Sir Frederick Pollock. Professor Holdsworth then passes to the American legal historians, men such as Bigelow, Holmes, Ames, and Thayer. The notes on foreign writers dealing with Anglo-American legal history—Brunner, Liebermann and des Longrais—are useful. The book, which is for American consumption, will do useful work in laying stress on the legal links between England and the United States of America.

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Vice-Admiral Sir H. W. Redmond, in a volume entitled "National Policy and Naval Strength and Other Essays,"† issues a series of addresses (delivered at Cambridge, in the University of London, and the Royal United Service Institution) which includes two on the naval aspect of the war of 1914, on the influence of sea-power in the period 1744-1762, on Sir James Graham's Admiralty reforms, on the place of history in naval education, and finally on sea-power and the Empire. Lord Sydenham, of Combe, in his Foreword, states that Sir Herbert Redmond, the distinguished first Chief of the Imperial Defence College founded in 1927, in this book "has provided his pupils with a first-class textbook exactly calculated to give inspiration to the individual studies, which, as he rightly maintains, can never be rendered superfluous by ordered instruction, however well designed." Lord Sydenham adds: "Sir Herbert Redmond would be the last to assert that the study of history can provide direct solutions for the strategic problems of the future into which aerial warfare will enter; but he rightly insists that without the intellectual discipline which history alone can supply, these problems will, as in 1914-18, be handled in haphazard fashion, with deplorable results."

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Professor Alexander Brady, of the University of Toronto, in "William Huskisson and Liberal Reform"‡ provides an essay on "The changes in economic policy in the twenties of the nineteenth century." Huskisson, born in 1770, was from an early date interested in economics, which he studied in Paris from 1783 to 1792. He entered

* Oxford University Press. 14s. net.
† Longmans. 16s. net.
‡ Oxford University Press. 12s. 6d. net.

Parliament in 1796, having already served as Under-Secretary for War. In 1804, in Pitt's second ministry, he was Secretary to the Treasury where, under the Prime Minister, he had a training in public finance. In 1807 he joined the Portland Cabinet in the same capacity, but left it with Canning, and eventually under Canning, in 1823, he became President of the Board of Trade and gave a new importance to this office. A clash with the Duke of Wellington, in 1828, ended his career, since he died in 1830 (in the first railway accident)—on the eve of a new shuffling of political parties. The economic problems—the currency, the Corn Laws, the old commercial system, the advent of free trade proposals and the economics of colonial trade—with which he was concerned are closely dealt with in this book.

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In this volume, "The Pacific: A Forecast,"* Lieut.-Colonel P. T. Etherton and Mr. H. Hessel Tiltman declare that, since the Great War, the centre of naval gravity has moved to the Pacific Ocean and the Far East. There Japan, China, the British Empire, the United States of America, have fundamental interests. "The seas around Singapore carry every year £1,000,000,000 worth of cargo to Great Britain." The East is awakening, population has acute problems for Japan, America is closed to Japan, Australia to the coloured races, Bolshevist Russia is full of activity. The Pacific has been a region of romance since the late fifteenth century, but to-day the uprising of Japan has given something other than romance to the Far East, and she ranks with Britain, the United States, China, and Russia. These authors trace in detail the rise of Japan, "the Britain of the East," and emphasise the fact that her navy dominates Far Eastern waters. The new China is next described, but that newness does not affect 97 per cent. of the people, and progress is slow. The problems of Britain and the Pacific are discussed and the dangers of an empty Australia visualised. "The enigma of modern politics is whether the complete development of the Pacific as the new world-centre will come without, or only after, an armed conflict in that ocean." The course of a possible war is reviewed, but these authors do not think that it would deflect the course of events in the Far East.

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The Rev. A. K. Dallas has translated five studies of Professor Gunkel devoted to the Old Testament, and these are now published under the title, "What Remains of the Old Testament, and Other Essays" (namely, Fundamental Problems of Hebrew literary history, the Religion of the Psalms, the Close of Micah, and Jacob, by Hermann Gunkel).† The preface to the book is by the Rev. Professor James Moffatt, of New York, who says that "Professor Gunkel's two main interests are these: the setting of the Old Testament in the larger context of ancient Oriental civilisation, and the connection of the Hebrew religion with the actual experience of the people. . . . It is astonishing and regrettable that his work has not been made accessible to English readers. Some German theological writers fail to win this entrance; Rothe is a case in point. Gunkel, in our own

* Ernest Benn. 12s. 6d.
† George Allen & Unwin. 6s. net.

day, is another." In the first essay Professor Gunkel says: "The Old Testament must . . . be examined to find out what is useful in it for the Christian child of the present day. . . . For very young children the Old Testament must be explained in a Christian spirit." But later it must be taught scientifically, like modern or Greek history, and "finally there is the complete picture as the historian sees it . . . the revelation taking place in history."

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Mr. E. H. Dance, the Senior History Master of Wolverhampton Grammar School, has produced a very useful and suggestive "Constructive Notebook on British History"* which has now gone into a new edition. The Notes are intended to guide the preparatory reading of advanced pupils in secondary schools and private students, and to indicate the need for initiative in fixing the mind on matters of the first importance. A bibliography of the leading books for reference is appended to the end of each section and will lead the true young historian to the best sources. The idea of the book is excellent, since it is practically useless for "cramming" purposes and is only useful to those who are prepared to think on history as a connected whole. It deals with the vexed problems of the war of 1914 by the last section, entitled, "The Armed Peace and International Arbitration," which indicates the way that led into that war and the only way out of combinations that could lead to similar catastrophes.

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Mr. A. Hamilton Thompson in "A Short Bibliography of Local History"† (leaflet No. 72 of the Historical Association Leaflets) has done a very useful piece of work for the use of students who desire to know something substantial from the historical point of view as to the places in which they live. It is not intended for those who wish to take up original local research, but it is a good introduction as the book leads the student into the necessary fields of English general and special topography and topographical history with references to the best county histories and the history of special periods and subjects such as Roman-Britain, architectural history, and closes with examples of quite recent local research such as those published by the energetic Oxfordshire Record Society. Works of this sort are the true introduction to local research. But, apart from research, local history has a great value as the norm of national history. All schools, by means of classwork and school journeys, should have instruction in this field. For teachers, Mr. Thompson's book will prove invaluable.

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Professor James Rice in "An Introducton to Physical Science"‡ opens his account with the birth of the experimental method some three centuries ago, by the help of which "matter is revealed to us as a

* Basil Blackwell. Oxford. 3s. 6d. net.
† G. Bell and Sons. 1s.
‡ Benn's Sixpenny Library. Ernest Benn Limited.

complex of physical and chemical properties whose existence has been invented by man in the process of experiment and measurement. Furthermore, the measures of these properties satisfy certain 'laws'—that is, statements in mathematical symbolism—whose discovery has been one of the greatest achievements of the human mind." Professor Rice in these lucid and pregnant pages deals with these properties and laws and the effort to reduce all the properties of matter "to the configuration and motion of ultimate, unchanging particles of elementary stuff or material." Newton surmised that some day physical phenomena might be explained by the conceptions and laws of Dynamics and the nineteenth century made the attempt and laid the intellectual bases for the revolutionary changes in our conceptions of nature and natural law.

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Dr. E. F. Jacob in "The Holy Roman Empire"* has added an excellent volume to Benn's Sixpenny Library on a very difficult and complex subject. Charles the Great lies behind the true Holy Roman Empire, founded in the west in 962, but the new empire was smaller than Charlemagne's and it combined elements destined to come into conflict, Germany and Italy. The contest between the Empire and the Papacy was an inevitable thing, but Charlemagne did not foresee it. He did not foresee great Popes like Innocent III, he did not foresee the forces of feudalism though he must have foreseen men of his own type like Frederick of Hohenstaufen. The philosophy of Dante's age was in favour of a real Roman Empire that would spread universal peace and the idea went on into the days when nationality had stamped itself on the world and the Renaissance had come with its new materialism. So the Institution became neither Holy nor Roman nor an Empire but it survived till a new Emperor, Napoleon, dissolved it in 1806 to make a new Europe.

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Professor E. T. Campagnac in the introduction to his volume entitled "Prose Selections from Matthew Arnold"† says that Arnold "was an author not quite easy to read in his own day, and perhaps less easy for us to read now. But he was and continues to be worth reading, both for what he has to say and for his style in saying it." This is almost to underrate Matthew Arnold, since he was one of the great stylists of the nineteenth century with a singular lucidity of mind and expression, and with an ironic humour that commanded and commands attention. But he deals with difficult subjects and since he was essentially an analytical critic his matter is difficult to the untrained mind. Professor Campagnac rightly says that "he is a critic: that is, a judge; a man who makes it his business to discriminate between what is good and what is not." Judgments on profound subjects such as "The Function of Criticism" have inherent difficulties that no style and no gift of lucidity can clear away. An ironic passage in "The Function of Criticism" will illustrate this: "The notion of the free play of the mind upon all subjects being

* Ernest Benn Limited.
† Macmillan. 1s. 9d.

a pleasure in itself, being an object of desire, being an essential provider of elements without which a nation's spirit, whatever compensations it may have for them, must, in the long run, die of inanition, hardly enters into an Englishman's thoughts." It is an unusually difficult sentence for Matthew Arnold, but it is full of thought that could not be set forth otherwise and it is one that the English teachers who will use this book should study and apply. A new race of young barbarians have arisen who should be led to this book and Arnold's poems and to think more and more with the son of Thomas Arnold that "The pursuit of perfection . . . is the pursuit of sweetness and light." Professor Campagnac's excellent selections, which include the poet-critic's views on Milton, Keats, and Wordsworth, are worthy of wide circulation and not least among the students of science in our own time.

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The eminent Danish lawyer, linguist and literary man, Professor H. Munch-Petersen, has reprinted from the "Law Quarterly Review" of July, 1927, his very valuable paper on the "Main Features of Scandinavian Law"* which was delivered as a lecture at University College, London, last year. Very few English lawyers know much about Scandinavian Law and yet it has great similarities in the fashion of its evolution to the English Common Law. There were some ancient codes of law in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, but a great part of the practical law, such as the laws governing contracts and torts, evolved through the daily practice of the Courts. In other ways there is similarity since Scandinavian Law evolved independently of Roman Law. Scandinavian countries had the same juridical independence as England. Statutory codification has now taken place on a great scale and Dr. Munch-Petersen makes it clear that the process has had as its main object the creation of laws common to all the Northern nations, and it is very interesting to note that to some considerable extent both Iceland and Finland have shared in these mutual legislative measures. In the process Dr. Munch-Petersen has himself played an active part. The commercial field was first considered, but in later years the bold jurists of the North have also dealt with family and personal rights, such as questions of marriage, divorce, guardianship and adoption. The great housing difficulties which emerged during the war, gave rise, in 1925, to the new Tenancy Laws. The whole subject of Scandinavian legislation has, indeed, implications that English lawyers and legislators would be wise to study.

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Mr. Charles Williams in the preface to his "Book of Victorian Narrative Verse"† declares that "perhaps the chief trouble about Victorian literature—and certainly the chief trouble about those now somewhat underrated poems of Tennyson, the *Idylls of the King*—was that its metaphysic could not present nor its withdrawing poetic imagination conceive an end sufficient to the means. To do one's duty was a noble thing, but the only reason for doing it was that it was one's duty." But this and the criticism that follows surely do not apply to Matthew Arnold or Robert Browning. However that may be, here is an excellent collection of Victorian narrative verse to which attention should have been drawn before.

* Stevens and Sons.

† Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 3s. 6d. net.